Andrew Boorde's
Introduction and Dyetary,
with
Barnes in the Defence of the Berde.

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The First Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge
made by
Andrew Borde
of Physycke Doctor.

A Compendious Regnement or
A Dycetary of Helth
made in Mountpoylier, compiled by
Andrewe Boorde
of Physycke Doctour.

Barnes
in the Defence of the Berde:
a Treatysse made, answeyringe the Treatysse of
Doctor Borde upon Berdes.

EDITED, WITH A LIFE OF ANDREW BOORDE, AND LARGE EXTRACTS FROM HIS BREVYARY, BY
F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A., TRIN. HALL, CAMB.,
EDITOR OF THE BABEES BOOK, &c.

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Extra Series,
x

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.
TO

Colonel James Halkett,
BARON HALKETT
OF GREAT FOSTERS, NEAR EGHAM,
LATE OF THE COLDSTREAM GUARDS, ETC. ETC.

My dear Colonel, You are our most widely-travelled friend here. Your steps have wandered far beyond Boorde's range. Asia, North and South, Africa, North and South too, the Indies, and America, have seen you; the Crimea has been stained by your blood; and there are few Courts and cities in Europe where you have not been. I may therefore well dedicate to you Boorde's records of his travels, more than 300 years ago, in his Introduction of Knowledge.

On the Elizabethan porch of your fine old Tudor house is the date of 1578, while Anne Boleyn's badge is the centre ornament of your dining-room ceiling, and Tudor badges are about it. I may therefore well dedicate to you Boorde's Dyetary of 1542, which starts with directions that may have been studied by the builder of your own house, or the early dwellers in it. As it was once my Father's too, and has been the scene of many a happy visit at different times of my life, I like to mix the thought of the old house with my old author, Andrew Boorde, and to fancy that he'd have enjoyed ordering where the moat was to be, the stables, and all the belongings, and lecturing the owner as to how to manage house and servants, wife and child, pocket and body.

That health and happiness may long be the lot of you and the charming sharer of your name, whose taste has beautified the old house that you have together so admirably restored, is the hope of

Yours very sincerely,

F. J. FURNIVALL.

Walnut Tree Cottage, Egham,
August 3, 1870.
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FOREWORDS.

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§ 1. Among the many quaint books from which I quoted in my notes to Russell's Book of Nurture in the Babees Book (E. E. T. Soc. 1868), one of the quaintest was Andrew Boorde's Dyetary, as readers, no doubt, convinced themselves by the long extract on pages 244-8, and the shorter ones on p. 205, 207, &c. Since then I have always wished to reprint the book, and the securing, for 32s. at Mr Corser's sale last February, of a copy of the 1562 edition not in the British Museum,¹ made me resolve to bring out the book this year. Wishing, of course, to print from the first known edition, I turned to Mr W. C. Hazlitt's Handbook to find what that was, and where a copy of it could be got at, and saw, after the title of the Dyetary, the following statement:

"Wyer printed at least 3 editions without date, but in or about 1542. Two editions, both differing, are in the British Museum; a third is before me; and a fourth is in the public library at Cambridge.² All these vary typographically and literally."

¹ It is in the Cambridge University Library, perfect. Mr Bradshaw's description of it is as follows:

"Boorde (Andr.)
A compendious regiment or dietary of health.
(b) Title (within a single line): Here Folio/weth a Compendious Re-gimenter of Dyetary of health, / made in Mount pyllor: Com-/pyled by Andrewe Boorde, of Phy-/sycke Doctor / Anno Domini. M. D. LXII. / XII. Die Mensis / Januarij./ [woodcut of an astronomer.] Imprint: Imprinted by / me Thomas Colwel, Dwel-/lynge in the house of Robert Wyer, / at the Signe of S. John Euan-/gelyst besyde Charynge / Crosse, / £5/ / Collation: ABCDEFGH²; 64 leaves (1—64). Leaf 1ª title (as above); 1ª—4ª Table of chapters; 4ª—61ª Text; 61ª Imprint (as above)."

² This is the same book as the one undated Wyer edition in the Museum. Mr Bradshaw's description of it is:
A visit to the British Museum soon showed that one of these "editions" in the British Museum was only a title-page stuck before a titleless copy of Moulton's *Glasse of Health*, on to which had been stuck a colophon from some other book of Wyer's printing. The other Museum edition, in big black-letter, had not, on the front and back of its title, the dedication to the Duke of Norfolk that the other title-page had, and I therefore wrote to Mr Hazlitt to know where was the "third" copy that was "before" him when he wrote his Boorde entries. He answered that he had sold it to Mr F. S. Ellis of King St., Covent Garden, in one of whose Catalogues he had afterwards seen it on sale for four guineas. I then applied to Mr Ellis for this copy, and he very kindly had search made for it through his daybooks of several years, and found that it had been sold to our friend and member, Mr Henry Hucks Gibbs. Mr Gibbs at once lent me his copy, and it proved to be a complete one of the edition of which the Museum had only a title-page. It had a dedication to the Duke of Norfolk,—whom Boorde had attended in 1530,—dated 5 May, 1542, which was not in the undated edition in the Museum, and Mr J. Brenchley Rye of the Printed-Book Department was clearly of opinion that the type of the 1542 copy was earlier than that of the bigger black-letter of the undated one, though it too was printed by Robert Wyer, or said so to be.

Further, Mr Gibbs's copy was printed by Robert Wyer for John Gough; and the latest date in Herbert's *Ames* for Robert Wyer is 1542, while the latest for John Gough is 1543. One felt, therefore, tolerably safe in concluding that the 1542 copy was the first edition

"Boorde (Andr.)

A compendious regiment or dietary of health.


(n) Title (within a border of ornaments): ¶ Here Folio-weth a Com-openious Regiment or a Dyetary of Helth, made in Mount-pyllor: Comp-plied by Andrew Boorde, of Physicke Doctor, [woodcut of an astronomer.] Imprint: ¶ Imprinted by me Robert Wyer: Dwellynge at the sygne of seynyt Iohn E-vangelyst, in S. Mar-/tyrs Paryshe, besyde Charynge / Crosse. ¶ Cum privilegio ad imprimen-dum solam.

Collation: ABCDEFGHIKLMNOpq; 64 leaves (1—64) in octavo. Leaf 1ª title (as above); 1ª—4ª Table of chapters; 4ª—64ª Text; 64ª imprint (as above).

The copy in the Cambridge University Library is perfect."

1 Some bibliographers (if not most) are sadly careless dogs.
of The Dyetary, and that it was publish'd in 1542, the year in which its Dedication bears date.

§ 2. But, this granted, came the question, When was the undated edition, printed by Robert Wyer, publish'd? Before trying to answer this question, I must say that the Museum possesses a copy of another edition of the Dyetary, with a Dedication to the Duke of Norfolk, dated 5 May, 1547 (MDXLVII), altered from the Dedication of 5 May, 1542, while, as I have said before, the undated edition has no Dedication. But the colophon of this 1547 edition says that it was printed by Wylyam Powell in 1567 (MDLXVII), the X and L having changed places in the two dates. Was then 1547 or 1567 the real date of this edition by William Powell? 1547, I think; for, 1. Boorde died in 1549, and the Dedication is altered in a way that no one but an author could have altered it; 2. the dates we have for William Powell's books are 1547-1566,¹ so that he could have printed the Dyetary in 1547; though we can't say he couldn't have printed it in 1567 too, as all his books are not dated.

If then we settle on 1547 for the date of Powell's double-dated edition, the question is, What is the date of Robert Wyer's undated one? Are we to put Wyer's date down from 1542 to 1549 or later, and explain the absence of the Dedication by the fact of Andrew Boorde's death in 1549?² or are we to explain it by the Duke of Norfolk's arrest on Dec. 12, 1546, and suppose Wyer to have issued his edition before Henry VIII's death on the night of Jan. 27, 1546-7, saved the Duke from following his accomplished son, Surrey, to the scaffold,³ while Powell, who issued his edition in the summer of the same year, could safely restore Boorde's Dedication, since Norfolk, though excepted from the general pardon proclaimed on Edward VI's accession, was looked on as safe? The latter alternative is countenanced by Wyer's undated edition being printed from his first of 1542, rather than Powell's of 1547, as the collation shows; but I cannot decide whether the second Wyer, or Powell, was issued first.

¹ The last license to him in Collier's Extracts, i. 137, is about midway between July 1565 and July 1566.
² The Duke of Norfolk did not die till 1554.
³ Surrey was beheaded on Jan. 19, 1546-7.
The possibility that the undated dedicationless Wyer was issued before 1542, and that the 1542 edition was the second, is negatived by Mr Rye's opinion on the types of the two editions, and perhaps by the omission of two of the woodcuts, the change of the third, and the results of the collation. Of later editions I know only that of 1562, 'imprinted by me Thomas Colwel in the house of Robert Wyer': see page 11. By that fatality which usually attends the most unsatisfactory plan of "Extracts," Mr Collier has in his "Extracts" missed the only two entries in the Stationers' Registers relating to Boorde's books that I wanted, namely, that of this 1562 edition of the Dyetary, and the Lothbury edition of the Introduction. The entry as to Colwel's print of the Dyetary is:

T. colwell Receryd of Thomas Colwell,¹ for his fyne, for that } he prented the Deatory of helthe / the Assyce of xijd. breade And Ale, with arra pater,² without lyence. } Company of Stationers First Register, leaf 77, in the list of Fines, 22 July 1561, to 22 July 1562.

Lowndes enters other editions of "1564 (White Knights 507, mor. 9s. 1567 Perry pt. i, 468, 9s. Bindley pt. i. 460, 11s.) 1576."

As the date of the Dedication to the Dyetary is 5 May, 1542, while that of the Introduction is 3 May, 1542, I have put the former after the latter, though it (the Dyetary) was published five years before the Introduction. Still, the Introduction, the Dyetary, and the Brewary (examined 1546, published 1547) were all written by Boorde by the year 1542.

§ 3. The fy rst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge. This book was dedicated to the Princess Mary, afterwards Queen, daughter of Henry VIII, on May 3, 1542. It was intended to have a second book, in which the vices of Rome were mentioned,³ and which second book may therefore⁴ have been the Brewary, as the vices of Rome are mentioned in its 2nd part, the Extravagantes, fol. v, back. It

¹ Colwell was admitted a freeman of the Stationers' Company on the 30th of August, 1560.
³ In the Introduction, chap. xxiii (repr. sign. R), Boorde says, "Who so wyl see more of Rome & Italy, let him loke in the second boke, the lxvii. chap ter" (p. 178 below).
⁴ I don't think it was so.
§ 3.] FOREWORDS. THE INTRODUCTION WAS PRINTING IN 1542 A.D. 15

was also intended to have been mainly a book on physic, for, besides the four quotations given under (a) below, Boorde says in his Breuyary, "no man shulde enterpryse to medle with Phisicke but they which be learned and admytted, as it doth appeare more largelyer in the Introduction of knowledgye" (Fol. iii, at foot); and again, Fol. v, and lxxvi back:

"I had rather not to meddle with Physicions and Chyerurgions then to haue them, yf I shulde dysplease them: for yf they be dyspleased, there is neither Lorde nor Lady nor no other person can haue any seruyce or pleasure of theym, for this matter loke forther in the Introduction of knowledgye, and there shall you see what is good both for the soule and body in god. Amen."

The Introduction was also intended to have a book on Anatomy in it,—see the next quotation;—but it appeared as a book of Travels, with only a "fyrst Boke" in or after 1547, after both the Dyetary and Breuyary, and the Astronomye also, had been published. In each of these books the Introduction is mentioned as in the press. Take (a) the Breuyary:

"Every man the which hath all his whole lymmes, hath i.e. xlviii. bones, as it doth more playnely appeare in my Anothomy in the Introduction of knowledgye, which hath bene longe a pryntynge, for lacke of money and paper; and it is in pryntynge, with pyctures, at Roberte Coplande, prynter." (Breuyary, Pt. I. fol. lxxxviii.)

"For kynges, and kynges sones, and other noble men, hath ben eximious Phisicions, as it appereth more largely in the Introduction of knowledgye, a boke of my makynge, beynge a pryntynge with Ro. Coplande (ib. Fol. lxx, back). See p. 93 below.

"wherfore this science of medecines is a science for whole men, for sick men, and for neuters, which be neyther whole men nor sycke men; wherfore I do aduertysse every man not to set lytle by this excellent science of medecines, consyderynge the vtilitie of it, as it appereth more largelier in the introduction of knowledgye." Fol. lxxvi, back.

"the kynges actes and lawes .. wylleth and commaundeth, with great penaltie, that no man shulde enterpryse to medle with Phisicke, but they which be learned and admytted, as it doth appeare more largelyer in the Introduction of knowledgye." Breuyary, Fol. iii, at foot.

(b) The Dyetary. Boorde says in his Dedication to the Duke of Norfolk:

"But yf it shall please your grace to loke on a boke the which I
dyd make in Mountpyller, named the Introductory of knowleg, there shall you se many new matters / the whiche I have no doubt but that your grace ywl accept and lyke the boke, the whiche is a pryntynge besyde saynt Dunstons churche within Temple barre, over agaynst the Temple.” (p. 227, col. 1, below.)

(γ) The Astronamye. The full title of this book, the only known copy of which is in the Cambridge University Library, is:

“The pryncyples / of Astronamye / the whiche / diligently per-scrutyd is in maner a / pronosticacyon to the worldes / end compylyd by Andrew / Boord ofphisick / Doctor /,”

and the last words of the Preface are:

“And wher I haue omettet & left out mani matters apertayn-[yn]g to this boke, latt them loke in a book namyd the Introduction of knowleg, a boke of my makyng, the which ys aprinting at old Robert Coplands, the eldist printer of Ingland, the which doth print thes yere 1 mi pronosticacions.”

Accordingly, the colophon is, “Enprynted at London in ye Fletestrete / at the sygne of the Rose garland by / Robert Coplande.”

The other references in this volume to Boorde’s other works are on B vii (not signed): “for this matter, looke in the Breuuary of helth and in the Introductory of knowleg.”

C. ii. (not signed) “And he that wyll haue the knowleg of all maner of sicknesses & dysesys, let them looke in the breuuary of helth, whiche is pryntyd at Wylyam Mydyltons in flet stret.”

The last paragraph of the Astronamye is:

“¶ Now to concluđ, I desier euere man to tak this lytil wark for a pasttime,2 for I dyd wrett & make this bok in .iii. dayes, and wretten with one old pene with out mendiynge. and wher I do wret ye sygnes in Aries, in Taurous, & in Leo, is, for my purpose it stond-yth best for our maternal tonge.”

A further and earlier3 notice of the Introduction is found in the chaffy answer to Boorde’s lost attack on beards,4 which answer is

1 A friend reads thes yere as ‘these here;’ but the words no doubt mean ‘this year,’ and the pronosticacions may be one of those of which a title of one, and a fragment of another—or a supposed other—are in the British Museum. See below, p. 25, 26-27.
2 past time, orig. 3 I take Barnes’s book to be of the year 1542 or 1543.
4 As a substitute, take parson Harrison’s: “Neither will I meddle with our varietie of beards, of which some are shauen from the chin like those of Turks,
§ 3.] FOREWORDS. BARNES ON THE INTRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE. 17
called at the end ‘Barnes in the defence of the Berde,’ and is, on account of its connection with Boorde, reprinted at the end of this volume. The book opens thus:

“It was so, worshipful syr, that at my last beynge in Mountpyllour, I chaunused to be assocytat with a doctor of Physyke / which at his retorne had set forth .ij. Bokes to be prynted in Fleet strete, within Temple Barre, the whiche bokes were compiled together in one volume named the Introductorie of Knowledge / wherypon there dyd not resort only vnto hym, marchauntes, gentylmen, and wymmen / but also knyghtes, and other great men, which were desyrouse to knowe the effycycte and the effecte of his aforesayd bokes.”

Now this looks certainly as if the Introduction was at first believed by Boorde’s acquaintances to have been intended to contain his other two books written in or before 1542, namely, the Dyelary and Breuyary; but as Boorde himself says he meant to have an Anatomy in his Introduction, and evidently much other matter on physic (p. 14-15 above), we need not speculate further on Barnes’s words. What we know is, that the Introduction must have been published after the Breuyary of 1547, and the Astronamye doubtless of the same year. I say the same year, for the Preface of the Breuyary shows that a treatise on Astronomy was wanted to ac-

not a few cut short like to the beard of marques Otto, some made round like a rubbing brush, other with a pique de vant (O fine fashion!) or now and then suffered to grow long, the barbers being growen to be so cunning in this behalfe as the tailors. And therfore if a man have a leane and daylight face, a marquesse Ottons cut will make it broad and large; if it be platter like, a long slender beard will make it seeme the narrower; if he be wesel-becked, then much beare left on the cheekes will make the owner looke big like a bowlden hen, and so grim as a goose; if Cornellis of Chelmeresford saie true, manie old men doo weare no beards at all.”—Harrison’s Description of England, ed. 1586, p. 172, col. 2.

See on this Beard question the curious and rare poem,—by Wey? see the Roxb. Club print of it—“The Pilgrymage and the wayes of Ierusalem,” in a paper MS of Mr Henry Huth’s, about 1500 A.D., quoted below, p. 182.

Prestes of the New lawe:
The thyrd Seyte beyn prestis of oure lawe,
That syngle masse at þe Sepulcore;
At þe same graue there oure lorde laye,
They syngle þe leteny every daye.
In oure maner is her songe,
Saffe, here herdys be ryght longe;
That is þe geyse of þat contre,
The lenger þe berd, the bettyr is he;
The ordere of hem be barfote freeres...
company it; Boorde tells us that he wrote his Astronamye in four days with one old pen without mending; and this Astronamye was printed by Robert Coplande, who, so far as we know, printed no book after 1547. The cutting of the 'pyctures' must have taken so much time, and the 'lacke of money and paper' continued so long, that old Robert Coplande did not finish the book, but left his successor, William Coplande, to bring it out in Robert's old house, in Flete strete, at the sygne of the Rose Garland, no doubt late in 1547, or in 1548. This delay in the appearance of the Introduction accounts for a few words in it relating to Boulogue, which could not have been written till 1544, when Henry VIII took that city: "Boleyn is now ours by conquest of Ryall kyng Henry the eyght."

Now, besides William Coplande's undated "Rose-Garland" edition of the Introduction, we know of another undated edition by him printed at Lothbury. In this "Lothbury" edition we do not find the above-quoted words of the "Rose-Garland" edition relating to Boulogue; and as we know that Edward VI restored Boulogue to the French in 1550, the Lothbury edition must have been after that date. It must also have been after the deaths of Henry VIII and Edward VI, when there was no king in England, as the Lothbury edition leaves out the Rose-Garland's "But euer to be trew to God and my kynge" (p. 117, l. 24). The Lothbury edition must also

1 "but aboue al thinges next to grammer a Physicion muste have surely his Astronamye, to know how, when, & at what time, every medecine ought to be ministred."—Brenewyry, The preface, A Prologue to Thisicions, Fol. ii, back. See also the 'Proheme to Chierurgions,' Fol. iii.
2 See p. 16, above.
3 That is, if any but the Englishman and Frenchman were cut for it, which I doubt. But Boorde might have waited for money for more original cuts.
4 See p. 15, above.
5 Herbert remarks in his MS memoranda, 'though the book was printed by R. Copland, it was licensed to W. Copland.'—Ames (ed. Dibdin, 1816). I don't believe there is any authority for this 'licensed.' The Charter of the Stationers' Company was not granted till 1556.
6 If the reader will turn to the Rose-Garland device at the end of the Introduction, he will see how William Coplande has used his predecessor's block: he has left R. C. in the middle, but has cut out the black-letter 'Robert' in the legend, and put his own 'William,' in thinner letters, in the stead of his predecessor's thicker 'Robert,' which match the 'Coplande.'
7 The xviii. day, the kings highnes, hauing the sworde borne nacked before him by the Lorde Marques Dorset, like a noble and valyaunt conqueror, rode into Bulleyn.—Hall's Chronicle, p. 862, ed. 1609.
have been after 1558, for the change of Boorde's description of the Icelander, "Lytle I do care for matyns or masse" (chap. vi. line 9, p. 141) into "Lytle do I care for anye of gods seruaese," shows that Mary's reign was over; besides being a specimen of William Coplande's notion of rimes. As we know further that William Coplande printed one book at least at the Three Cranes in the Vintry in 1561—Tyndale's Parable of the Wicked Mammon—we may at once identify the Lothbury edition with that which was licensed to William Coplande in 1562-3,\(^1\) as appears by the following entry (omitted by Mr Collier\(^2\)) on leaf 90 of the first Register of the Stationers' Company:

W. Coplande Recevyd of William Coplande, for his lycense } 
for pryntinge of [a] boke intituled "the intro- } iiij\(^a\)
duction to knowlege"

Of Coplande's first, or Rose-Garland, edition, a unique copy was known in Mr Heber's library; but I could not hear of it, when first preparing the present volume, and was obliged to apply to the Committee of the Chetham Library for the loan of their copy of the 2nd, or Lothbury, edition. This they most kindly granted me; and Mr W. H. Hooper had copied and cut all the 'pyctures' in it, and the reprint was partly set-up, when a letter to that great possessor of old-book treasures, Mr S. Christie-Miller of Britwell House, brought me a courteous answer that he had the first edition, that I might correct the reprint of the second by it, and that Mr Hooper might copy the cuts—nine in number—that differed from those in the 2nd edition. These things have accordingly been done, and the varying cuts of the 2nd edition put into, or referred to in, the notes. The differences in the texts of the two editions are very slight, barring the Boulogne, King, and Mass passages noticed on this page and the foregoing one.

§ 4. The Dedications to the *Introduction* and the *Dyetary*, and the publication of the latter in 1542 (or 1543), coupled with the opening words of *Barnes in Defence of the Berde* which we quoted above, p. 17, leave no doubt in my mind that this last tract was written and

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\(^1\) This enables us too to settle that the other Lothbury books were printed after the Three-Cranes books. (One Lothbury book is dated 1566.)

\(^2\) See p. 14, above.
published in 1543, and that Boorde returned to England from Montpelier to see his Dyetary through the press.

§ 5. The Breyuary of Health. Having thus discussed the dates of the three little books in the present volume, we have next to notice shortly Boorde's other books. The principal of these is the Breyary. There is no copy of the first edition of it (A.D. 1547?) in the British Museum, Bodleian, or Cambridge University Library. Lowndes says that it was reprinted in 1548, 1552, &c., and I have seen a statement that the edition of 1552 is an exact reprint of that in 1547. A colophon at the end of the first book of the 1552 edition says, "Here endeth the first boke examined in Oxford, in June, the yere of our lord .M. CCCCC. xlvi. And in the reigne of our soucrayne Lorde kyng Henry the .viii. kyng of Englane, Fraunce, and Irelande the .xxxviii. yere . . . And newly Imprinted and corrected, the yere of our Lorde God .M. CCCCC. L. II." As I mean to give several extracts from the Breyary further on, page 74 et seq., in Boorde's Life, I shall only quote here his "Preface to the Readers of this Boke," of which the end will commend itself to my fellow-workers in the Society, who, too, "wryte for a common welth," and "neuer loke for no reward, neyther of Lorde, nor of Prynter, nor of no man lyuing."

"Gentylle readers, I haue taken some peyne in makyng this boke, to do sycke men pleasure, and whole men proyfe, that sycke men may recuperate theyr health, and whole men may preserue theym selfe frome syckenes (with goddes helpe) as well in Phisicke as in Chierurgy. But for as much as olde, anneyent, and autentyke auctours or doctours of Physicke, in theyr bokes doth wryte many obscure termes, genyng also to many and dyuerse infirmities, darke and harde names, dyfilyeyle to vnderstande,—some and mooste of all beynge Greeke wordes, some and fewe beynge Araby wordes, some beynge Latyn wordes, and some beynge Barbarus wordes,—Therefore I haue translated all suche obscure wordes and names into Englyshe, that every man openlye and aprantly maye vnderstande them. Furthermore all the aforesayde names of the sayde infirmites be set togyther in order, accordyng to the letters of the Alphabete, or the .A. B. C. So that as many names as doth begyn with A. be set to-gether, and so forth all other letters as they be in order. Also there is no sickenes in man or woman, the whiche maye be frome the crowne of the head to the sole of the fote, but you shall fynde it in this booke,—as well the syckenesse the which doth parteyne to

1 profit, good.
Chirurgy as to phisicke,—and what the sicknesses is, and howe it doth come, and medecyves for the selfe same. And for as much as every man now a dayes is desyrous to rede briefe and compendious matters, I, therefore, in this matter pretende to satisfye mens myndes as much as I can, namynge this booke accordyng to the matter, which is, ‘The Breuiary of health:’ and where that I am very briefe in shewynge briefe medecines for one sicknes, I do it for two causes: The fyrst cause is, that the Archane science of physycke shulde not be to manifest and open, for then the Eximyous science shulde fall into greate detrimente, and doctours the whiche hath studied the facultie shulde not be regarded so well as they are. Secondly, if I shulde wryte all my mynde, every bongler wolde practyre phisycke vpon my booke; wherfore I do omyt and leue out many thynges, relynquyshynge that I haue omytted, to doctours of hygh iudgement, of whom I shalbe shent for parte of these thynges that I haue wrytten in this booke: howe be it, in this matter I do sette God before mine eyes, and charitic, consyderynge that I do wryte this boke for a common welth, as god knoweth my pretence, not onely in making this boke, but al other bookes that I haue made, that I dyd neuer boke for no reward neyther of Lorde, nor of Prynter, nor of no man lyuing, nor I had neuer no reward, nor I wyl neuer haue none as longe as I do lyne, God helpynge me, whose perpetuall and fatherly bessynge lyght on vs all. Amen.”

In his Preface to “The Seconde Boke of the Breuiary of Health, named the Extravagantes,” as in its colophon, Boorde re-states his chief motive for writing the book:

“I do nat wryte these bookes for lerned men, but for symple and vnlerned men, that they may have some knowledge to ease them selfe in their dyseyses and infirmites. And bycause that I dyd omyt and leue out many thynges in the fyyrste boke named the Breuiary of Health,—In this boke named ‘the Extravagantes’ I haue supplied those matters the whiche shulde be rehearsed in the fyyrste boke.”

The Breuiary was intended by Boorde as a kind of companion to his Dyetary; for when treating ‘of the inflacion of the eyes’ and his remedies for it, he says:

“Aboue all other thynges, lette every man beware of the premisses rehearsed, in the tyme whan the pestilence, or the sweatyng syckeneses, or feuers, or agues, doth regne in a countrie. For these syckenesses be infectiouse, and one man may infecte an other, as it dothe appere in the Chapiters named Scabies, morbus Ballicus. And specially in the dyetary of health. wherfore I wolde that every man hauynge

1 Thus endeth these bookes, to the honour of the father, and the sonne, and the holy ghost, to the profyte of all poore men and women. &c. Amen.
this boke, shulde haue the sayd dyetary of health with this boke, consideryng that the one booke is concurrant with the other."

Again, in his Dyetary, Boorde refers also frequently to the Breuyary,¹ and says, in his Dedication to the Duke of Norfolk:

"And where that I do speake in this boke but of dietes, and other thynges concernyng the same, If any man therfore wolde haue remedy for any syckenes or diseases, let hym loke in a boke of my makynge named the Breuyare of helth."

The two books were, as Boorde says, concurrent in subject (l. 2, above), and probably also in date of writing, if not publication.

The Breuyary is an alphabetical list of diseases, by their Latin names, with their remedies, and the way of treating them. Other subjects are introduced, as Mulier, a woman—for which, see the extract p. 68, below,—Naves, nosethrilles, &c. Except for the many interesting passages and touches showing Boorde's character and opinions, the Breuyary is a book for a Medical Antiquarian Society, rather than ourselves, to reprint.

6. The Pryncyples of Astronamye. The second companion to the Breuyary—the Dyetary being the first—is the Astronamye, of which the title and an extract are printed above, p. 16. It is too astrological for us to reprint, though one or two chapters are generally interesting.

The following is its Table of contents:

¶ The Capytles of contentes²

of thys boock folowth.

The fyrst Capytle doth shew the names of the xii. synes and of the vii. planetes. And what the zodiack, and how many minutes a degre doth containe.

¶ The seconde Capytle doth shew what sygnes be mouable, and what sygnes be not mouable, and which be commone, and which be masculyn signes, and which be femynyne, and of the tryplycyte of them.

¶ The .iii. capytle dothe shewe in what members or places in man ye sygnes hath theyr domynion, and how no man owt to be let

¹ "The Breviarie of health" was licensed to Tho. Easte on March 12, 1581-2. (Collier's Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company, ii. 161.)

² orig. contences.
§ 6, 7.] FOREWORDS. BOORDE'S ASTRONAMYE. HIS PEREGRINATION. 23

blod whan the moone is in ye sygne wher the sygne hath domynyon; and also what operacion the sygnes be of whan ye moone is in ther

The .iii[i]. capytle doth shew of the fortitudes of the planetes, and what influence they doth gene to vs.

The .v. Capytle doth shew the natural dyspocycyon of the mone whan she is in any of the .xii. sygnes.

The .vi. capytle doth shew of ye nature of al ye .xii. sygnes, And what influence thei hath in man, And what fortitudes ye planetes hath in ye signes, with the names of the Aspects.

The .vii. capytle doth shew ye natural dysposycions of the planetes, And what operacyon they hath in mans body.

The .viii. Capytle doth shew of the .v Aspectus, and of theyr operacyon

The ix capytle doth shew of ye mutacion of ye Ayer whan any rayne, wind, wedder, froste, and cold, shold be by the course of ye sygnes and planetes.

The x. capytle doth shew ye pedyciall of the aspectus of the mone and other planetes, and what dayes be good, and what dayes be not. &c.

The xi capytle doth shew of fleubothomys or lettyng of blod.

The xii capytle doth shew how, whan, & what tyme, a phisicsholde minister medycynes

The xiii. Capytle doth shew of sowing of seedes, & plantynge of trees, and setyng of herbe.

Thus endyth the table.

As I have said before (p. 15, 17), I believe the Astronamye to have been published with the Brenyary in 1547.

§ 7. The Peregrination. The Itinerary of England, or 'The Peregrination of Doctor Boarde,' which is the title in Hearne, may perhaps be taken as part of his lost Itinerary of Europe, and was printed by Hearne in 1735, in his Benedictus Abbas Petroburgensis, de Vita et Gestis Henrici III et Ricardī I, &c., vol. ii. p. 764—804. It is a list of

Castelles in England [& Wales], p. 771-775 (168 of them; whereof 7 were new, and 5 newly repaired).
In England be 24 suffragane bishops, p. 775.
Iles adjacent to England, p. 775-6.
Downes, mountaynes, hilles (including 'Boord's Hill, the authours birthplace'), dayles, playnes, & valleys of England, p. 777-782.

orig. dayer. orig. fleubothomy. orig. bold.
Forestes and parkes in England, p. 789-797.
The high wayes of England, from London to Colchester, & Or-
ford, p. 797-9.
The compasse of England round about by the townes on the sea
coste, p. 800-4."

§ 8. The Itinerary of Europe. This, though lost to us now, may
yet, I hope, turn up some day among some hidden collection of
Secretary Cromwell's papers. Boorde gives the following account
of it in the Seventh chapter of his Introduction, p. 145, below:

"for my tranellyng in, thorow, and round about Europ, whiche
is all chrystendom, I dyd wryte a booke of euerie region, countre,
and pronynce, shewyng the myles, the leeges, and the dystaunce
from cytie to cytie, and from towne to towne; And the cyties &
townes names, wyth notable thynges within the precynte [of], or
about, the sayd cytyes or townes, wyth many other thynges longe
to reherse at this tyme, the whiche boke at Byshops-Waltam—viii.
myle from Wynchester in Hampshyre,—one Thomas Cromwell had
it of me. And bycause he had many matters of [state] to dyspache
for al England, my boke was loste, the which myght at this presente
tyme haue holpen me, and set me forward in this matter." (See p. 33.)

§ 9. A Boke of Sermons. This is not known to us, except by
Boorde's own mention of it in The Extravagantes, Fol. vi. (See p. 78.)

"shortly to conclude, I dyd neuer se no vertue nor goodnes in
Rome but in Byshop Adrians days, which wold have reformed
dyuers enormities, & for his good wyl & pretence he was poysioned
within .iii. quarters of a yere after he did come to Rome, as this
mater, with many other matters mo, be expressed in a boke of my
sermons."

This book one would at first assume to have been written before
1529-30, when Boorde was first 'dispensed of religion' in Prior Bat-
manson's days—as he says in his 5th Letter, p. 58 below,—especially
as Pope Adrian VI died Sept. 24, 1523; but as we have no evidence
that Boorde went abroad before 1529-30, and then to school to study
medicine, we shall be safer in putting the probable date of the Ser-
mons at between 1530 and 1534, when Boorde finally gave up his
'religion' or monkery; though it may have been later, as he was both
monk and priest, and signed himself 'prest' in 1537. The loss of the
book is assuredly a great one to us—one of the many losses for
which that blind old noodle Time is to blame,—as we may be sure that the Sermons of a man like Boorde would have pictured his time for us better than almost any book we have.

§ 10. A Pronostycacyon for the yere 1545. Among Bagford’s collection of Almanack-titles in the Harleian MS 5937, I have been lucky enough to notice the title-page of a hitherto uncatalogued work of Andrew Boorde’s, which is, I suppose, unique:

“A Pronosty/-cacyon or an Almanacke for / the yere of our lorde .M. CCCC. / xlv. made by Andrewe Boorde / of Physycke doctor an En-/glyshe man of the vni-versite of Ox-/forde.” Over a rose-shaped cut with a castle in the centre, used in the titleless edition of the Shepherd’s Calendar in the British Museum, formerly entered as (?) Pynson’s, but which, I am persuaded, is W. Coplande’s.

On the back is “The Prologe to the reder.

I Were nat wyse, but insipient, if I shulde enterpryse to wryte or to make any boke of prophesy, or els to pronostycale any mater of the occulte iugement of god, or to defyne or determyne any supernatural mater aboue reson, or to presume to medle with the bountyfull goodnes of god, who doth dispose every thing graciously. All such occulte and secrete maters, for any man to medle with-all, it is prohibited both by goddes lawe & the lawe of kyng Henry the eyght¹. But for as muche as the excellent scyence of Astronomy is amytted dayly to be studyed & exercysed in al vniuersities, & so approv’d to be yᵉ chiefe scyence amonge all the other lyberal sciences, lyke to the son, the which is in the medle of the other planetes illumynatyngye as wel the insferyal planetes as yᵉ superyal planetes, So in lyke maner Astronomy doth illyucydat all the other lyberal sciences, indusing them to celestyall & terrestyall knowlege. D[o]the nat the planetes, sygnes, and other st[ers i]nude vs to the knowlege of a c[reator of] them, doth nat yᵉ Mone gyne moyster to the².

Coupling this with the fact already noticed, p. 16, l. 16, above, that Boorde in this Astronamy ye refers to Robert Coplande who prints ‘thes yere my pronostyceayons,’ we must either conclude (as I do myself) that Boorde, like the Laets of Antwerp—grandfather, father, and son³—issued Prognostications yearly for some time, or that, if he

¹ Stat. 33, Hen. VIII, cap. 8, a.d. 1541-2. See Queene Elizabethes Acha-
demy, notes.
² ‘to the’ are the catchwords.
³ See my Captain Cox, or Lancham’s Letter, for the Ballad Society, 1870.
only issued one, the date of his Astronamy is 1545, and not 1547, as I before supposed.

§ 11. A Treatise upon Berdes. All that we know of this book is got from the third tract in the present volume, called on its title-page, "The treatise answerynge the boke of Berdes," and on its last page "Barnes in the defence of the Berde." The writer first speaks of Boorde's spoken answer to those who "desyred to knowe his fansye concernyghe the werynge of Berdes" (p. 307), then says that Boorde "was anymatyed to wryte his boke to thende that great men may laugh thereat," as if he referred to the end of Boorde's Dedication of his Dyetary to the Duke of Norfolk (p. 225 below), and lastly heads his answer to Boorde "Here foloweth a treatise, made, answerynge the treatise of doctor Borde upon Berdes" (p. 308). This makes it impossible to doubt the existence of such a book by Boorde; and the different charges which the writer (Barnes, whoever he may be) in his subsequent verses quotes from Boorde against the wearing of beards¹ are hardly consistent with a mere report of Boorde's sayings. Further, Wilson's allusion in 1553 to one who should 'dispraise beardes or commende shauen hiddles' (p. 307, note), probably points to this lost tract of Boorde's on Beards, as another passage of Wilson's does to Boorde's Dyetary, and Introduction, note on pages 116, 117, below. The reader can see for himself, in Barnes's lame verses, what arguments Boorde used against beards. Of Barnes's answers I can't always see the point; but that Boorde was a noodle for condemning beards, and advocating shaving, I am sure. Shaving is one of the bits of foolery that this age is now getting out of; but any one who, as a young man, left off the absurdity some three years before his neighbours, as I did, will recollect the delightfully cool way in which he was set down as a coxcomb and a fool, for following his own sense instead of other persons' reasonless customs.

§ 12. Almanac and Prognostication. In the British Museum (Case 18. e. 2, leaves 51, 52) are two bits of two leaves, belonging to

¹ Yet contrast Boorde's saying in his Brewary, "The face may haue many impedimentes. The fyrist impedymet is to se a man hauyng no berde, and a woman to haue a berde." p. 95, below.
§ 12, 13.] FOREWORDS. ARE THE GOTHAM MERE TALES BY BOORDE? 27
two separate Almanacs or Prognostications. The first bit is for the
months of September, October, November, and December M. LLLLLL.
and xxxvii[. . .], 1 signed at the foot . . . . . . “e: Doctor of physik.”
This e is supposed to be the last letter of Boorde. The second bit is
of a Prognostication, with a date which is supposed to be 1540,
“made by Maister” [no more in that line 2] . . . . . . . . . . . . “cian and
Preste.” Put “Andrew Boorde physi” in the bit torn off the
left edge, and you have one of the Pronosticacions which Robert
Coplande in his day may have printed for our author (p. 16,
above).

§ 13. Jest-books. I. Mere Tales. We come now to those books
that tradition only assigns to Boorde: The Mere Tales of the Mad
Men of Gotham, and Scogin’s Jests. Though the earliest authority
known to us for the former is above 80 years after Boorde’s death,
namely, the earliest edition of the book now accessible, that of 1630
in the Bodleian: “gathered together by A.B., of Physick, doctour:”
yet Warton says: “There is an edition in duodecimo by Henry
Wikes, without date, but about 1568, entitled Mere Tales of the
madmen of Gotham, gathered together by A.B. of physieke doctour,”
Hist. Engl. Poetry, iii. 74, note f. ed. 1840; however, Warton had
never seen it. Mr Halliwell, in his Notices of Popular English His-
tories, 1848, quotes an earlier edition still, by Colwell, who printed
the 1562 edition of Boorde’s Dyetary, “Merie Tales of the Mad
Men of Gotham, gathered together by A.B. of Phisike Doctour.
[Colophon] Imprinted at London in Flet-Stret, beneath the Conduit,
at the signe of S. John Evangelist, by Thomas Colwell. n. d. 12;:
black letter.” Mr Hazlitt puts Colwell’s edition before Wikes’s, and
quotes another edition of 1613 from the Harleian Catalogue. 3

In a book of 1572, “the foole of Gotham” is mentioned as a
book: see p. 30, below. Mr Horsfield, the historian of Lewes,

1 Boorde was in Scotland in 1536, in Cambridge in 1537; see p. 59-62 below.
2 The blank looks to me like an intentional one, so that a different name
might be inserted in each district the Prognostication was issued in.
3 The chapbook copy in Mr Corser’s 5th sale, of The Merry Tales of the
Wise Men of Gotham (over a cut of the hedging-in of the cuckoo—a country-
man crying ‘Coocou,’ and a cuckoo crying ‘Gotam,’ both in a circular
paling—), Printed and Sold in Aldernary Church Yard, Bow Lane, London,
contains 20 Tales, and six woodcuts.
affects to find the cause of these tales in a meeting of certain Commissioners appointed by Henry VIII.

"At a last holden at Westham, October 3rd, 24 Henry VIII, for the purpose of preventing unauthorized persons 'from setting nettes, pottes, or innyances,' or any wise taking fish within the privileges of the marsh of Pevensey, the king's commission was directed to John, prior of Lewes; Richard, abbot of Becham; John, prior of Mychillym; Thomas, Lord Dacre; and others.

"Dr Borde (the original Merry Andrew) founds his Tales of the Wise Men of Gotham upon the proceedings of this meeting—Gotham² being the property of Lord Dacre, and near his residence [at Herstmonceux Castle.]—Horsfield's History of Lewes, vol. i, p. 239, note; no authority cited:"—quoted by M. A. Lower, in Sussex Arch. Coll. vi. 207.

Anthony a Wood in his Athene Oxonienses, of which the first edition was published in 1691-2, over 140 years after Boorde's death, says at p. 172, vol. i., ed. Bliss, that Boorde wrote the Merie Tales:

"The merry Tales of the mad Men of Gotham. Printed at London in the time of K. Hen. 8; in whose reign and after, it was accounted a book full of wit and mirth by scholars and gentlemen. Afterwards, being often printed, is now sold only on the stalls of ballad singers. (An edition printed in 12mo. Lond. 1630, in the Bodleian, Svo. L. 79. Art. 'Gathered together by A. B. of physicke doctor."

Those who contend for Boorde's authorship of this book are obliged to admit that the greater part of its allusions do not suit the Gotham in Sussex,³ but do suit the Gotham in Nottinghamshire, except in three cases, where a Mayor, nearness to the sea, and putting

1 "Last, in the marshes of Kent [and Sussex] is a court held by the twenty-four jurats, and summoned by the bailiff; wherein orders are made to lay and levy taxes, impose penalties, &c., for the preservation of the said marshes." Jacob's Law Dict.—Lower, ib.

2 Gotham still possesses manorial rights. Gotham marsh is a well-known spot in the parish of Westham, adjacent to Pevensey; but the Manor-house lies near Magham Down in the parish of Hailsham.—Lower, ib.

3 The manor of Gotham is the property of Lord Dacre, and near his residence, Herstmonceux Castle. The manor-house lies near Magham Down, in the parish of Hailsham.—Sussex Arch. Coll. vi. 206-7.

Lower. Sussex Arch. Coll. vi. 208. "In the edition of Mr Halliwell (which exhibits satisfactory evidence of some interpolating hand having introduced local names and circumstances, for the purpose of accommodating the anecdotes to the Nottinghamshire village) there are several jests which are still current as belonging to Sussex."
an eel in a pond to drown him, are alluded to; but they argue that all the Nottinghamshire allusions have been introduced into the book since Boorde wrote it, and John Taylor the Water-Poet alluded to it. One may start with the intention to make the book Boorde's, and make it fit Sussex, by hook or by crook, or, from reading the book, turn cranky oneself, and write mad nonsense about it. There is no good external evidence that the book was written by Boorde, while the internal evidence is against his authorship.

The earliest collection known to us, of stories ridiculing the stupidity of the natives of any English county, is in Latin, probably of the 12th century, and relates to Norfolk. It was printed by Mr Thomas Wright in his *Early Mysteries and other Latin Poems of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, 1838, p. 93-8, from 2 MSS of the 13th and 15th centuries in Trinity College Cambridge. In his Preface, Mr T. Wright says of this satire:

"The *Descriptio Norfolciensium* is said, in the answer by John of St Omer (p. 99-106), to have been written by a monk of Peterborough, and is, in all probability, a composition of the latter part of the twelfth century. It is exceedingly curious, as being the earliest known specimen of a collection of what we now call *Men-of-* Gotham stories; in Germany attributed to the inhabitants of Schildburg, but here, in the twelfth century, laid to the account of the people of Norfolk. The date of the German Schildburger story is the sixteenth century; the wise men of Gotham are not, I think, alluded to before the same century. Why the people of Norfolk had at this early period obtained the character of simpletons, it is impossible to say; but the stories which compose the poem were popular jests, that from time to time appearing under different forms, lived until many of them became established Joe Millers or Irish Bulls. The horseman (p. 95, l. 122-4) who carries his sack of corn on his own shoulders to save the back of his horse, is but another version of the Irish exciseman, who, when carried over a bog on his companion's shoulders, hoisted his cask of brandy on his own shoulders, that his porter's burden might be lessened. The story of the honey which was carried to market after having been eaten by the dog (p. 99-7, l. 147-172) re-appears in a jest-book of the seventeenth century."


2 "For further information on this subject see an admirable paper on the Early German Comic Romances, by my friend Mr Thoms, in the 40th number of the Foreign Quarterly Review."—T. Wright.

The story of the sack of corn and the horse which Mr T. Wright instances from the 13th century, is, in fact, the Second Tale in the Gotham collection attributed to Boorde:

There was a man of Gottam did ride to the market with two bushells of wheate; and because his horse should not beare heauy, he carried his corne vpon his owne necke, & did ride vpon his horse, because his horse should not carry to heauy a burthen. Judge you which was the wisest, his horse or himselfe.

The Gothamites too were known before The Merie Tales, and if we may trust Mr Collier, the subject was open to any one. Mr J. P. Collier says:

"'The foles of Gotham' must have been celebrated long before Borde made them more ridiculous, for we find them laughed at in the Widkirk Miracle-plays, the only existing MS. of which was written about the reign of Henry VI. The mention of 'the wise men of Gotum' in the MS. play of 'Misogonus' was later than the time of the collector, or author, of the tales as they have come down to us, because that comedy must have been written about 1560: the MS. copy of it, however, bears the date of 1577. In 'A Briefe and necessary Instruction,' &c. by E. D., Svo. 1572, we find the 'fools of Gotham' in the following curious and amusing company:—'Bevis of Hampton, Guy of Warwicke, Arthur of the round table, Hnou of Bourdeaux, Oliver of the castle, the foure Sonnes of Amond, the witles devices of Gargantua, Howleglas Esop, Robyn Hoode, Adam Bell, Frier Rushe, the Fooles of Gotham, and a thousand such other.' Among the 'such other,' are mentioned 'tales of Robyn Goodfellow,' 'Songes and Sonets,' 'Pallaces of Pleasure,' 'un chast fables and Tragedies, and such like Sorceries,' 'The Courte of Venus,' 'The Castle of Love.'—This is nearly as singular and interesting an enumeration as that of Capt. Cox's library in Laneham's Letter from Kenilworth, printed three years later, although the former has never been noticed on account of the rarity of E. D.'s [possibly Sir Edward Dyer's] strange little volume.—William Kempe's 'applauded merriments,' of the men of Gotham, in the remarkable old comedy 'A Knack to know a Knave,' 1594, consists only of one scene of vulgar blundering; but it was so popular as to be pointed out on the title-page in large type, as one of the great recommendations of the drama."—Collier's Bibliographical Account, vol. i. p. 327.

I can see nothing in the Merie Tales that is like Boorde's hand; and if Colwell printed the book after Boorde's death, why shouldn't he have put Boorde's name on its title-page, as he did on the title-page of Boorde's Dyetary that he printed? So too with Wikes.

Colwell *Recevyd* of Thomas colwell, for his lycense for pryntinge of the gyestes of skoggan, gathered together in this volume iiiij'd. *MS Register A, leaf 134*; (Collier's *Stat. Reg.* i. 120.)

The 'gathered together in this volume' looks as if this were the first collected edition of some old jests known in print or talk before. Anthony a Wood did not believe that Andrew Boorde ever had anything to do with this book. A modern follower of his might argue: "The way in which these attributions are got up, is well illustrated by a passage in Mr W. C. Hazlitt's *Early Popular Poetry*, vol. iii, p. 99:

'It is not unlikely that, besides the *Merie Tales of the Mad Men of Gotam*, and *Scogin's Jests*, Borde was the real compiler of the *Merie Tales of Skelton*, of which there was surely an impression anterior to Colwell's in 1567.'

"Boorde recommends mirth in his books, says he has put jokes into one to amuse his patron, *therefore* he wrote all the jest-books issued during his life, and *à fortiori* those printed twenty years after his death.' Surely the more reasonable line to take is, 'In all his authentie books, Andrew Boorde declares himself, and otherwise enables us to identify him. In all, he writes about himself and his own work. If in any other books nothing of this kind is present, the odds are that Boorde did not write them. *Merie Tales* were put down to Skelton that he never wrote; may not those and the *Jests* put down to Boorde be in like case?" A supporter of the authenticity of *Scogin's Jests* might answer, "I grant all this, and yet contend, 1. that the *Jests* do show evidence of being written by
a Doctor, and, 2. that that Doctor is Boorde. In proof of 1. note how many of the Jests turn on doctors and medicine; in proof of 2. note how many are concerned with Oxford life, which we assume Boorde to have passed through. Also read the Prologue to the Jests:

'There is nothing beside the goodness of God, that preserves health so much as honest mirth used at dinner and supper, and mirth towards bed, as it doth plainly appear in the Directions for Health: therefore considering this matter, that mirth is so necessary for man, I published this Book, named The Jests of Scogin, to make men merry: for amongst divers other Books of grave matters I have made, my delight had been to recreate my mind in making something merry, wherefore I do advertice every man in avoiding pensive-ness, or too much study or melancholy, to be merry with honesty in God, and for God, whom I humbly beseech to send us the mirth of Heaven, Amen.'

and then compare it with the extracts from Boorde's Brewyary on Mirth and honest Company, p. 88-9, below; lastly, compare the first Jest with Boorde's chapters on Urines in his Extravagantes, and remark the striking coincidence between the Jest's physician saying, 'Ah... a water or urine is but a strumpet; a man may be deceived in a water,' and Boorde's declaring that urine 'is a strumpet or an harlot, for it wyl lye; and the best doctour of Phisicke of them all maye be deceyued in an vryne' (Extrav. fol. xxi. back: see extract, page 34). If Boorde did not write the book, the man who fathered it on him made at least one designed coincidence look like an undesigned one." Still, I doubt the book being Boorde's. If it had been attributed to him in Laneham's time (1575), I should think that merry man would have told us that Captain Cox's "Skogan" was by "doctor Boord" as well as the "breuiairy of health." (Captain Cox, or Laneham's Letter, p. 30, ed. F. J. F., 1870.)

§ 15. The Mylner of Abynngton. "Here is a mery Iest of the Mylner of Abynngton with his Wyfe and his Doughter, and the two poore scholers of Cambridge" [London, imprinted by Wynkyn de Worde] 4to, black letter.¹ Anthony a Wood says that a T. Newton of Chester wrote Boorde's name in a copy of this book as the author of it:

¹ Hazlitt's Early Popular Poetry, iii. 98.
"A right pleasant and merry History of the Mylner of Abington, with his Wife, and his fair Daughter, and of two poor Scholars of Cambridge. Pr. at Lond. by Rich. Jones in quarto]. And. Borde's name is not to it, but the copy of the book which I saw did belong to Tho. Newton of Cheshire, [Bodl. 4to. C. 39. Art. Sedl.] whom I shall hereafter mention, and by him 'tis written in the title that Dr. Borde was the author. He hath also written a Book of Prognosticks, another Of Urines, and a third Of every Region, Country and Province, which shews the M Bridges, Leeges, distance from City to City, and from Town to Town, with the noted Things in the said Cities and Towns."—Wood's Athen. Oxon. i. 172.

This tale of The Mylner of Abington has been reprinted lately by Mr Thomas Wright in his Anecdota Literaria, p. 105-116, and by Mr Hazlitt in his Early Popular Poetry, iii. 100-118. It is a story like Chaucer's Reeves Tale, about the swining of the Miller's wife and daughter by two Cambridge students, in revenge for his stealing their flour, and letting their horse loose. If any one will read Andrew Boorde's poetry, that is, doggrel, in his Introduction of Knowledge, and then turn to the Mylner, he will not need any further evidence to convince him that Boorde did not write the latter Tale.

§ 16. Other Works. The authority on which Wood assigns to Boorde his Books of Prognosticks and Urines, is doubtless that on which Warton (iii. 77, ed. 1840) also assigns to him the Promptuarie of Medicine and the Doctrine of Urines, namely, Bishop Bale, who in the 2nd edition of his Scriptores says:


Neither of the other books do I know by Bale's titles, though I suppose the Promptuarium to be Boorde's Brewary. Of one of the Prognostica a leaf is printed above, § 10, p. 25. I should doubt Boorde's having written a separate treatise on Urine, as he has given more than six leaves to it in his Extraugantes, Fol. xx-xxvi back, and had but a bad opinion of it:

1 See above, p. 23-24.  
2 Not Milleres Tale, Mr Hazlitt.  
Boorde.
"I do say that an vryne is a strumpet, or an harlot, for it wyl lye; and the best doctour of Phisieke of them all maye be deceyued in an vryne, and his cunningyng and learning not a iote the worse. I had rather to se the egestyon of a sycke person, then the vryne: bothe be good to loke on, as it doth appere in the Chapitre named Egestio in the fyrst bok named the Brouiary of health, &c."

§ 17. A Latin Poem: "Nos Vagabunduli." This was found in a book by Dr E. F. Rimbault, with Boorde's name to it, was printed by the Doctor in Notes and Queries, vol. v. p. 482-3, and reprinted by Mr M. A. Lower in his Worthies of Sussex, p. 34-5, with an English translation. Both Latin and English follow here, though it is clear to me that the poem is entirely alien to Boorde's known opinions on religion, and to his way of reproving vices in men professedly religious, even though he, as a monk and priest, may have hated friars as much as the rest of the regular clergy and monks did. The latter found the friars a 'hindrance,' like Bp Wilberforce's high-church clergy find the modern Dissenters; but I doubt Boorde's chaffing his 'hindrance' in this style:

**Latin Poem attributed to Andrew Boorde.**

``Nos vagabunduli,
  Laeti, jucundului,
    Tara, tantara teino
  Edimus libere,
  Canimus lepide,
    Tara, &c.
  Risu dissolvimur,
  Pannis obvolvimur,
    Tara, &c.
Multum in joculis,
  Crebro in poculis,
    Tara, &c.
Dolo consiliumus,
Nihil metuimus,
    Tara, &c.
Pennus non deficit,
Preda nos reficit,
    Tara, &c.
Frater Catholice,
Vir apostolice,
    Tara, &c.
``

**Mr M. A. Lower's English paraphrase.**

``We're of wandering friars a pair,
  And jolly ones we truly are,
    Down, derry down!
Freely we eat anything,
  And right merrily we sing,
    Down, &c.
With laughter oft our sides do crack,
  And we've good cloth upon our back,
    Down, &c.
Much we deal in merry quips,
  And full frequent are our sips,
    Down, &c.
We are up to many a trick,
  And at nothing do we stick,
    Down, &c.
Our pouch is all unfailing still,
  We pick up booty when we will,
    Down, &c.
Now, most holy catholic brother,
  Man apostolic (I'm another),
    Down, &c.``
Die quæ volueris,
Fient quæ jusseres,
Tara, &c.
Omnes metuite
Partes grammaticæ,
Tara, &c.
Quadruplex nebulo
Adest, et spolio,
Tara, &c.
Data licencia,
Crescit amentia,
Tara, &c.
Papa sic præcipit,
Frater non decipit.
Tara, &c.
Charæ fraterculæ,
Vale et tempore,
Tara, &c.
Quando revititur,
Congratulabimur,
Tara, &c.
Nosmet respicimus,
Et vale dicimus,
Tara, &c.
Corporum noxibus,
Cordium amplexisbus
Tara tantara teino."


—M. A. Lower's Worthies of Sussex, pp. 34, 39.

Having thus run through the works written by Boorde, or attributed to him, I pass on to Part II, Boorde's Life, noting only, that of his Works I have here reprinted the two that seem to me the most likely to interest the general student of Tudor days—the Introduction and Dyetary; that I have added Barnes in Defence of the Berde on account of its connection with Boorde, its giving the substance of his lost Treatise on Beards, and its being unique, though it wants a leaf; and that I have extracted most of the chapters and bits of Boorde's Breuëry (and its second Part, the Extrauľga-gantes) that contain his opinions on the England and Rome of his day, and things in general, besides showing his medical practice. That they'll amuse and interest the reader with a turn for such things, I can promise.
PART II. BOORDE'S LIFE.

[§ 18.

Of Boorde's *Introduction*, Dibdin rightly says, "This is probably the most curious and generally interesting volume ever put forth from the press of the Coplands." *Dibdin's Ames*, 1816, iii. 160. It is the original of Murray's and all other English Handbooks of Europe.

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PART II. LIFE OF ANDREW BOORDE.

§ 18. For a sketch of Andrew Boorde's life and opinions we have little else than the materials he himself has left us in his Letters and Will, and in the pleasant little outbreaks he makes in unexpected places in his books. But as there has been a good deal of talk and gammon mixt up with the facts of his life, it may be as well at the outset to give a dry list of these facts, with the authority for each, and the page in which such authority will be found in the present volume. I must, however, warn the reader that I don't feel sure of my arrangement of Boorde's letters being the right one. It is only the best that I can make.

FACTS OF ANDREW BOORDE'S LIFE.

Under age, admitted a Carthusian monk (Letter IV, p. 57).
1517 Accused of being conversant with women (Letter VII, p. 62).
1521 Dispensed from Religion by the Pope's Bull, that he might be Suffragan Bp. of Chichester, though he never acted as such (Letter V, p. 58).
1529 Is dispensed of Religion in Batmanson's days, by the *Grande Chartreux* (Letter V, p. 58).
Goes over sea to school (p. 58), that is, to study medicine (*Dyetary*, p. 226).
1530 Returns to England, and attends the Duke of Norfolk (Dyte-
tary, p. 225).

1532 Goes abroad again to study (Dyteary, p. 226); getting a fresh
license from Prior Howghton, after 16 Nov., 1531 (p. 47-8)
Returns to the London Charter-House.

Lost book of Sermons written (Breuyary, p. 24).

1534 June 6. Takes the oaths to Henry VIII's supremacy (Rymer,
Is in prison, in thraldom, ghostly and bodily, in the Charter-
House (p. 52). Writes from there to Prior Howghton, who
is confined in the Tower of London (Letter VI, p. 59).
Is set free by Cromwell (Letter VI, p. 59), whom he probably
now visits at Bishop's Waltham in Hampshire (Letter VI,
p. 59), and goes abroad a third time.

1535 In Catalonia, when Charles V took shipping to Barbary (Let-
ter III, p. 56).
June 20. Letter II, from Bordeaux (p. 53).
After July 2. Boorde sick; can't get home (Letter III,
p. 55).
Aug. 2. Letter IV, from the Grande Chartreux. Boorde, hav-
ing renewed his License, declares himself clearly discharged
from Religion or Monkery (p. 57).
Writes Cromwell a lost letter from London (p. 58).

1536 Letter V to Cromwell, before 1 April (p. 58).
April 1, Letter VI, at Leith. Is practising and studying at
Glasgow (p. 59).
Returns to London thro' Yorkshire (Breuyary, p. 61). Has
2 horses stolen. Sees Cromwell (p. 62).

Goes abroad the 4th time.

1542 In Montpelier. Gets drunk (Barnes, p. 309). Writes Dyte-
tary, Breuyary, and Introduction (p. 14).
Returns to England, lives in London, denounces beards, and
(?) writes a Treatyse vpon Berdes (Barnes, p. 307-8). Barnes
answers him (p. 305-316).
1547 Lives in Winchester, acquires property there and elsewhere.
   " Was late a tenant of a house in St Giles's, London (p. 64).
   " Breugary, Dyetary II, (I) Astronamyce (written in 4 days), and
   " Is accused of keeping 3 whores at Winchester (Bp. Ponet, p. 66).
   Is imprisoned in the Fleet (p. 70).
1549 April 25, makes his Will in the Fleet, devising houses, &c., in
   Lynne, Pevensey, and in and about Winchester, besides
   chattels (p. 73).

§ 19. Expanding our List, we note first that Boorde, in his
Peregrination,—printed by Hearne in the 2nd vol. of Benedictus
Abbas Petroburgensis de Vita et Gestis Hen. III et Ric. I, &c. (1735,
8vo)—tells us in an entry under Sussex, at p. 777, where he was
born: "Boords hill, the authours birth place, in Holms dayle."

Now Board Hill in Sussex is, and has long been, a well-known
place as the residence of the Boordes. It is a small Elizabethan
mansion, lately enlarged by its present owners, Major Macadam and
his wife (formerly Miss Preston) and her mother, Mrs Preston. It
is very pleasantly situated on one of those charming hills in the
Wealden formation, with the ground falling away on three sides of
it into a basin-like valley, and bounded by rising land in the dis-
tance. On my way back to town, the day after our most successful
Volunteer Review last Easter Monday, I walked two miles north by
west of Hayward's Heath Station, through lanes whose banks were
all aglow with primroses, wood sorrel1, and mallows (as I suppose),
and was shown quickly over the house by Mrs Macadam. The
earliest date in the wainscoted rooms of the house itself is 1601, and
that is twice repeated, with the initials S. B., which must stand for
Stephen Boorde, who was knighted, the son of the Stephen Boorde
who heads Mr Lower's pedigree of the family in vol. vi of the Sussex
Archaeological Collections.2 An earlier date, however,—namely, 1569,

1 "Kiss me quicks" we call 'em, once said a man to me in Combe Hurst
near Croydon.
2 "Stephen Boord or Borde, whose name stands at the head of the pedi-
gree as of 'the Hill' in Cuckfield, is described in his will, dated 10th February,
1566, as 'of Lindfield.' He directs his body to be buried in the church of..."
—is shown on an old black piece of oak taken off a barn pulled down by Major Macadam; and I have no doubt that in a house at this place, Andrew Boorde was born. For though the valley round it is not now called Holmesdale—so far as Mrs Macadam and the vicar of Cuckfield (pronounced Cookfield) know—yet it may have been so in former days, as two little streams run eastward, north and south of Board Hill, and the A. Sax. holm means 1. water, 2. a river island, a green plot of ground environed with water (Bosworth). It is clear too that the Hill, and not the Dale, is the feature on which Andrew Boorde dwells. He might have found some hundreds of hills in England with as much right to be included in his list as his "Boord's hill;" but he was born there, and so he brings it in. I therefore reject Mr Lower's suggestion,

"As Borde-Hill is certainly not in a dale, the probability is that the place indicated is a house not far distant, still called Holmesdale, Lindfield, and gives to the repairs of that church and of Cokefelde, ten shillings each. He was interred in the south transept at Lindfield, where, on a marble slab, were formerly to be seen brasses representing himself, his wife, and their four sons and three daughters, with the following inscription:—

""Stephen Boorde and Pernell his wyfe resth here . . . . after the troubles of this world, in assured hope of the resurrection; which Stephen deceased xxij day of August, in y° year of our Lord MCCCCC lxvij, and the said Pernell deceased xviiij day of June in the ycare above engraven; whose souls we commend to Gods infinite mercy.'

"Of the children of the pair thus commemorated, George . . . . and Thomas became the progenitors of the two branches settled respectively at Board Hill and at Paxfield Park.

"At the time when the threatened Spanish invasion excited the patriotism and the liberality of our gentry, we find Thomas Boord of Paxhill and Stephen Boord of Board Hill (afterwards knighted) contributing the sum of thirty pounds each towards the defences of the country."—M. A. Lower in Suss. Arch. Collections, vol. vi. p. 33, 37.

"From that period the two branches of the family seem to have pursued the steady and comparatively undiversified career of country gentlemen, forming respectable alliances, and continuing the name by a rather numerous progeny, as will be seen by the following pedigree. The Board Hill branch I have been unable to deduce below the year 1720; but the Lindfield branch I have traced down to its extinction in the male line on the death of William Board, Esq., in 1790. From that gentleman, through his youngest daughter and coheiress, the Lindfield estate passed to the Crawfurds. The late William-Board-Edw.-Gibbs Crawfurd, Esq., who died in 1840, left two daughters and coheiresses, the elder of whom is married to Arthur W. W. Smith, Esq., now of Paxhill, the old family seat of this branch. Both the lines produced several younger sons; and the name is by no means extinct in other counties, though it seems totally so in this."—Sussex Archaeological Collections, pp. 200, 201, vol. vi. See a later note in Lower's Worthies of Sussex.
in later times a seat of the Michelbornes and Wilsons, and at present existing as a farm house."—Worthies of Sussex, p. 27,

and hold that, as Johnson defined Dale to be 'a low place between hills, a vale, a valley,' Boorde Hill may be fairly said to be in a dale, that is, to risc out of the low ground between it and the range of hills seen at a distance round it. It is on the south of Ashdown Forest, the remains of what was formerly called the Forest of Pevensel, which again was only part of the great forest of Anderida, that was 'coextensive, or nearly so, with the wealds in Sussex, Kent, and Surrey,' and in Bede's days 120 miles from east to west, and 30 miles from north to south.¹

When Andrew Boorde was born at Boord's Hill (or Board Hill), we do not know; but it must have been before 1490 A.D., as by 1521 he was old enough to have been appointed Suffragan Bishop of Chichester, and to have got the Pope's Bull dispensing him from filling the office (p. 44, below). But I am anticipating.

§ 20. Where Boorde was brought up, he probably tells us in The fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge, cap. 35,

"What countrey man art thou?" Cuius es.
"I was borne in England, and brought up at Oxford,"
Natus crum in Anglia, et educatus Oxoni[a] . . .
"What is thy name?" Cuius nominis es.
"My name is Andrew Borde."
Andreas Parforatus² est meum nomen.

Now though this is part of an imaginary conversation, yet Boorde describes himself in his Pronosticacion for 1545 as 'of the University of Oxford' (p. 25, above), and his name is given in Wood's Athenae, vol. i, p. 169, of Bliss's edition, as that of an Oxford man. Wood also—though he gives no authority for his statement, and I can find none in his Fasti³—states positively

¹ Ashdown Forest or Lancaster Great Park,' by the Rev. E. Turner, Sussex Arch. Collections, xiv. 35.
² Borde is also an early word for 'table,' and Boorde one for joke, play, jest.—See Babees Book, Index, &c.
³ Alexander Hay, in his History of Chichester, 1804, p. 506, says that Boorde "completed his education at New-College, in Oxford; where for several years, he applied very closely and successfully to the study of physic. [No doubt, gammon.] Leaving Oxford he is said to have travelled into every kingdom in Europe, and to have visited several places in Africa. At
that Boorde took his M.D. degree at Oxford. We may therefore fairly conclude, that he was brought up at Oxford, though we cannot be certain of the fact.

§ 21. If we could trust Mr Lower's judgment, which I do not think we can,¹ the next notice of Andrew Boorde—or perhaps a prior one—shows him to have been in 1510 A.D. a *nativus*, or villein *regardant*²—attached to the soil, and sellable with it,—of Lord Abergavenny's manor of Ditchling, in Suffolk, holding goods and chattels, therefore of age (I assume), though childless, and being the son of John Borde. This villein Andrew Borde, Lord Abergavenny manumits or frees, and quits claim of his goods, by the following charter, the last in Madox:

O.A. An Enfranchisement of a Villain Regardant.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, *Georgius Nevile Dominus de Bergevenny*,³ salutem in Domino. Noveritis me praefatum *Georgium manumisisse Andreae Borde filium Johannis Borde*, nativum meum, Manerio sive Dominio meo de Dychelyng⁴ in Comitatu *Sussex* spectantem; & eundem *Andream liberalum fecisse, & ab omni servitutis jugo, villinagio, & condicione servili liberum fecisse*; Ita videlicet, quod nec Ego praefatus Dominus de *Bergevenny* nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius pro nobis seu nomine nostro, alicquid Juris vel claimai in predictum *Andream*, nec in bonis aut catallis suis, ad quaseunque mundi partes divertent, exigere, clamare, vendicare, poterimus nec debeamus in futuro; sed ab Montpelier in France he took his degree of doctor of physic; and returning to England, was admitted at Oxford to the same honour in 1521." [No doubt, gammon too.]

¹ I speak with all respect for Mr Lower's great services to his county and to Literature; but in many points I cannot follow him.

² "The villein," says Coke, *on Littleton*, fol. 120 b, "is called *regardant* to the manour, because he had to do all base or villenos services within the same, and to gard and kepe the same from all filthie or loathsome things that might annoy it: and his service is not certaine, but he must have regard to that which is commanded unto him. And therefore he is called regardant, *a quo prestandum servitium incertum et indeterminatum, ubi seire non potuit respete quale servitium fieri debebat manum, viz. ubi quis facere teneat quicquid et proceptum fuerit* (Bract. li. 2, fo. 26, Mir. ca. 2, sect. 12) as before hath beene observed (vid sect. 84)." See my essay on "Bondman, the Name & the Class," in the Percy Folio Ballads and Romances, vol. ii. p. xxxiii—lxii.

³ He was the 5th Baron by writ; succeeded to the title in 1492, on the death of his father; and died in 1535.—*Nicolas’s Peerage*.

⁴ The manor of Ditchling extends over a considerable portion of the parish of Cuckfield. M. A. Lower, in *Sussex Arch. Coll*, vi. 199.

This, being engished, is,

"To all the faithful of Christ to whom this present writing shall come, George Neville, Lord of Bergevenny, [wishes] salvation in the Lord. Know ye that I, the aforesaid George, have manumitted Andrew Borde (son of John Borde) my villein regardant to my Manor or Lordship of Dychetynge in the county of Sussex; and have made free the same Andrew; and have made him free from all yoke of servdom, villenage, and servile condition; in such wise, to wit, that neither I the foresaid Lord of Bergevenny, nor my heirs, nor any other person for us, or in our name, may or shall hereafter require, claim, [or] challenge any right or claim to the foresaid Andrew nor to his goods or chattels, to whatsoever parts of the world they may turn; but that we shall be by these presents shut out for ever from all action of right and claim. In witness of which thing I have set my seal to this present writing. Dated on the 27th day of the month of June, in the 2nd year of the reign of King Henry the 8th. G. Bergevenny."

Now there is not an atom of evidence beyond the sameness of name and the nearness of place, to connect this manumitted villein Andrew Borde with our Andrew; and the reasons why I at first sight held, and still hold, that this villein is not our Andrew are, that our man himself tells us in his Letter II, p. 53 below, 'to Master Prior & the Couentt off the Charter-howse off London, & to all Priors & Couentes off the sayd Order in Ynglond' that he was 'receuyd amonges' them, as a Carthusian monk,—under age, contrary to their Statutes. Lord Abergavenny's charter implies that his Andrew Borde was of age, and did hold, and could hold, property. Our Andrew, if an infant, couldn't have had such a charter made to him,—an infant couldn't (and can't) hold property;—our Andrew, if of age, was a monk; and, being so, couldn't have needed manumission, for his admission as a monk must have freed his person. The only supposition, says Professor Stubbs,—who has kindly helpt me here,—on which the Charter could apply to our Andrew is, that he was 21, that he was going to profess himself a monk, and that he

1 The 2nd year of Henry VIII's reign was from 1510 to 1511.—Nicolas.
obtained the Charter for that purpose, as the Constitutions of Clarendon forbid any nativus or bondman being received as a monk without his lord's leave.

But our Andrew was not 21 before he became a monk; and he could not have taken in his lord about his age like he could the non-Sussex monks of the London Charter-house,—if indeed they wanted taking in.—Moreover, had he been a nativus in his youth, he would certainly have told the Prior and Convents this additional reason against his having been legally admitted into their order. We know that there were other Bordes in Sussex in our Andrew's time—as Dr Richard, and Stephen of the Hill, Cuckfield;—and we may safely conclude that in 1510 there was another Andrew Borde than ours, namely, he whom Lord Bergevenny freed. Sir T. Duffus Hardy and Prof. Brewer both agree that that Lord's charter did not relate to any Carthusian monk, or any infant in law.

We may notice in passing, that the Monks' habit of enticing lads under age to join their orders, is known from Richard de Bury's reproof to them in 1344: "You draw boys into your religion with hooks of apples, as the people commonly report, whom, having professed, you do not instruct in doctrines by compulsion and fear as their age requires, but maintain them to go upon beggingly excursions, and suffer them to consume the time in which they might learn, in catching at the favours of their friends, to the offence of their parents, the danger of the boys, and the detriment of the Order." (Translation of 1832, p. 40.)

1 Compare the Friars, in Prof. Brewer's *Monumenta Franciscana*, p. 574, quoting the Cotton MS, Faustina D iv. 'No man shall be received to the Order [of St Francis] but he have these things, that he be not a bonde man borne, if he be clerk, at the leste that he be goynge of xvi yere of age.'

2 And sith, bondecoune barnes: han he made bishopes, And barnes bastardes: han ben archidekenes.

(ab. 1380. *Vision of Piers Plowman*, Whitaker's Text, Passus Sextus.)

3 See pages 38-9 and 65.

4 The Friars were as bad. In or about 1358 A.D. the University of Oxford also passed a Statute, reciting that the common voice and experience of the fact proved that 'the nobles and people generally were afraid to send their sons to Oxford lest they should be induced by the Mendicant friars to join their order,' and therefore enacting 'that, if any Mendicant friar shall induce or cause to be induced, any member of the University under 18 years of age to join the said friars, or shall in any way assist in his abduction, no
§ 22. The next notice that Boorde gives us of himself points to one of the evils of this taking lads into religious orders before they have passed through their hot youth, and known what sexual desire is. An old writer, the extract from whom I have unluckily mislaid, dwells very strongly on the mischief arising from this practice; and we must not therefore wonder to hear Boorde telling Lord Privy-Seal Cromwell, in a Letter to him (Letter VII, p. 62), dated 13 August, 1537 (as I judge),

"ther be yn London certyn persons that owth me in mony & stuff liij . . . . & doth slawnder me by-hynd my bak off thynge that I shold do xxii yrs agone; & trewly they can nott prove ytt, nor I neuer dyd ytt: the matter ys, that I shold be conversant with women; other matteres they lay nott to my charge."

Young blood was even younger blood in those days than now; but let us accept Andrew's denial of the truth of the slander.

§ 23. Our next notice is from Boorde's Fifth Letter, to Cromwell,—then a knight, and Master of the Rolls,—which must bear date before the 1st of April, 1536 (p. 59, below).

"I was also, xv yeres passyd, dispensyd with the relygyon by the Byshopp of Romes bulles, to be Suffrygan off Chychester, the whych I neuer dyd execute the auctore."

Mr Durrant Cooper says that in 1521, Sherborne, Bishop of Chichester, was 80 years old, and it was for him that Boorde was appointed to act, but did not do so. His connection with Sussex no doubt led to his nomination for the office; and we may suppose that his family was of some influence in the county. Professor Brewer tells me that no one could be made a Bishop—regular or suffragan—under 30 years of age; and we must therefore put back the year of Boorde's birth to before 1490. The phrase 'dispensyd with the relygyon' puzzles me. I don't know whether it means absolved wholly from the vows of the Carthusian Order, or only absolved for a time and a special purpose, like this acting as Suffragan, going abroad to study medicine, &c. (p. 47-8), the dis-graduate belonging to the cloister or society of which such friar is a member, shall be permitted to give or attend lectures in Oxford or elsewhere, for the year ensuing.'—Munimenta Academica, ed. Austey, i. 204-5.

1 Prof. Stubbs does not believe that Boorde ever received episcopal orders.
pensed person continuing otherwise liable to the bidding of the head of his House and Order. The latter interpretation is favoured by Boorde's talk of renewing his license (Letter V, p. 58), and his returning to the Charter-house by 1534; the former, of absolute freedom, by his argument in the same Letter V, p. 58, that by the Pope's act, as well as the Carthusians', he was free of Religion.

§ 24. About this time—as likely before as after—I suppose that the Letter of Boorde's which Mr W. D. Cooper and I put first (p. 47, below), and Sir Hy. Ellis last, was written: that to Doctor Horde, Prior of the Charter-house at Hinton or Henton in Somersetshire. Why I put this Letter first (though it may be of 1535), is because of Boorde's saying in it, "yff I wyst the master Prior off London wold be good to me, I wold see yow more soner than yow wold be ware off." I take this to mean that Boorde was then in the London Charter-house, not yet 'dispensed of religion,' but subject to its strict rules, so that he could not go out of the gates of the monastery without the Prior's leave. Were this letter the last of Boorde's, as Sir Hy. Ellis makes it, and therefore written after 1537, Boorde wouldn't have cared twopence for the 'Master Prior off London.' Indeed, there wasn't one then, for on May 18, 1537, Prior Trafford and his brethren surrendered the London Charter-house into Henry's hands. (By the way, in connection with this first letter of Boorde's, I must mention Mr W. Durrant Cooper's unwitting practical joke with five of the set. Although they had been printed by no less a person than Sir Hy. Ellis, and in no less known a book than his Original Letters, no less than 15 years before 1861, yet Mr Cooper printed the Letters as "unpublished correspondence" in the collections of the Sussex Archaeological Society for 1861 (vol. xiii, p. 262)—and I suppose read them as such to the Meeting at Pevensey, on Aug. 8, 1860—thus unconsciously taking in the 'young men from the country,' to say nothing of others for years, and for three weeks myself, who had read the letters in Ellis, made a note of their "trust yow no Skott," ii. 303, and then forgotten all about them. Having sinned myself in this way, I can't resist the temptation of giving a fellow-sinner a good-natured poke in the ribs.)

As in this First Letter, Boorde speaks of the 'rugorosite' of
the Carthusian 'relygyon,' we may as well give an extract about that Order and its Rule.

The Carthusian Monks were a branch of the Benedictines, whose rule, with the addition of a great many austerities, they followed. . . Bruno, who was born at Cologne in Germany, first instituted the Order at Chartreux, in the diocese of Grenoble in France, about A.D. 1080; whence the Monasteries of the Order, instead of Chartreux houses, were in England corruptly called Charter-houses. The rule of the Carthusians, which is said to have been confirmed by Pope Alexander III as early as 1174, was the most strict of any of the religious orders; the monks never eating flesh, and being obliged to fast on bread, water, and salt one day in every week: nor were they permitted to go out of the bounds of their Monasteries, except their priors and procurators, or proctors, and they only upon the necessary affairs of the respective house.

The Carthusians were brought into England in 1180, or 1181, by King Henry II., almost as early as their establishment at Grenoble, and had their first house at Witham in Somersetshire. Their habit was all white, except an outward plaited cloak, which was black. Stevens, in his continuance of Dugdale's Monasticon, says there were but five nunneries of this austere order in the world, and but 167 houses of these monks. In England there was no nunnery, and but nine houses of this order. These nine houses were at Witham and Henton in Somersetshire, the Charter-house in London, Beauvale in Nottinghamshire, St Anne's near Coventry, Kingston-upon-Hull, and Mountgrace in Yorkshire, Eppworth in the Isle of Axholm, and Shene in Surrey.—Penny Cyclopaedia, from Tanner, &c.

The Latin Statutes of the Order are given in Dugdale's Monasticon, ed. 1830, p. v-xii, from Cotton MS. Nero A iii, fol. 139, and are of such extreme strictness and minuteness as to behaviour, dress, meals, furniture of cells, &c.—telling the monks how to walk, eat, drink, look, and hardly to talk—that they must have nearly worried the life out of a man like Boorde. An English summary of the Carthusian Rules is given in Fosbroke's British Monachism, p. 71-2, ed. 1843, where also is the following extract:

"I know the Carthusians," says he (Guyot de Provins in the 13th century), "and their life does not tempt me. They have each [his own] habitation; every one is his own cook; every one eats and sleeps alone. I do not know whether God is much delighted with all this. But this I well know, that if I was myself in Paradise, and alone there, I should not wish to remain in it. A solitary man is always subject to bad temper. Thus I call those fools who wished me to inmure myself in this way. But what I particularly dislike
in the Carthusians is, that they are murderers of their sick. If these require any little extraordinary nourishment, it is peremptorily refused. I do not like religious persons who have no pity; the very quality, which, I think, they especially ought to have."—Fosbrooke's British Monachism, p. 65, ed. 1843.


"Venerable father, precordially I commend me vnto yow with thanks, &c. I desyre yow to pray for me, & to pray all your conventt to pray for me / for much confidence I haue in your prayers; & yif I wyst Master prior off london wold be good to me, I wold see yow more soner pen yow be ware off. I am nott able to byd p° rugorosyte off your relygyon. yff I myth be suffreyd to do what I myth, with outt interrupcyon, I can tell what I had to do, for my hartt ys euor to your relygyon, & I lone ytt, & all p° persons in them, as Iesus knowth me, and kepp yow. "Yours for euor, (on back) "To the ryght venerable father prior off Hynton,³ be þis byll delyueryd."

§ 25. Well, the 'rugerosyte' of the Carthusian rules—the moment, no-fun, and all-stay-at-home life—did not suit Andrew Boorde, the confinement injured his health, he wanted to be quit of the place, and let others see this. Accordingly Prior Batmanson—who was Prior, says Mr W. Durrant Cooper,⁴ from 1529 to 16 Nov. 1531,—got Boorde a Dispensation from the Grande Chartreux, the General Chapter, as he calls it in another place (p. 48). Boorde says in his Fifth Letter, p. 58, below, written to Cromwell when Master of the Rolls, late in 1535 or early in 1536:—

"now I dyd come home by the grawnte Charterhouse, wher⁵ y was dispensyd of the relygyon in the prior Batmansons days."

In his Fourth Letter also (p. 57)—evidently written from the Grande Chartreux (Aug. 2, 1535?), and to the Prior of the London

¹ In the Record Office.
² 'p°' follows, but is scratcht out.
³ "Master Doctor Horde." See the postscript to Letter III.
⁵ This wher probably means whence, the dispensation having been sent, only, from the Grande Chartreux, and the place not visited by Andrew Boorde,
Charter-house and all other Priors of the Order in England,—Boorde dwells on the point of his dispensation from Religion, and the time of it, and says to his fellow-Carthusians:

"yow know that I had lycence before recorde to departt from yow / yett nott withstondyng my conscience my th not be so satysfyd, but I thowth to vysett pe sayd reuerend faper [the Master of the Grande Chartreux], to know pe trewth whethier faper Iohan batman-son dyd impetratt for me of pe generall chapytter pe lycence that dane george hath. pe trewth ys, that when dane george was dyspensyd with pe relygyon, I & anoper was dyspensyd with all / consyderyng I can [not], nor neuer cowld, lyue solytary / & I amonges yow intrusyd in a close ayre / my th neuer haue my helth."

This passage confirms the former one, and leaves no doubt that Boorde was abroad by 1529. There he studied medicine, "tranelled for to haue the notyceyon & practes of Physycke in divers regyons and countres,"¹ and

§ 26. Having, from the Continent, "returned into England, and [being] rekyred to tary, and to remayne, and to contynue with syr Robert Drewry, knyght, for many vrgent causes,"² the Duke of Norfolk sent for Boorde, still "a young doctor"³ (though full 40 years old), to attend him, a.d. 1530, "the yeare in the whiche lorde Thomas [Wolsey], Cardynal bishop of York, was commaunded to go to his see of York,"⁴ to which he had been restored by Henry VIII after his first disgrace.

The head of all the Howards, the President of the Council, the uncle of Anne Boleyn, was an important patient, and Boorde hesitated at first to prescribe for the Duke without a consultation with his old physician, Dr Butte.⁵ But as the old Doctor did not come,

¹ Preface to the Dyctary, ed. 1547 or -67, below, p. 225, col. 2.
² See note 3, p. 225, below.
³ See the Preface to the Dyctary, p. 225, below. Boorde speaks again of when he was 'young,' in the Breweary, Fol. lxxx, back: "In Englyshe, Morbus Gallicus is named the Frenche pockes: when that I was yonge, they were named the Spanyshe pockes." "This disease . . . dyd come but lately into Spayne and Fraunce, and so to vs about the yere of our lord 1470." ib. Fol. lxxiv.
⁴ A.D. 1530. Wolsey . . . was now permitted to come nearer to the court; and he removed from Esher to Richmond. But Anne and her party took the alarm, and he was presently ordered to reside in the north of England, within his Archbishopric. — Macfarlane's Hist. vi. 182.
⁵ This is our old acquaintance of the Babees Book Forewords, p. lxxviii, whose allowances for dinner and supper on every day of the week are given
Boorde, 'thankes be to God,' set his ducal patient straight, and was by his means allowed to wait on 1 Henry VIII.

§ 27. After this, urged by righteous zeal "to se & to know the trewth of many thynges," 2 "to haue a trewe cognyscion of the practis of Physycke," 3 Boorde passed "ouer the sees agayne, and dyd go to all the vnyuersyties and scoles approbated, and beynge within the precinct of Chrystendome." 3 But, could he go abroad without a fresh license from the Prior of his House? Had his former dispensations by the Pope and the General Chapter of the Grande Charteux rendered him free of his Order? Seemingly not; for, in his Fifth Letter to Cromwell, p. 58, below, written late in 1535, or early in 1536, Boorde says:—

"I haue suffycyent record that the prior off Charterhouse off London last beyng, off hys own meere mocyon, gane me lycence to departe from the relygyon: whereupon I wentt ouer see to skole, and now I dyd come home by the grawnte Charterhouse, wher y was dyspensyd of the relygyon in the prior Batmansons days.

"att the sayd howse, in pe renewyng pat lycence, I brough a letter, yow [Cromwell] to do with me and ytt what you wyll."

This Prior "last beyng" must have been Howghton, who had been executed for denying the King's supremacy on April 27, 1535—according to Mr W. D. Cooper; on May 4, according to Stowe—and the first lines of the passage must refer to Boorde's 2nd journey abroad, and not his first, as they seem at first to do.

As to 'the vnyuersyties and scoles approbated' above, the only universities that Boorde mentions are, I think, Orleans, Poictiers,

at p. lxxix there, from Household Ordinances, p. 178-9. In Nicolas's Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII we find a payment of £10 to Dr Butts for Dr Thirlby (afterwards the first and only Bishop of Westminster), on Oct. 5, 1532. In his Index and Notes, p. 303, Nicolas notes that Henry 'sent Doctor Butts, his graces physician,' to see Wolsey (Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, i. p. 220-2), and that 'Dr Butts is honourably commemorated by Fox as the friend of Bp Latimer. See also Gilpin's Life of Latimer, p. 42-5.'

1 These words 'wait on' can hardly mean 'attend professionally,' as there is no payment to Boorde in the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII from Nov. 1529 to Dec. 1532, ed. Nicolas, 1827. Had Boorde attended Henry, we should no doubt have had an entry like that for Dr Nicholas, under Febr. 3, p. 192: "Item the same day payed to my lorde of Wilshire for a phisician called Doctowr Nicholas, xx Angellis, vij li. x s."

2 Fyrst Boke, chap. xxxii, Upcott's reprint, sign. Y 2, p. 204, below.

3 Pref. p. 226, col. 1, below.
Toulouse, and Montpelier\(^1\) in France; Wittenburg in Saxony.\(^2\) The Italian ones he omits. At Orleans he dwelt for some time\(^3\); of his stay at Poictiers and Wittenburg (if any), he has left no record; in Toulouse he evidently stopt for a while,—"in Tolose regneth treue justice & equite of al the places that euery I dyd com in;"\(^4\)—and "at the last I dyd staye my selfe at Mountpyllyowre, which is the led vniuersite in al Europe for the practes of physycke,"\(^5\) or, as he says elsewhere, "Muntplilor is the most nobilist vniuersite of the world for phisciones & surgions. I can not gene to greate a prayse to Aquitane and Langwadock, to Tolose and Mountpiliour." And wherever he travelled, "in dyuers regyons & prouynces," he did "study & praetyce physyk . . . for the sustyntacyon off [his] lyuyng."\(^6\) Accordingly, we get, in such of his works as are left to us, little touches like the following: "For this matter [Scrofula . . . in Englyshe . . named 'knottes or burres which be in chyldrens neckes'] in Rome and Mountpyller is vst incidions" (instead of the pills and plaisters he has mentioned). "I, beyinge longe there [in Compostella in Navare] . . . was shreuen of an auncient doctor of diuinite, the which was blear [e]yed; and whether it was to have mi counsel in physicke or no, I passe ouer, but I was shreuen of hym . . ."\(^7\) We shall see soon his practice in Scotland and Yorkshire, p. 61. Thus learning to do good, and doing it, the helper and friend of all he came across, Boorde, either in 1530-4, 1534-6, or 1538-42, went through almost the whole of Europe, and perhaps part of Africa, and pilgrimed it to Jerusalem, which he did not consider to be in Asia, as he tells us "as for Asia, I was neuer in [it]," \textit{Fyrst Boke}, chap. vii. sign. I 2, back, p. 145, below.

The kindly nature of the man,—his willingness to help others at the cost of much hardship and danger to himself,—as well as his readiness to be off anywhere at any time, are well shown by his account of his sudden start from Orleans, and his journey to Compostella with 9 English and Scotch men whom he met:

\(^1\) \textit{Fyrst Boke}, chap. xxvii, sign. T. i. back, p. 191, below.
\(^2\) ib. chap. xvi, p. 165. His disgust at the vices in Rome seems to have kept him from the Italian Universities. \(^3\) ib. chap. xxxii, sign. Y 2, back, p. 205.
\(^4\) ib. chap. xxvii. sign. U back, p. 194.
\(^5\) Dedication to ed. 1547, Pref. p. 226, col. 2, below. \(^6\) Letter VI, p. 59, below.
\(^7\) \textit{Brewiarie}, Fol. C. iii. \(^8\) \textit{Fyrst Boke}, chap. xxxii, sign. Y 2, p. 204.
"when I dyd dwell in the vniuersite of Orlyance, casually going over the bryge into the towne, I dyd mete with .ix. Englyshe and Skotyshe parsons goyng to saint Compostell, a pylgrymage to saynt James. I, knowing theyr pretence, advertysed them to returne home to England, saying that 'I had rather to goe .v. tymes out of England to Rome,—and so I had in deede,—than ons to go from Orlyance to Compostel,' saying also that 'if I had byn worthy to be of the kyng of Englanordes counsel, such parsons as wolde take such iornes on them wythout his lycences, I wold set them by the fete. And that I had rather they should dye in England thorow my industrie, than they to kyll them selve by the way:' with other wordes I had to them of exasperacyon. They, not regardyng my wordes nor sayinges, sayd that they wolde go forth in theyr iourney, and wolde dye by the way rather than to returne home. I, haungye pitie they should be cast a way, poynted them to my hostage, and went to dispache my busines in the vniuersyte of Orliaunce. And after that, I went wyth them in theyr iourney thorow fraunce, and so to burdlous and byon; & than we entred into the baryn countrey of Byskay and Castyle, wher we could e get no meate for money; yet wyth great honger we dyd come to Compostell, where we had plentye of meate and wyne; but in the retournyng thorow spayn, for all the crafte of Physycke that I coulde do, they dyed, all by catynge of frutes and drynkyng of water, the whych I dyd euer refrayne my selfe. And I assure all the worlde, that I had rather goe .v. times to Rome oute of Englonde, than ons to Compostel; by water it is no pain, but by land it is the greatest iourney that an Englysman may go. And whan I returnyd, and did come into Aquitany, I dyd kis the ground for ioy, surrendering thankes to God that I was deliuered out of greate daungers, as well from many theues, as from honger and colde, & that I was come into a plentiful country; for Aquitany hath no felow for good wyne & bred."—Fyrst Boke, chap. xxxii., p. 205, below.

That Boorde, though he hated water, and loved good ale and wine (p. 74), could live on little, we know from his description of Aquitaine (p. 194, below):

"a peny worth of whyte bread in Aquitany may servye an honest man a hoole Weke; for he shall haue, whan I was ther, ix. kakys for a peny; and a kake serued me a daye, & so it wyll any man, excepte he be a rauener."

§ 28. The next notice that we have of Boorde is due to the Reformation. He must have returned to the Charter-house in London by the summer of 1534, for in Rymer's Feudera, xiv. 491-2, we find that, on 29 May, 1534, Roland Lee, Bp of Coventry and Lichfield

(who married Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn), and Thos Bedyll, clerk, took the oaths of Johannes Howgh[hton], the Prior of the Charter-house, and 13 other dwellers and servants there; and on the 6th of June following, at the Charter-house, Bp Lee and Thomas Kytson, knight, took the oaths of 19 Priests,—18th in the list of whom was Andreas Boorde—and 16 other persons. The names of all are given in Rymer, and reprinted in Smythe's History of the Charter-house, Appendix XVIII, p. 49, and the regular oath to Henry's supremacy that Boorde and all other conformers swore, is given in Latin in Smythe's Appendix, p. 49, and in English at p. 50-1.

§ 29. After thus conforming, Boorde seems to have remained at the Charter-house, and to have got into some trouble there, for which he was 'kept in thraldom bodyly and goostly,' 'kept in person' strayly.' His Prior, Howghton, was convicted of high treason in April 1535 for speaking against the king's supremacy, and on the 27th of April was hanged, drawn, and quartered. While Howghton was in the Tower († in 1534), before his execution, Boorde tells Cromwell that he wrote to Howghton, at his fellow-Carthusians' request (p. 60). Boorde's letter to Cromwell is dated Leith, 1 April [1536]:—

"when I was keppt in thrawldom in pe charterhous, & knew noþer pe kynges noble actes, nor yow, then, stultycusly thorow synystral wordes, I dyd as many of þat order doth; butt after þat I was att lyberete, manyfestly I aperseuyde þe yngnorancé & blyndnes þat they & I wer yn: for I could neuer know no thyng of no maner off matter, butt only by them, & they wolde cause me wrett full inçypently to þe prior of london, when he was in þe tower before he was putt to exicucyon; for þe which I trust your mastershepp hath pardonyd me; for god knowth I was keppt in þe person¹ strayly, & glad I was to wrett att theyr request; but I wrott nothyng þat I thought shold be agens my prince, nor yow, nor no ðer man."

§ 30. From this 'thraldom' of body and soul, Andrew Boorde was delivered by Cromwell, as the Vicegerent of Pope Henry VIII, —if I read aright another passage in this same Leith letter (p. 60), —and he then (I suppose) visited Cromwell at his seat at Bishops-Waltham in Hampshire, where Cromwell received him kindly:

"Yow haue my hartt, & shall be sure of me to þe uttermost off my pocer power, for I am neuer able to mak yow amendes; for wher

1? prison. 2 p. 54.—Stowe says, convicted on April 29, and hanged on May 4.
I was in great thraldom, both bodily and goostily, yow off your gentylnes sett me att liberte & clernes off consevence. Also I thank your mastershepp for your gret kyndnes, pat yow shewde me att byshepves wattam, & pat yow gaue me lycence to come to yow ons in a quartre."

§ 31. After this, Boorde must have at once gone abroad on his third long tour, seemingly as an emissary of Cromwell's, to observe and report on the state of feeling about Henry VIII's doings, but no doubt studying and practising physic on his road. He also renewed his license at the Grande Chartreux, p. 58.

[1Letter II, from Bordeaux, 20 June, 1535.]

"After humly salutacyon, Acording to my dewte coactyd, I am (causeys consideryd) to gene to yow notyeyon of certyn synystrall matters contrary to our realme of ynglon, especyally a-zenst our most armipotentt, perpondentt, circumspecyte, dyserete, & gracyose souereyn lord the Kynge; for, sens my departyng from yow, I haue per-tralatyd normandy, frawnee, gaseney, & Byon; pe regyons also of castyle, byscay, spayne, & paarte of portyngeale, & returnyd thorow Arogon, Namerne, & now am att burdyose. In the wych partyes, I hard of dyuerse credyble persons of pe sayd countryes, & also of rome, ytale, & almen, pat the pope, pe emprowre, & all oper crystyn kynges, with pe peple (pe french kyng except) be sett azenst our souereyne lord pe kynges: apon the which, in all the nacyons pat I haue tranellyd, a greatt army & navey ys preparyd: & few frendys ynglonl hath in theys partes of Europe, as Iesus your louer knowth, who ever haue your master & yow, with pe hole realme, vnder hys vynges of tyussyon! from burdyose, the xx day of Iune, by pe hond of your sa[r]uantt & bedman

"Andrew Boorde.

"I humly & precordyally desyre your mastershepp to be good master (as yow ever haue byn) to your faithfull bedmen, master prior of the cherter houswe of londom, & to Master docter Horde, prior of Hynton.

[directed on back] "To hys venerable master, Master Thomas Cromwell, secretory to our souereynge lord the kyng, be pis byll dyretyd."

1 The originals of this and the following letters (except Letter IV) are preserved in the Record Office, vol. 4, 2nd Series, of Miscellaneous Letters, temp. Hen. VIII.
2 It may be 'Lyon,' but is 'Byon;' I feel sure, for Bayonne. Cp. Boorde's Introduction, ch. xxxiii, p. 206.
3 wings of defence.
4 The word is 'dyretyd' in the next two letters.
The postscript to the last letter raises a difficulty as to its date; for, says Mr Cooper,—using Smythe's *History of the Charter-House*, &c.:—

"In April, 1535, John Howghton the prior, with 2 other Carthusian priors, a monk of Sion, and the Vicar of Isleworth, were convicted of high treason. 1 On 27 April, Howghton, and on the 4th of May the others, were drawn, hanged, and quartered."

Perhaps Boorde supposed that a new Prior had been appointed, and asked Cromwell's favour for him on spec.

Prior Horde does not seem to have needed any intercession on his behalf, as he must have conformed willingly, and was used to bring other hesitaters round. Archbp Lee, writing to Cromwell on July 9, 1535 (III Ellis, ii. 344), about the Prior of the Charter-house of Mountgrace in Yorkshire, who was 'verie conformable,' reports of him:

"And forbicause ther bee in everie Howse, as he supposethe, some weake simple men, of small lernynge and litle discretion, he thinkethe it sholdie doo mutch good if oure Doctor Hord, a Pryor of theyre religion, whom all the religion in this realme dothe esteeme for lernynge and vertue, were sent, not onlie to his Howse, but to all ordre Houses of the same religion; he saide (wiche I suppose is true) they will give more credence, and woll rathre applie their con-

science to hym and his judgement, than to auie ordre, althowgh of greater lernynge, and the rathre if with hym be joyned also some ordre good fadre. This he desired me to move to you; and verelie I thinke it sholdie doo mutch good. For manye of them bee verie simple men."

And again in another letter of 8 Aug., 1535, after the Prior of Mountgrace has yielded and conformed, Archbp Lee repeats the Prior's request, 'that for the alurcing of some his simple brodren, Doctor Hord, a priour of their religion, in whom they have greate confidence, maye come thidre. . . His commeng shall more worke in them than anye learneng or autoritie, as the Priour thinkethe, and I can well thinke the same.' III Ellis, ii. 345.

§ 32. During this tour in the summer of 1535, Boorde visited the Universities of Paris, Orleans, Poitou, Toulouse (where he was on July 2, 1535), and Montpelier, as well as Catalonia (he was there in

1 His crime was 'delivering too free an opinion of the King and his pro-
ceedings, in regard to the supremacy, to speak against which was now made treason.'—Smythe's *Hist. Charter-House*, p. 73
1535), noting the state of feeling towards Henry VIII. Then after
his labour he fell sick, and wrote the next letter to Cromwell, late in
1535, or early in 1536. The phrase in the postscript "in thes partes"
—cp. "in theys partes of Europe," p. 53—shows that the letter was
written from abroad, from Spain, I suppose.

We get the approximate date for this letter from Boorde's men-
tion of the Emperor Charles V's expedition against Barbarossa.
Though Sir Hy. Ellis says that this was in 1534, it was in 1535:

"In 1535, Europe being at peace, Charles [the Fifth] sailed
with a large armament for Tunis, where Khari Eddin Barbarossa, the
dread of the Christians in the Mediterranean, had fortified himself.
Charles, supported by his admiral, Andrea Doria, stormed La
Goletta, and defeated Barbarossa: the Christian slaves in Tunis
meantime having revolted, the gates of the city were opened, and
the Imperial soldiers entering in disorder began to plunder and kill
the inhabitants, without any possibility of their officers restraining
them. About 30,000 Mussulmans of all ages and both sexes
perished on that occasion. When order was restored, Charles
entered Tunis, where he re-established on the throne Muley Hassan,
who had been dispossessed by Barbarossa, on condition of acknow-
ledging himself his vassal, and retaining a Spanish garrison at La
Goletta. Charles returned to Italy in triumph, having liberated
20,000 Christian slaves, and given, for a time, an effectual blow to
Barbarossa and his piracy. On his return to Europe, 1536, he found
King Francis again prepared for war."—Penny Cyclopaedia, vi. 500,
col. 2, from Robertson's History of Charles V, &c.

"The emperor embarked at Barcelona for the general rendezvous
of the rest of his forces. This was Cagliari, in Sardinia. The fleet
sailed from this place on the 16th of July, 1535."—Robertson's

Letter III. [after 2 July, 1535.]

"Honerable syr, after humilly salutation, I certyfyy yow pat
sens I wroght to your mastershepp from buryduse by ye servaunt off
sir Iohan Arundell in co[v]wall, I have byn in dyvrece regyons &
vnyuersytes for lernyng, and I assewre yow ye vnyuerseytes off
orlynce, pcketauensis,1 Tolosa, mowntyller, & ye reuerend faper off
ye hed charterhowse, a famuse clark, & part2 off ye vnyuerseyte off
parys, doth hold with our soveryne lord ye kyng, in his actes, pat in
so much att ye vysytacyon off our lady3 last past in tolosa, in ye
cheff skole, callyd petragorysensis, ye Kyng of Nauerre & his quene

1 The MS mark of contraction is that for ir, as in Sir.
2 MS ptt. Prof. Brewer and Mr W. D. Cooper read it 'Presidentt,' Sir
   II. Ellis rightly 'partt.'
3 The Visitation is on July 2.
beyng presentt, pe greyst articles pet any could lay a-genst our nobyll kyng wer disputyd & dyslynyd to pe honer of our noble kyng, as I shall shew yow at my coming to yow. I was in cathalonya when pe emprowe tok sheppyng in-to barbarie, the which emprow, with all ower kynges in pe courtes of whom I have byn, be our re-doubtyd kynges frendes & louers; incyppyent persons doth spek after per lenyng & wytt. certyffyng your mastershepp after my laboure, I am syk, or els I wold have come to yow & putt my selff fully in-to your ordynance; as sone as I am any thyng recoveryd, I shall be att your commaundmentt in all causis, god ssecuryng, who cuer kepp yow in helth & honer,

"By your bedman Andrew bord, prest.

"I have sent to your mastershepp the seeds off renerber, the which come owtt off barbarie. in thes partes ytt ys had for a grett tresure. The seeds be sowne in March, thyn; & when they be rootyd, they must be takyn vpp, & sett euerie one off them a foote or more from a nofer, & well waifred, &c.

[directed on back] "To the ryght honerale Esquyre Master Thomas CromeH, hygh secretory to our souereyne lord pe kyng & master of Rolls, be this lettres dyrectyd.

[endorsed in a later hand.] "Androwe bord, prest. how king h. S. is well esteemed in firaunce & other natyons."

On this Letter Sir Henry Ellis observes:

"The Postscript is perhaps the most curious part. Boorde not only sends to Cromwell the Seeds of Rhubarb from Barbarie, where he says the plant was treasured, but with directions for transplanting the roots when grown, and rearing the Plant, two hundred years at least before the later cultivation of the Plant was known in England.

"Collinson, among the Memoranda in his 'Hortus Collinsonianus,' Svo. Swansea, 1843, p. 45, says: 'True Rhubarb I raised from seed sent me by Professor Segisbeck of Petersburgh, in 1742:' by another memorandum it appears that the seeds really came from Tartary, and that four plants were transplanted next year."—Original Letters, Third Series, vol. ii, p. 300.

§ 33. Boorde refers in his last letter to the opinion of 'the reverend father of the head Charter-house, a famous clerk,' on Henry VIII's acts. I suppose that he ascertained it on his journey out from England. At any rate he tells us that he came home by the Grande Chartreux, "now I dyd come home by the grawnte charter-howe," Letter V, p. 58. While there, he wrote, as I judge, the following letter, dated August 2 [1535], to the Priors and Couvents of his Order in England, telling them that the Father of the Head
Charter-house exhorted them to obey the King, and showing that he (Boorde) was free (as I suppose) of the Carthusian Order. He was evidently afraid that on his return to England, the London Charter-house would claim him again.

[Letter IV. 2 August, 1535.]

"After precordyall recommendacyon. dere belouyd father in god, pe reuerend faber off pe hed cha[r]terhouwe, doth salute yow in pe blessying off Iesu chrys / aduertysyng yow pat yow loute god, & pat in any vyse yow obay our souereyng lord pe kynge, he beynge very sorry to here tell any wyylfull or sturdy opynyons to be amonges yow in tymes past to pe contrary/. he desye[r]yth nothyng off yow but only as I hanre hersynd, that yow be obedyent to our kynge, & pat yow maak labore to your frendes pat yff any off your frendes deye, or pat any off ther frendes dey, pat pe obytt off peom may bytywxt yow be sent / pat pe order off charyte be not lost, pro defunctis exorare. pe sayd reuer[en]d faber hath sentt to yow pe obytt off lys pre-
dycessor / oper letters he wyll nott wrytt, nor he wold nott pat yow to hym shold wrett / lest pe kynges hyllmes shold be dysplesyd. as for me, yow know pat I had lyncence byfore recorde to departt from yow / zett nott withstondyng my conscye [ncy] myyth not be so satysfyd, but I thowth to vysett pe sayd reuerend faber, to know pe trewth wheter faber Johan batmanson dyd impetratt for me of pe generall chapytter pe lyncence pat dane george hath. pe trewth yvs, pat when dane george was dyspensyd with pe relygyon, I & anooper was dys-
pensyd with all / consyderyng I can [not], nor neuer cowld, lyue soluy-
tary / & I amonges yow intrusyd in a close ayre / myyth neuer haue my helth. also I was recenyd amonges yow vnder age, contrary to your statutes / wherfor now I am clery dischargyd; not hanyng pe byshopp of Romes dispensacyon; but yow pat receuyd me to pe relygyon, for lefull & lawfull causes consyderyd / haue dyspensyd with me. In wytes pat I do not fable with yow, speeially pat yow be in all causis obedyentt to your kyng. pe afforesayd reuerend father hath maad pe ry3th honerable esquye master Crom+H, & my lord of chester, broper off all pe hole relygyon / praying yow pat yow do no thynge with out theyr counsell, as Iesus your louter knowth, who euer keppe yow! wretyn in hast in pe cell of pe reuerend faber callyd Johan, & with lys counsyl, pe ij day of August, by pe hand off your bedman "Andrew Bond, prest.

\(^{1}\) Papers relating to the Reformation and Dissolution of the Monasteries.
\(^{2}\) Dominus.
\(^{3}\) ? A Prior. Henry VIII, when Prince of Wales, was Earl of Chester. The Bishopric of Chester was erected 4 Aug., 1542.
\(^{4}\) Printed ‘Bond’ in the Cotton Catalogue.
[on back] "To master prior & the counten off pe charterhowse off london, & to all priors & counten of pe sayd order in ynglond."

On one corner of the back is written, "Androw Bord. to pe priour and Convent of Charterhouse in london &c' /

§ 34. Boorde then returned to England, wrote from London to Cromwell a letter that is not now extant (so far as we yet know), and then the following excusatory missive, which shows that he did not feel satisfied himself that he was free from his Carthusian vows, but feared that Cromwell, notwithstanding his former release (p. 52), might hold him bound to them still.

[Letter V. i before 1 April, 1536.]

"After humyle salutacyon with dew reverence. Accordyng to my promise, by my letters maade at burdyose, and also att london, pis presentt month dyrected to your mastershepp, I, Andrew Boorde, somtyme monk of the charterhowse of london, am come to your mastershepp, commynnytyng me fully in to goddis handes & yours, to do with me whatt yow wyll. As I wrot to your mastershepp, I bryth letters from by-3end see, but I have nott, nor wyll nott, delyuer them, vnto the tyme yow haue seen them, & knowyng pe overplus of my mynd. I have suffycentt record pat pe prior off chartterhowse off london last beyng, of hys owne meere meycyon, gau me lycence to departhe frome pe relygyon: wherupon I wentt ouer see to skole; & now I dyd come home by the grawnte charterhowse, wher y was dispensyd of pe relygyon in the prior batman-sons days.1 att the sayd howse, in pe renewyng pat lycence, I bryth a letter, yow to do with me and ytt what yow wyll, for I wyll hyd no thyng from yow, be ytt with me or agenst me. I was also xv. 3eres passyd dispensyd with pe relygyon by the byshopp of Romes bulles, to be suffrygan off chycester, the whych I neuer dyd execute pe auctore;2 zett all pis nott-withstondyng, I submytt my-selff to yow; & yff yow wyll haue me to pat relygyon, I shall do as well as [I] can, god sucuryng, who euery keppe your mastershepp in prosperuse helth and honer!

"By your be[d]man, pe sayd andrew prenomynatyd.

[directed on back] "Suo Honorifico Magistro Thomæ Cromeii, Armigero, summno Secretario serenissimo nostro regi henrico octauo, Magistro que rotularum dignissimo, hæ litterulae sint tradende."

[endorsed Andrew Boorde.]

§ 35. Cromwell's decision must have been in favour of Boorde's freedom from his monkish vows, for soon after his letter to Crom-

1 Batmanson was Prior from 1529 to 16 Nov., 1531.—Cooper.  
2 authority.
well, Boorde went to practise and study medicine in Scotland, where we find him on April 1, 1536. The authority for the year 1536 is Mr W. Durrant Cooper, who says (Sussex Archæological Society's Collections, vol. xiii, p. 266) of this next letter, that it "is not dated, but the allusion to the vacancy in the office of prior of the Charter-house enables me to fix 1st April, 1536, as the date of the letter."  

[Letter VI. Leith, 1 April, 1536.]  

"After humly salutacyon, with dew reverence, I certify thy mastershepp that I am now in skotlond, in a lytle vnyuersyte or study namyd Glasco, wher I study & practyce physyk, as I have done in dyuerece regyons & prouynces, for he sustentaclon off my lyuyng; asserywng yow that I am yn, he kynges grace hath many, ye, (& in maner) all maner of persons (except some skolasty-call men) that he hyis aduersarys, & speketh porllyus wordes. I resort to he skotysh kynges howse, & to he erle of Aryn, namyd Hamyton, & to he lord evyndale, namyd stued, & to many lordes & landes, as well spyrytuall as temporall, & truly I know per mynches, for he takyth me for a skotysh manes sone, for I name my selff Karre, & so he Karres kallyth me cosyn, thorow he which I am in the more fauer. shortly to conclude, trust yow no skott, for they wyll yowse flatteryng wordes, & all ys fals[h]holde. I suppose, veryly,  

1 I can't find the date of Prior Trafford's appointment. Howghton was executed April 27, 1535 (or May 4, Stone). Shortly after "And order for the charterhous of London" was made,—of which the first provision is  

"that there be v or viij governers of temporall men, lernyd, wyss, & trusty, appoyntyed, wheroof iiij or iiij of them shalbe contynually there to geder euyry meale, and loge there evry nyght."—(Cott. MS Cleop. E. iv. leaf 27. Strype's Memorials, vol. i. pt. i. p. 303, &c.) See also Smythe's Charter-house. This Scheme does not seem to have been carried out.  

2 "James son of the second Lord Hamilton, and of Mary, daughter of James II of Scotland, was created Earl of Arran in August, 1503, and died without issue."—Cooper.  

3 See a virtuous Scotchman's opinion to the contrary in chapter 13 of The Complaynt of Scotland, ab. 1548 A.D., p. 165, ed. 1801: "there is nocht tua nations vndir the firmament that ar mair contrar and different fra vthirs, nor is inglis men and scottis men, qhoubeit that thai be vith-in ane ile, and nythbourcs, and of ane langage. for inglis men ar subtil, and scottis men ar facile. inglis men ar ambitious in prosperite, and scottis men ar humain in prosperite, inglis men ar humil quhen thai ar subieckit be forse and violence, and scottis men ar furious quhen thai ar violently subieckit, inglis men ar cruel quhene thai get victorie, and scottis men ar merciful quhen thai get victorie. and, to conclude, it is onpossibill that scottis men and inglis men can remane in concord vndir ane monarce or ane prince, be-cause there naturis and conditions ar as indifferent as is the nature of scheip and vuluis . . ." "i trou it is as onpossibill to gar inglis men and scottis men remane in gudo accord vnnder ane prince, as it is onpossibill that tua sonnis and tua sunnis can
pat yow hau e in ynglond, by-send x thowsand skottes, & innumerable oper alyons, which doth (speccyally pe skottes) much harme to pe kynges lege men thorowh pe ewyll wordes1, for as I wentt thorow ynglond, I mett, & was in company off, many rurall felows, englisch men, pat lone uot our grasceose kyng. wold to Iesu, pat some wer ponyshyd, to gene oper example! wolde to Iesu, also, pat yow hade neuer an alyon in your realme, speccyally skottes, for I neuer knew alyon goode to ynglonde, exceet pei knew proffytt & lucre shold com to them, &c. In all pe partes off crystyndom pat I haue travyllyd in, I know nott v. englysh men inhabytours, exceet only skolers for lernyng.2 I pray to Iesu pat alyons in ynglond do no more harme to ynglonde! yff I myght do ynglond any servyce, speccyally to my soueryn lorde pe kyng, & to yow, I wold do ytt, to spend & putt my lyff in danger & Iuberdy as far as any man, god be my Inge. Yow hau e my hatt, & shalbe sure of me to pe uttermust off my poer power, for I am neuer able to mak yow amendes; for wher I was in greatt thraldom, both bodly & goostly, yow of your gentylnes sett me att liberte & elernes off conseynce. Also I thank your mastershepp for your grett kyndnes, pat yow sheude me att lyesheppes waltam,3 & pat yow gane me lyence to come to yow ons in a quartter. as sone as I come home, I pretende to come to yow, to submytty my selfi to yow, to do with me what yow wyll. for, for lak of wytt, paraduentter I may in pis wrettyng say pat shall nott contentt yow; but, gode be my Iudge, I mene trewly, both to my souerynge lord pe kyng & to yow. when I was keppt in thrwaldom in pe charterhouse, & knew4 nope pe kynges noble actes, nor yow; then, stultycusly thorow synystrall wordes, I dyd as many of pat order doth; butt after pat I was att lyberte, manyfesty I aperseuyde pe yngnorance & blyndnes pat they & I war yn: for I could neuer know no thynge of no maner off matter, butt only by them, & they wolde cause me wrett full inepyntly to pe prior of london, when he was in pe tower, before he was putt to exicucyon5; for pe which I trust your mastershepp hath pardonyd me; for god knowth I was be at one tymne to-giddir in the lyft, be raison of the gret differens that is be-taix there naturis & conditions." 

1 The dislike of Englishmen to aliens in Henry VIII's reign is testified by 'evil Mayday' in 1517, and numerous petitions and enactments. See my Ballads from Manuscripts, vol. i. p. 56-9, 104-7.

2 In the 7th chapter of his Doke of the Introduction of Knowledge he says, "I have travellled round about Christyndom, and out of Christyndom, and I did never see nor know 7 Englishmen dwelling in any tow or city in any region beyond the see, except merchants, students, and brokers, not there being permanent nor abiding, but resorting thither for a space."—Cooper. See also the extract from Torkington's Pilgrimage in the Notes.

3 'when I came to yow per' follows, and is struck out.

4 orig. know.

5 Prior John Howghton was convicted of high treason on April 29, 1535, and executed on May 4 (Slowe).
FOREWORDS. BOORDE IN SCOTLAND, 1536-7.

kopt in person\(^1\) strayly, & glad I was to wrett att theyr request; but I wroth nothyng pat I thought shold be a-genst my prince, nor yow, nor no oper man. I pray god pat yow may prouyde a goode prior for pat place of london; for truly per be many wyllfull & obstynatt young men pat stondyth to much in per owne consaytt, & wyll not be reformyd, butt playth pe chyldryn; & a good prior wold so serve them lyk chyldryn. News I hawe to wrett to yow, butt I pretende to be with yow shortly; for I am halff very\(^2\) off pe baryn contry, as Iesus cryst knowth, who euer keppe yow in helth & honer. from loth, a myle from Edynborowh, the fyrst day off Apryll, by the hand off your Peor skoler & servantt

\[directed on back\]  
"Andrew Boorde, Preest.
"To the right honerable esquire, Master Thomas Cromwell, hygh secretory to pe Kynges grace."

In his Breuiary of Helth, Boorde also tells us that he first practised Physic in Scotland, and stayed there a year:

"I dyd practyse phisicke fyrst in Scotlande; and after that I had taried there one yere, I returned then into England, and dyd come to a towne in Yorkshire named Cuckold, where a bocher had a sonne that fel out of a hyghe haye riche" [see below for the rest]. — The Seconde Boke of the Breuiary of Health, named the Extrawagantes, Fol. xxiii.;

that among his patients were two lords,

"When I dyd dwell in Scotlande, and dyd practice there Phisicke, I had two lordes in cure that had distyllacion like to nature; and so hath many men in al regyons."—ib. Fol. xxii., back;

and that though he was hated as an Englishman, yet his knowledge got him favour:

"Also, it is naturally genen, or els it is of a deuellyshe dysposición of a scottysh man, not to loue nor favour an englishe man. And I, beyng there, and dwellyng among them, was hated; but my sciences & other polices did kepe me in favour that I did know theyr secretes."—Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge; Taylor's reprint, sign. H.

§ 36. From Yorkshire, Boorde returned to London, and saw Cromwell, to whom he afterwards wrote the following letter from Cambridge, on Aug. 17, and in the year 1537, as I think certain, for

\(^1\) Was 'prison' meant? Or only that he was watcht, and kept in his cell?
\(^2\) weary. The Scotch w and v of this time are used for one another.
he could hardly expect Cromwell to recollect such a trifle as meeting him, after the interval of more than a month or two; and Boorde would hardly allow more than that time to pass over before applying for help to recover his stolen horses.

[Letter VII. Cambridge, 13 August [1537].]

"Reuerently salutyd with loue and fere. I desyre your lord-ship to contynew my good lorde, as euer yow haue been: for, god be my judge, yff I know what I myght do pat myght be acceptable to yow, I wold do ytt; for per ys no creature lyuyng pat y do loue and fere so much as yow, and I haue nott in his world no refuge but only to yow. when I cam to london owtt of skotlond, and pat yt plesyd yow to call me to yow, as yow cam rydying from westmestre, I had ij horsys stolyn frome me, & I can tell the persons pat hath bowght them, but I can nott recover my horse[s] althowh they pat bowght þem dyd neuer toll for them, nor neuer bowth þem in no markett, but privyctly. Also þer be yn lONDON certyn persons that owth me in mony and stuff .liij?, þe which my frondes gaue me. I do aske my dewty off þem; & they callyth me 'appostata, & all to nowght,' & sayth they wyll troble me, & doth slawnder me by-bynd my bak off thyngeþ þat I shold do xx{1537} zers a-gone; & trewlly they can nott proue ytt, nor I neuer dyd ytt; þe matter ys, þat I shold be commerantt with women: ofer mattheres they lay nott to my charge. I desyre yow to be good lord to me, for I wyll neuer complayne forther then to yow. I thank Iesu cryst, I can lyue, althowh I neuer haue peny off ytt; but I wold be sory þat they þat hath my good, shold haue ytt: yff any off your servaunttes cowld gett ytt, I woll geue ytt to them. your fayghfull servauntt, master watter thomas, dwellyng in wrettyll,1 knowth all þe hoole matter, and so doth his son, dwellyng in þe temple. I commytt aill to yow, to do with me & ytt what ytt shal plese yow; deseryng yow to spare my rude wretting, for I do presume to wret to yow uppon your gentynles, as god knowth, who euer kepp yow in helth and honer! fromise cambrydg, þe xij day off August, by the homd off your bedman, & servauntt to þe uttermost off my poor power.

[directed on the back] "To the ryght honerable lorde of the pryue scale2 be thys byll dyrectyd."

Who were Walter Thomas of Writtle, and his son dwelling in the Temple?

1 ? Writtle, Essex.
2 Cromwell was created Keeper of the Privy Seal on July 2, 1536; Earl of Essex in 1539, and beheaded, 28 July, 1540.
§ 37. How soon after 1537 Boorde left England a fourth time for the Continent, and no doubt travelled about it, we cannot tell. The Dissolution of the Religious Houses in England in 1538 must have assured him of his freedom, and he probably used it to journey about, to see and know. The range of his travels at different times astonishes one. For though at first sight we may be inclined to think that there's a bit of brag in his talk about his travels 'round about Christendom, and out of Christendom' (Fyrst Boke, chap. vii.), yet I am convinced that he is quite honest in what he says, and that the words he sets down with his hand, tell the facts that he saw with his eyes. The very differences between his full treatment of certain places, &c., in a country, and his slurring over others of equal importance, prove it. Had we his full Itinerary left, instead of only the English part of it that Hearne printed in his Abbot of Peterborough's Lives of Henry III and Richard I (ii. 777, &c. A.D. 1735), I feel sure that Boorde's entries would contain all the countries he describes in his Fyrst Boke, except perhaps Turkey and Egypt. At any rate, there are touches in his descriptions of the following places which render it impossible to doubt that he had been there:—

Wales, p. 125.  
Scotland, p. 135.  
Ireland, p. 151.  
France, p. 190.  
Calais, p. 191.  
Boulogne, p. 209.  
Orleans, p. 191.  
Montpelier, p. 194.  
Spain, p. 198.  
Castile, p. 199.  
Biscay, p. 199.  
Compostella, p. 205.  
Catalonia, p. 194.  
Flanders, p. 146.  
Antwerp, p. 151.  
Germany, p. 159.  
Tyrol, or Alps, p. 160.  
Saxony, p. 164.  
Denmark, p. 162.  
Italy, p. 177.  
Lombardy, p. 186.  
Venice, p. 181.  
Rome, at least twice,¹  
p. 177.  
Naples, p. 176.  
Greece, p. 171.  
Jerusalem, p. 218.  

All these places, besides (as I believe) all the other countries mentioned in his Fyrst Boke, Boorde must have visited before he settled down in Montpelier,² and there by 1542 wrote his Introduction, Dyetary, Brenyary, and Treatise upon Beards (assuming that it existed). What he tells us about himself and these books has been already quoted on pages 15—26 above; and what Barnes says

¹ Brev. II. fol. iv. back, p. 76, below.  
² I do saye as I do knowe, not onelye by my selfe, but by manye other when I did vse the seas.—(Brev. ch. 381. Fol. C. xxii.)
about the books, and about Boorde's getting drunk at Montpelier,\(^1\) earning a reputation by his books, and denouncing beards, will be found at p. 307, 309, below. The reader may as well turn on, and run his eye over the passages.

\(^{38}\) I suppose that Boorde came back to England in 1542, when the first edition of his *Dyetary* was publishd (p. 12), and that he was also in England when he wrote his *Pronosticacion* for 1545 (p. 25). During this time he probably settled at Winchester; and if we suppose that then were left to him by his brother the houses and property in that town which he devises by his will, or the houses in Lynn (in Norfolk) which he also devises, or that he made money by practice as a physician, so that the 'lacke of money' which stop\(\) the printing of his *Introduction* (p. 15) east, we can account for the publishing of that book in 1547 (or 1548), as well as of the second edition of the *Dyetary*, the *Breviary*, and the *Astronamy*, which was evidently intended as a companion to the *Breviary*, and was written in four days with one old pen without mending (p. 16, above). To superintend the passing of these books through the press—though I doubt whether he read his proofs—he ought to have been in London; and, most luckily, it is in 1547, or just before, that we find a "Doctor Borde" there, as the last tenant of the house appropriated to the Master of the Hospital of St Giles's, by Lord Lisle, to whom Henry VIII had in 1545 granted nearly all the possessions of the Hospital, part of the Reformation spoil. In 1547 Lord Lisle, by Henry's license, conveyed the Hospital property to Sir Wymonde Carew, and in the description of it, Dr Borde's name occurs.\(^2\) The

\(^1\) Compare the result as stated by Barnes with William Langley's *Glutton* in the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, Text B, Pas\(\)sus V, p. 76, l. 361-3, who

\(\ldots\) coughed up a caudel \(\cdot\) in Clementis lappe;

\(\ldots\) is non so hungrı hounde \(\cdot\) in Hertford shire

\(\ldots\) Durst lape of \(\ldots\) leuynges \(\cdot\) so vnlouely she smautę.

\(^2\) Necno non unum alium messuagium, parcellum situs nuper diei Hospitalis, unà cum pomeriis & gardinis eidem messuagio pertinentibus sive adjacentibus, existentibus in predicta parochia Sancti Egidii, nuper in tenura sive occupacióne Doctoris Borde.

The Licen
cce to Lord Lisle is dated July 6, 1547. The original is, says Parton, "Among the records in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's office, in the Exchequer, to wit, in the fifth part of the originals of the 38th year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, Roll CV, and is printed in p. 35, note 32, of 'Some Account of the Hospital and Parish of St. Giles in the Fields, Middlesex, by the late Mr John Parton, Vestry-Clerk.' 1822."
unpleasant alternative that this Dr Borde may have been Dr Richard Borde of Pevensey, I am unable to negative.¹

§ 39. Just at this time, at the culminating point of Boorde's life, the most serious charge of that life is brought against him, and this by no less a person than John Ponet, Bishop of Winchester,—the

By this grant [of Henry VIII in 1545] all the possessions of the hospital of St Giles (not expressly mentioned in the exchange with the king) were vested in Lord Lisle. They consisted of the hospital, its site and gardens, the church and manor of St Giles.

After this grant Lord Lisle fitted up the principal part of the hospital for his own residence, leaving out other subordinate parts of the structure, and portions of the adjoining grounds, gardens, &c., and at the end of two years he conveyed the whole of the premises to John Wymonde Carewe, Esq., by licence from the king, in the last year of his reign.

The capital mansion or residence which Lord Lisle fitted up for his own accommodation, was situate where the soap manufactory of Messrs Dix and Co. now is, in a parallel direction with the church, but more westward, ... The house appropriated to the master of the hospital was situate where Dudley Cavet has been since built, and is mentioned as occupied by Dr Borde in the transfer from Lord Lisle to Sir Wymonde Carewe, which is said to have been afterwards the rectory house, being given by the Duchess for that purpose, 1834.—R. Dobie, History of the United Parishes of St Giles-in-the-Field, and St George, Bloomsbury, 2nd ed., p. 23-5.

"The grant of the hospital by Henry VIII. to Lord Lisle simply describes it as 'All that the late dissolved hospital of St. Giles in the Fields, without the bars of London, with its appurtenances, &c., lately dissolved.' But his licence to that nobleman to convey the same to Wymond Carew, contains a description of part of these premises, sufficiently detailed to afford almost every information that can be desired. They are thus particularized:—

'All that mansion, place, or capital house, late the house of the dissolved hospital of St. Giles in the Fields;—and all those houses, gardens, stables, and orchards to the same belonging; and one other messuage (parcel of the site of the said late hospital), and the orchard and garden to the same belonging and adjoining, late in the tenure of Dr. Borde.'"—Parton's Account of the Hospital and Parish of St Giles-in-the-Fields, pp. 51, 52 (printed in 1822).

¹ "That Andrew was connected with Pevensey by residence (?) and property is well established. Contemporary with him, and probably a near kinsman, was another Doctor Borde, who held the vicarage of Pevensey, the vicarage of Westham, and the chantry of the chapel of Northye in the adjacent marsh. In the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus' of Henry VIII, [A.D. 1535] his valuable preferments are thus stated:

_Pevensy._
_Richardus_ Bord, doctor, vicarius ibidem, valet clare per annum &c. 18s. 6s. 8d._
_Westham._
_Richardus_ Bord, doctor, vicarius ibidem, valet &c._

_Cantaria de Northyde (sic)._ 
_Richardus_ Bord, doctor, capellanus ibidem, valet &c._

2 He was appointed Bishop in May, 1551.—Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. Pt I. p. 483, ed. 1822.

BOORDE.
very town that Boorde had lived in,—and who, therefore, must have known what Boorde's fellow-citizens said of the facts of the case. In his controversy with Stephen Gardiner, Ponet published a second book in 1555 (says Wood), whose title in the 'correctid and amendid' edition in the British Museum is—

"An Apologie fully avnsweringe by Scriptures and auncient Doctors / a blasphemose Book gatherid by D. Steph. Gardiner / of late Lord Chauncelar¹, D. Smyth of Oxford / Pighius / and other Papists / as by ther books appeareth, and of late set furth under the name of Thomas Martin, Doctor of the Ciuile lawes (as of himself he saieth) against the godly marridge of priests. Wherin dyuers other matters which the Papists defende be so confutid / that in Martyns ouerthrow they may see there own impudence and confusion.

By John Ponet Doctor of diuinitie, and Busshop of Winchester. Newly correctid and amendid.

The author desireth that the reader will content himself with this first book untill he may haue leasure to set furth the next / wiche shalbe by Gods grace shortly. Yt is a hard thing for the to spurn against the prick. Act. 9."

At page 48 of this work Bp Ponet says:—

"And within this eight yere [that is, in or after 1547] / was there not a holy man, named maister Doctor boord, a Phisicion, that thryse in the week would drink nothinge but water / such a proctour for the Papists then / as Martyn the lawier is now? Who vnder the color of urginitie / and of wearinge a shirte of heare / and hanginge his shroud and socking / or buiral shetet at his beds feet / and mortyffeng his body / and straynes of lyfe / kept thre whores at once in his chamber at Winchester / to serva / not onely him self / but also to help the virgin preestes about in the contry, as it was prouid / That they might with more ease & lesse payn kepe their blessed urginitie. This thinge is so trew / and was so notoriousl known / that the matter cam to examination of the iustices of peace / of whom dyuerse be yet lyuinge / as Sir Ihon Kingsmill / Sir Henry Semar / etc. And was before them confessed / and his shrowd & sheart of hear openly shewed / and the harlots openly in the stretes / & great churche of Whinchester punished. These be knownen storyes, whiche Martin² and the Papists can not denye /” ³—

¹ Sir Thomas More.
² Stephen Gardiner.
³ I add the continuation of the passage, which is somewhat violent and exaggerated, so that it may lessen, perchance, the effect of the charge against Boorde. "And they know well enough themselves / that there be of the lyke thousands / whiche I omitt for brefenes / that destroy this affection of Martin's provinge him a false lyer in this point.—When the deuell by losenes
§ 40. [Forewords: Boorde's Life. Guilty or Not Guilty?]

Boorde's Apologie, &c., pp. 48, 49; printed 1556.

§ 40. Now we know, on the one hand, that "the way of a man with a maid" is one of the four things that Agur the son of Jakeh knew not (Proverbs xxx. 1, 18-19), and we all are in like case: we know that lechery is an old-man's sin, and that Boorde had been charged with the same sin in early life, though he denied it; and we see that the bishop of Boorde's diocese and town brought the charge as one of public notoriety against Boorde's memory, appealed to witnesses then living, in confirmation of it, and (as I suppose, though I have not seen Ponet's first edition of 1555) re-affirmed the charge in the second edition of his book published in the year of his death (he died April 11, 1556). We know too that Boorde under-

of liuinge / appeareth in his owne forme / he can not so easily deceaue the world as otherwise / wherfore who seeth not that he vseth to put on a vysor of holines / of the punishment of the body / and austeritie of lyfe as often as he myndeth thorowly to deceaue? Which thinge he hath most perfectly brought to passe in all the orders of Antichrist. Of Popes / Cardinals / Buschoppes / preestes / monks / Chanons / fryers / etc. To the perfect establishment of buggery of whoredom, and of all vngodlynes / and to the vniuersall ruine of the true faith of Christs trew religion / & of all vertrew and godly lyfe. And for eumpassinge of this enterpyse / Doctor Martin the lawyer is become the deuils Secretary / who being taught by his master / taketh diligent heed throughout his book / that in no wyse he geue any kynde of praise or commendacion to matrimony in any kinde of peple. But termeth somtyme (carnall libertinie) somtyme (the basest state of lyfe in the churche of God) somtyme (a color of bawdry) somtyme (that it is a let for a man to geue himself whollye to God). Somtyme that (it is a doubling / rather then a takinge away the desyer of flesh) making himself therin wyser then God, who gave it for a remedye against the lasciuiousnes of the flesh, as God him selfe witnessed when he sayd faciamus ci aditiorium lette vs make Adam a helper. And in the leaues .121. & 122. he goethe aboute to proue by Saynte Paule that all menne should anoide marriadge. Wher-by he confirme the opinions of Montanus, Tatianus / and suche other abhominable heritiques."—Ponet's Apology, pp. 49, 50, 51.

1 Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. Pt I. p. 529, reprints Ponet's attack on Boorde; "Ponet also expected these sanctimonious pretenders to a single life, by the horrible uncleannesses they were guilty of." Bp Ponet had previously written A Defence for Marriage of Priestes, 1549, but this (says our copier, Mr Wood) contains nothing about Andrew Boorde. Strype says that Ponet wrote this book in 1544, when an exile (Memorials, vol. iii. Pt 1. p. 235). But see his Crammer, i. 75, 475, 1058, and especially his Life of Parker, ii. 445, and foll. He or his editors confuse the layman's tract on which Parker's Defence of Priestes' Marriages was founded, with Ponet's two tracts, though it has nothing to do with either of them, except being on the same subject.

2 Boorde must have been at least 57 in 1547.
stood women,\(^1\) witness his article on them in his *Breuyary*, Fol. lxxxii. back:—

"\(^1\) The .242. Chapitre dothe shewe of a woman.

MVLier is the latin worde. In greke it is named *Gyn\(\iota\)*. In Englyshe it is named a woman; first, when a woman was made of God, she was named *Virago* because she dyd come of a man, as it doth appere in the seconde Chapitre of the Genesis. Furthermore now why a woman is named a woman, I wyll shewe my mynde. *Homo* is the latin worde, and in Englyshe it is as wel for a woman as for a man; for a woman, the silables converted, is no more to say as a man in wo; and set wo before man, and then it is woman; and wel she may be named a woman, for as muche as she doth bere chyldren with wo and peyne, and also she is subiect to man, except it be there where the white mare is the better horse; therfore *Vt homo non cantet cum cuculo*, let every man please his wyfe in all matters, and displesse her not, but let her haue her owne wyl, for that she wyll haue, who so euery say may.

\(\text{GE}\) The cause of this matter.

This matter doth spryngy a of euyl educacion or bringynge vp, and of a sensuall and a peruerse mynde, not fearyng god nor worldely shame.

\(\text{GE}\) A remedy.

\(\text{GE}\) Phisike can nat helpe this matter, but onely God and greate sycknes maye subdue this matter, and no man els.  *Vt mulier non coeat cum alio viro nisi cum proprio*, &c.

\(\text{GE}\) Belene this matter if you wyll.

TAKE the gal of a Gote and the gal of a Wolfe, myxe them togyther, and put to it the oyle of Olyue, *ET VNG. virga*. Or els take of the fatynes of a Gote that is but of a yere of age. *ET VNG. virga*. Or els take the brayynes of a Choffe, and myxe it with Hony. *ET VNG. virga*. But the best remedy that I do knowe for this matter, let every man please his wyfe, and beate her nat, but let her haue her owne wyll, as I haue sayde."

We know, too, that medical students are apt to gain their knowledge of women's secrets—and Boorde knew plenty—by practical experiences inconsistent with a vow of chastity; and that in the 16th century, both at home and abroad, opportunities for indulgence must have been many, to a roving doctor. Still, the knowledge of women's external and internal arrangements shown by Boorde in his *Bre-

\(^1\) Compare the answer to the question what women most desire in *The Marriage of Sir Gawaine*, Percy Folio Ballads and Romances, i. 112. 'Item, I gene to all women, sovereyntyee, which they most desyre; & that they neuer lacke excuse.'—*Wyll of the Dewyll*. 
nyary may have been only professional, and got purely. He also
knew all the Doctors' remedies for lechery,¹ and the penalty of indul-
genoe by old men; though, as he says, "it is hard to get out of the
flesh what is bred in the bone".² We know too that the Protestant
parson, William Harrison, in his Description of England, printed in
1577, within 30 years of Boorde's death, called him "a lewd and vn-
gratious priest," and in the 2nd edition of 1586-7 "a lewd popish
hypocrite, and vngratious priest,"³ using lewd in its modern sense.
On the other hand, we know that Bp Ponet's charge was made at
second hand, in a controversial book, and we have Anthony a
Wood's suggested plea, above 140 years afterwards, in mitigation of
the charge:

"He always professed celibacy, and did zealously write against
such monks, priests, and friers, that violated their vow by marriage,
as many did when their respective houses were dissolv'd by king
Hen. 8. But that matter being irksome to many in those days, was
the reason, I think, why a Calvinistical bishop (Joh. Ponet, B. of
Winchester, who was then, as it seems, married), fell foul upon him,
by reporting (In his Apology fully answering, &c. Tho. Martin's
Book, &c., printed 1555, p. 32. See more in Tho. Martin) openly,
that under colour of virginity and strictness of life, he kept three
whores at once in his chamber at Winchester, to serve not only him-
self, but also to help the virgin priests, &c. about 1547. How true
this is, I cannot say (though the matter, as the bishop reports, was
examined before several justices of peace) because the book here
quoted contains a great deal of passion, and but little better lan-
guage, than that of foul-mouth'd Bale, not only against him (And.
Borde), but also against Dr. Joh. Storie, Dr. Th. Martin, &c. The
first of whom, he saith, kept a wench called Magd. Bowyer, living in
Grandpooole in the suburbs of Oxon; and the other, another call'd
Alice Lamb, living at the Christopher inn in the said city. But
letting these matters pass (notwithstanding I have read elsewhere⁴
that the said three whores, as the bishop calls them, were only

¹ See his chapter on Priapisms, p. 100, below.
² "And an ole man to fall to carnall copulacion to get a chylde, he doth
kyll a man, for he doth kyl hym selfe, except reason with grace do rule hym.
But oftymes in this matter olde men doth dote, for it is harde to get out of the
fleshe, that is bred in the bone. And furthermore I do saye Qui multum
coniant dui vinere non possunt, for it doth ingender dyuers infirmytys, specially
if venerious persons vse carnall copulacion vpon a full stomake."—Breuiary,
Fol. xxxi. back. See too p. 84, l. 4, below.
³ See p. 106, below.
⁴ Wood gives no reference, and I don’t know what book or MS he alludes to.
Why was Boorde put in the Fleet? [§ 40, 41.

patients that occasionally recurred to his house), I cannot otherwise but say, that our author Borde was esteemed a noted poet, a witty and ingenious person, and an excellent physician of his time; and that he is reported by some to have been, not only physician to King Hen. 8, but also a member of the collegue of physicians at London, to whom he dedicated his Breviary of Health."—Athen. Oxon. I. 170, 171.

but on the evidence before us I must confess myself unable, as judge, to ask, or hint to, the jury, to acquit the prisoner. Perhaps the publication or investigation of the Winchester records will throw further light on the matter. It is a painful business to wind up the record of a useful life with; but men are men. (See p. 85, No. VII.)

§ 41. We come now to the closing scene. Our lettered and widely-travelled healer of others' bodies, our preacher to others' souls, and reprover of others' vices, our hero sinned against and sinning, lies in the Fleet prison, sick in body, yet whole in mind. He is there, says Bp Bale in 1557-9, for his sin at Winchester, and has poisoned himself to save public shame:

"Quam sanctus hic pater, Vuintonie in sua domo, pro suis concilibus Papae sacrificulis prostitulum nutiret, in eo charitatis officio reprehensus, unenato pharmaco anno Domini 1548 sibijpsi

1 The prior part of Wood's Memoir, with many mistakes, is as follows:

"Andrew Borde, who writes himself Andreas Perforatus, was born, as it seems, at Pevensey, commonly called Pensey, in Sussex, and not unlikely educated in Wykeham's school, near to Winchester, brought up at Oxford, (as he saith, in his Introduction to Knowledge, cap. 35), but in what house, unless in Hart-hall, I know not. Before he had taken a degree, he entred himself a brother of the Carthusian order, at or near to London? where continuing till he was wearied out with the severity of that order, he left it, and for a time applied his muse to the study of physic in this university. Soon after, having a rambling head, and an unconstant mind, he travelled through most parts of Europe (through and round about Christendom, and out of Christendom, as he saith, Introduction to Knowledge, cap. 7), and into some parts of Africa. At length upon his return, he settled at Winchester, where he practised his faculty, and was much celebrated for his good success therein. In 1541 and 1542, I find him living at Montpelier in France, at which time he took the degree of doctor of physic, and soon after being incorporated in the same degree at Oxon, he lived for a time at Pevensey, in Sussex, and afterwards at his beloved city of Winchester; where, as at other places [invention or gammon, this 'other places'], it was his custom to drink water three days in a week, to wear constantly a shirt of hair, and every night to hang his shroud and socking or burial-sheet at his bed's-feet, according as he had done, as I conceive, while he was a Carthusian." [Why accept the hair-shirt, &c., and reject the whores, Mr Anthony?]

2 Read 1549.
mortem acceleravit, ne in publicum spectandus ueniret."—Bale's
Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytainiae, Catalogus; Scriptores
nostri Temporis (after Cent. xii.) p. 105, edit. 1569.

Or, as Wood says:

"Joh. Bale, in the very ill language that he gives of Dr Borde,
saith 1 that the brothel-house which he kept for his brother-virgins
being discovered, took physical poison to hasten his death, which was,
as he saith, (but false 2) in 1548. This is the language of one who
had been a bishop in Ireland."—Wood's Athen. Oxon. I. 173, ed.
Bliss, 1813.

He is there for his poverty, 3 says Mr Payne Collier, with that no-
torous daringness of invention that has made him read imaginary lines
into MSS, and spelling into words, and has rendered him a wonder and
warning to the editors of this age. 4

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2 Bale is wrong by less than a month; he wrote in old-style times.
3 "poverty brought him to the Fleet prison, where, according to Wood
(Ath. Oxon. I. 172, edit. Bliss) he died in 1549." (Bibliographical Cata-
logue, i. 327.) And yet Bliss gives Boorde's Will, showing all the houses
and property that he left by it!
4 To the Council of the Camden Society, who have lately put him among
them, an object of honour, and (I suppose) a model for imitation.

As minor instances of this 'daring' of Mr Collier's, take the last four that
I have hit on in following him over the first 61 pages of his print of the
Stationers' Registers, and one song in a Royal MS. 1. The clerk has left out
the subject of one ballad, and entered on leaf 22, back, 'a ballytt of made
by nicholas baltroppe;' the a of made is not very decided, so that a hasty reader
might take the word to be mode. Ritson (or the man he followed) so read it.
Mr Collier prints the entry, leaves out the word of, and says, "We cannot
suppose that Ritson saw the entry himself, and misread the words, 'A ballytt
made,' 'A ballytt of mode.'" 2. On leaf 75 of the Register, the clerk has
made a first entry of the printing a picture of a monstrous child born at
Chichester, for which 4d. was paid; a second entry of one born in Suffolk,
the sum paid for which is not put to it; and a third entry of the print of a
monstrous pig, for which the usual 4d. was also paid. Mr Collier has run
parts of the 1st and 2nd entries together, making one of the two, and put
'[no sum]' at the end: he has then added the following note 'Perhaps the
clerk of the Company did not know what ought to be the charge for a license
for a publication of this kind' [though he had entered the liijd just before];
'but, when he made the subsequent entry, he had ascertained that it should be
the same as for a ballad, play, or tract.]' 3. On the back of leaf 84 of the
MS, in an entry is 'our salvation coseth' [= cosest[et]h] only in christe.'
Mr Collier prints this 'cōsesth' as 'coseth,' and says we ought to read for
'coseth,' consistēth. 4. In MS No. 58 of the Appendix to the Royals in the
British Museum is the song or ballad, 'By a bancke as I lay,' set to music.
Mr Collier prints the words in his Stat. Reg. i. 193-4, makes two lines,
So fayre be seld on few
Hath florishe ylke adew,
As we know the sad state of London prisoners in Elizabeth's time from Stubbes,—and it was doubtless worse earlier—we may, if we like, conjecture that Boorde's illness may have been the "Sickenes of the prison" for which he prescribes in his *Breuyary*, Fol. xxvi. back.

"¶ The .59. Chapitre doth shewe of the syckenes of the prisons.

I Arcinoma is the greke worde. In englyshe it is named the sickenes of the prison. And some auctours doth say that it is a Canker, the whiche doth corode and eate the superional partes of the body, but I do take it for the sickenes of the prison.

¶ The cause of this infirmitie.

¶ This infirmitie doth come of corruption of the ayer, and the breth and fylth whiche doth come from men, as many men to be together in a lytle rome, hauyng but lytle open ayer.

¶ A remedy.

¶ The chefe remedy is for man, so to lyue, and so to do, that he deserve nat to be brought into no prison. And if he be in prison, eyther to get frendes to helpe hym out, or els to vse some perfumes, or to smel to some odiferous sauours, and to kepe the prison cleane."

and observes on these "there is some corruption, for it seems quite clear that 'few' and 'adew' must be wrong, although we know not what words to substitute for those of the MS." Why not keep to the manuscript's own,—not misreading it, and foisting your own rubbish on to it?—

So sayre be field on fen
hath floryshe ylke a den.

These rashnesses arose, no doubt, from Mr Collier taking his careless copying as very careful work, not reading his proofs or revises with his MS, and yet finding fault with other people as if he had so read them.

A neat instance of Mr Collier's way of correcting a mistake of this kind occurs in his *Stat. Reg.* ii. xiv. Mr Halliwell, having in a note duly attributed the Ballad 'Faire wordes make fooles faine' to its writer, Richard Edwards, Mr Collier misses the note, and says (*Stat. Reg.* i. 87) that Mr Halliwell *was not aware* of Edwards's authorship. Having found afterwards that that gentleman's print showed his awareness of the fact, Mr Collier corrects his own mistake by saying (*Stat. Reg.* ii. 14) that Mr Halliwell did properly assign the ballad to Edwards, "a circumstance to which we did not advert when we penned our note."

Lastly, we have the beginning of the process that resulted in the imaginary words in the Dulwich MSS, in Mr Collier's printing the Stationers' clerk's "kynge of " as "kynge of skottes" (*Stat. Reg.* i. 140, at foot). Here Mr Collier's insertion is the right one; but this importing his knowledge without notice into one MS, led to his importing his fancies into others, also without notice.

But whether Bale be right or wrong in the causes he assigns to Andrew Boorde's imprisonment and death, here is all that Boorde himself tells us:—

"IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. The yere of our lorde God, a Thousande five hundredth fortie and nyne, the xjth daye of April, I, Andrewe Bord of Wynchester, in Hamshire, Doctour of Phisike, being in the close waredes of the Flete, prisoner in London, hole in mynde and sicke in body, make this my last will in maner and forme [following]. First, I bequeth my soule to Almyghtie God, and my bodie to be buried in erthe, where yt shall please my Executour. Also I bequeth vnto the poore prisoners now lying in the close waredes of the Flete, x s. Also I bequeth to Edwarde Hudson a fetherbed, a bolster, a paire of shettes, and my best coverlet. Also I bequeth and giue to Richard Mathew, to his heires and to his assignes, two tenementes or howses lying in the socke in the towne of Lynne. Also I giue and bequeth vnto the same Richard Mathew, to his heires and to his assignes, all those tenementes with thappartencentures whiche I had by the death of my brother lying in Pemsey in Sussex. All whiche two tenementes in Lynne, which I hadd by the gifte of one Mr Conysby, and those other tenementes in Pemsey whiche I had by my brother, with all and singuler ther appurtencences, I will and giue, by this my last Wyll, vnto Richard Mathew, and to his heires and his assignes for ever (the dentye of the Lordes of the Fee always excepted). The residue of all my goodes vnbekeththed, moveable and vnmovetable, I will and bequeth vnto Richard Mathew, whom I make my Executour, and he to dispose as he shall thynke best for my soule and all Christen soules. Also I giue and bequeth all my chattelles and houses lying abowe in Wynchester or in Wyndchester vnto Richard Mathew and his assignes. Witnesses vnto this wyll,

1 He has dropt the "prest" of his letters.
2 "The 'Soken' was used to distinguish the inhabited part of the parish of All Saints, South Lynn, which, though within the fortifications, was subject to the Lec of the Hundred of Freebridge-Lynn, from the Bishop's Borough of Lynn. Ex inf.: Alan H. Swatman, Esq., of Lynn. It was incorporated with the Borough, temp. Phil. & Mary."—Cooper.
3 "Dr Bordes friend and benefactor at Lynn was William Conyngsby, Esq., sometime Recorder of, and Burgess in Parliament for, that Borough, who, in July, 1530, was made a justice of the King's Bench, and died in a few months. In addition to his house at Eston Hall, Wallington, he resided in a mansion-house, in a street called the Wool-Market in Lynn. He was much trusted by the Crown and by Cromwell, to whom he addressed several letters preserved in the State-paper Office."—W. D. Cooper, in the Sussex Archaeological Society's Collections, xiii. 268, 269.

* "Wm. Conysby was elected recorder of Lynn, pursuant to the new charter, on Monday the feast of St. Michael, 16th Hen. VIII., and was elected Burgess to serve in parliament, for that borough, 31st March, 25th Hen. VII. (Ex inf.: Alan H. Swatman, Esq.) He was afterwards a Judge (See Foss's Judges, v., 115.) I have not been able to identify Bordes's houses."—Cooper.
† "He also owned West Lincs Manor, in Norfolk."—Cooper.
Boorde's BREUARY. He likes Ale and Wine. [§ 42, 43. a.

WILLM. MANLEY, Gent. JOHN PANNELL. MARTEN LANE. HUMPHREY BELL. EDWARD HUDSON. THOMAS WOSENAM. NICHOLAS BRUNE.

"Boorde's Will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, by the oath of Richard Mathew, on the 23th of April, 1549; and the copy is in the register Popplewell, 32."¹

Boorde must thus have died very soon after the date of his Will, 11 April, 1549; but we have no record of where he was buried.

§ 42. Portraits of Andrew Boorde. No authentic portrait of Boorde exists besides that which he has left us in his works. Neither of the two old woodcuts of him in this volume (pages 143, 305) was ever drawn for him. The engraving of him in the 1796 edition of Seogin's Jests, after (?) Holbein's ² picture, of a man carrying a bone (?) in one hand and a cylindrical jar in the other, is not authenticated. Readers who want to know Boorde must therefore go to his works, of which the two most characteristic and interesting are contained in the present volume. But his BREUARY has also many incidental passages containing statements of his opinions, notices of his travels, and touches of himself, which ought to be before the reader, and the chief of these I therefore extract here.

§ 43. Characteristic Extracts from Boorde's Breuary.

a. Let us take first the passages in which Boorde speaks of himself or his tastes.

I. Boorde hates water,³ but likes good Ale and Wine.

"This impediment [Hidrofolbia or ahborynge of water] doth come, as many auctours doth say, of a melancoly humour, for the inpotent is named a melancoly passion; but I do saye as I do knowe, not onelye by my selfe, but by manye other, when I dyd vs the seas, and of all ages, and of all complexions beyng in my company, that this matter dyd come more of color than melancoly, considerynge that color is mouable, and doth swimme in the stomake.

¹ Henry Popplewell's will is the first in it.
² Mr R. N. Wornum says it is not Holbein's.
³ He tells you also to wash your face only once a week if you want to clear it of spots. On the other days, wipe it with a Skarlet cloth. See Fol. xlix. and p. 95 here. See also p. 102, 'wype the face with browne paper that is softe.'
A remedy.

For this matter, purge Coler and melancholy humours; for I my selfe, which am a Phisicion, is combered muche lyke this passion, for I can not away with water, nor waters by nauigation, wherfore I do leue al water¹, and to take my selfe to good Ale; and other whyle for Ale I do take good Gascon wyne, but I wyl not drynke stronge wynes, as Malmesey, Romney, Romaniske wyne, wyne Qoorse, wyne Greke, and Secke; but other whyle, a draught or two of Muscadell or Basterde, Osey, Caprycke, Aligant, Tyre, Raspyte², I wyl not refuse; but white wyne of Angeou, or wyne of Orleance, or Renyshe wyne, white or red, is good for al men; there is lytle read Renyshe wyne, except it growe about Bon, beyonde Colyn. There be many other wynes in divers regions, provinces, and countreys, that we haue not in Englande. But this I do say, that all the kyngdomes of the worlde haue not so many sondry kyndes of wynes, as be in Englande, and yet there is nothynge to make wyne of.”—Fol. C.xxii.

Boorde does not love Whirlwinds. His opinion of Evil Spirits.

"[¶ The .183. Chapitre dothe shewe of standynge
tp of mannhes heare.

] Orripilacio is the latin worde. In Englyshe it is named stand-
yng vp of a mans heare.

[¶ The Cause of this impediment.

This impediment doth come of a colde reume myxte with a
melancoly humour and fleume. It may come by a folyshe feare,
when a man is by hym selfe alone, and is a frayde of his owne
shadow, or of a spirite. O, what saye I? I shulde haue sayde, afrayd
of the spirite of the butry, whiche be perylous bestaes. for suche
spirites doth trouble a man so sore that he can not dyuers times
stande vpon his legges. Al this notwithstandyng, with out any
doute, in thunderynge and in lyghtenyng and tempesteous wethers
many euyl thynges hath ben sene and done; but of all these afores-
sayde thynges, a whorlewynde I do not loue: I in this matter myght
bothe wryte & speake, the which I wyl passe ouer at this tyme.

[¶ The seconde cause of this impediment.

This impediment doth come of a faynte herte, and of a feare-
full myynde, and of a mannhes folyshe conceyte, and of a tymereous
fantasy.

[¶ A remedy.

Fyrsste, let every man, woman, or chylde, animate them selfe
vpon God, and trust in him that neuer deceyued no man, that euer
had, hath, or shal haue confidence in hym. what can any euyl spirite
or deuell do any man harme without His wyll? And if it be my

¹ Il n'a pas soif qui de l'eau ne boit: Prov. Hee's not athirst that will not water drinke.—Colgrace, A.D. 1611. See p. 255, below. ² for 'Raspyce.'
Lorde Goddes wyl, I wolde all the deuyls of hell dyd teare my fleshe al to peeces! for Goddes wyll is my wyll in all thynges."—Fol. lxv, back.

Yet Boorde is afraid that Devils may enter into him. He is also shocked at the viciou state of Rome.

"The fyrst tyme that I did dwell in Rome, there was a gentylwoman of Germany the whiche was possessed of deuyls, & she was brought to Rome to be made whole. For within the precynt of S. Peters church, without S. Peters chapel, standeth a pyller of white marble grated rounde about with Yron, to the whiche our Lorde Iesus Chryste dyd lye in hym selve vnto in [so] Pylates hall, as the Romaynes doth say, to the which pyller al those that be possessed of the deuyll, out of dyuers countres and nacions be brought thyther, and (as they saye of Rome) such persons be made there whole. Amonge al other, this woman of Germany, whiche is .CCCC. myles and oddde frome Rome, was brought to the pyller; I then there byeng present, with great strength and vyolently, with a .xx. or mo men, this woman was put into that pyller within the yron grate, and after her dyd go in a Preest, and dyd examyne the woman vnder this maner in the Italyan tonge:—'Thou deuyl or deuyls, I do abiere the by the potenciall power of the father, and of the sonne our Lorde Iesus Chryste, and by the vertue of the holy ghoste, that thou do shew to me, for what cause that thou doest possesse this woman!' what wordes was answered, I wyll not wryte, for men wyll not beleue it, but wolde say it were a foule and great lye, but I did heare that I was afrayed to tary any longer, lest that the deuyls shulde haue come out of her, and to haue entred into me, remembryngo what is specified in the .viii. Chapitre of S. Mathewe, when that Iesus Christ had made .ii. men whole, the whiche was possessed of a legio[n] of deuyls. A legio[n] is .ix. M. ix. C. nynety and nyne; the sayd deuyls dyd desyre Iesus, that when they were expelled out of the aforesayd two men, that they myght enter into a herde of hoggges; and so they dyd, and the hoggges dyd runne into the sea, and were drowned. I, consyderynge this, and weke of faith and afeard, crossed my selve, and durst not to heare and se suche matters, for it was so stupendious and aboue all reason, yf I shulde wryte it. and in this matter I dyd maruel of an other thyng: yf the efficacite of such makyng one whole, dyd rest in the vertue that was in the pyller, or els in the wordes that the prest dyd speake. I do iudge it shulde be in the holy wordes that the prest dyd speake, and not in the pyller, for and yf it were in the pyller the Byshops and the cardinallles that hath ben many yeres past, and those that were in my tyme, and they that hath ben sence, wolde haue had it in more reuereence, and not to suffire rayne, hayle, snowe, and such wether to fal on it, for it hath no coueryng. but at last, when that I dyd consyder that the vernacle, the fysnomy of Christ, and skarse the sacrament of the aulter was in maner
vncouered, & al .S. Peters churche downe in ruyne, & ytterly decayed, and nothynge set by ; consydering, in olde chapels, beggers and baudes, hoores and theues, dyd ly within them ; asses, and moyles dyd defyle within the precynct of the churche ; and byenge and sellynge there was vse within the precynt of the sayd churche, that it dyd pytie my hart and mynde to come and to se any tyme more the sayde place and churche. Then dyd I go amonges the fryers mendicantes, and dyuers tymes I dyd se relevatues pro de-functis hange vppon fryers backes in walettes ; then I wente to other religidous houses, as to the Celestynes and to the Charter-house, and there I dyd se nullus ordo. And after that I dyd go amonges the monkes & chanoons and cardynalles, and there I dyd se horror inhabitan. Then did I go rounde aboute Rome, and in every place I did se Lechery and boggery, deceyt and vsery in every corner and place. And if saint Peter and Paule do lye in Rome, they do lye in a hole vnder an Aulter, hauyng as much golde and suyluer, or any other iewell as I haue aboute myne eye; and yf it do rayne, hayle, or snowe, yf the wind stande Estwarde, it shal blowe the rayne, hayle, or snow to saynt Peters spelunke; wherfore it maketh manye men to thynke that the two holye Apostles shulde not lye in Rome, specially in the place as the Romaynes say they do lye. I do marneyle greatlye that suche an holye place and so great a Churche as is in all the worlde (except saynt Sophis churche in Constantinople), shulde be in such a vile case as it is in. Consyderynge that the bysshops of Romes palice, and his castel named Castel Angil standyng vpon the water or great ryuer of Tiber within Rome, and other of their places, and all that Car-

1 "And lyghtlye there is none of theym [Cardinals and Prelates] withoute .iii. or .iii. paiges trymmed like yonge prynces; for what purpos I wolde be both to tell.—If I shoulde saye, that vnder theyr longe robes, they hyde the greateste pride of the worlde, it might happen some men wolde beleue it, but that they are the vaine men of all other, theyr owne actes doe wel declare. For theyr ordinarie pastime is to disguise them selues, to go lauogh at the Courtisanes houses, and in the shraying tyme, to ride maskyng about with them, which is the occasion that Rome wanteth no iolle dames, specially the strete called Italia, whiche is no more than halfe a myle longe, fayre byyled on both sydes, in maner inhabited with none other but Courtisanes, some worthe .x. and some worthe .xx. thousand crownes, more or lesse, as theyr reputacyon is. And many tymes you shal see a Courtisane ride into the country, with .x. or .xii. horse waityng on hir.—Briefely by reporte, Rome is not without 40,000, harlottes, mainteigned for the most part by the cleryge and theyr folowers. So that the Romanes them selues suffer theyr wifes to goe seldome abrode, either to churche or other place, and some of theim scarceleye to looke out at a lattise window, wherof theyr prouerbe sayth, In Roma vale piu la putana, che la moglie Romane, that is to say, 'in Rome the harlot hath a better lyfe, than she that is the Romanes wyfe.'—In theyr apparaile they are as gourgeous as may be, and haue in theyr goyng such a solemn pace, as I neuer sawe. In conclusion, to liue in Rome is more costly than in any other place; but he that hathe money maye haue there what hym lyketh."—1549 A.D., Thomas's History of Itlye, fol. 39 (edit. 1561).
Boorde is told of a Spirit by an Ancresse at St Alban's.

"The .119. Chapitre dothe shewe of the Mare, and of the spirites named Incubus and Succubus.

Ephialtes is the greke worde. Epialtes is the barbarus worde.

In latin it is named Incubus and Succubus. In Englyshe it is named the Mare. And some say that it is kynd of spirites, the which doth infect and trouble men when they be in theyr beddes slepyng, as Saynt Augustine saythe De ciniute dei, Capi. 20. and Saynt Thomas of Alquine sayth, in his fyrst parte of his diuinitie, Incubus doth infracte and trouble women, and Succubus doth infracte men. Some holdeth opynyony that Marlyn was begotten of his mother of the spirite named Incubus. Esdras doth speke of this spirite, and I haue red much of this spirite in Speculum exemplorum; and in my tyme at saynt Albons here in Englaunde, was infracted an Ancresse of such a spirite, as she shewed me, & also to credyble persons, but this is my opynyony, that this Ephialtes, otherwyse named the Mare, the

1 Compare the curious set of depositions in a Lansdowne MS, 101, leaves 21-33, as to 'the Catt' which Agnes Bowker, aged 27, brought 'florthe at Herborogh, within the Jurisdiction of ye Archeadaconerie of Leicester, 22 Janu. 1568.' The vermilion drawing of 'the Catt,' its exact size, 'measured by a paire of compasses,' is given on the inside of the folio, leaf 32, back, and leaf 33. Agnes Bowker seems to have been delivered of a child, and to have substituted a flayed kitten in its place.
whiche doth come to man or woman when they be sleepe, doth come of some euyl humour; consyderynge that they the which be thus troubled sleepeinge, shall thynde that they do se, here, & fele;—the thyng that is not true. And in such troublous sleepeinge a man shal scarce drawe his breth.

The cause of this impediment.

This impediment doth come of a vaporous humour or fumosytie rysynge out and frome the stomake to the brayne; it may come also thorowe surfetynge and dronkennes, and lyenge in the bed vpryght; it may come also of a reumatyke humour supressyng the brayne; and the humour discendynge, doth perturbate the hert, bringyng a man sleepeinge into a dreame, to thynde that the which is nothyng, is somewhat; and to fele that thyng that he feleth not, and to se that thyng that he seeth not, with such lyke matters.

A remedy.

Fyrste, let suche persons beware of lyenge vpryght, lest they be sufocated, or dye sodenly, or els at length they wyll fall into a madnes, named Mania; therfore let suche persons kepe a good dyet in catyne and drykynge, let theym kepe honeste company, where ther is honest myrth, and let them beware of musyne and studienne ypon any matter the whiche wyl trouble the brayne; and vse diuers tymes sternutacions with gargarices, and beware of wynes, and everey thyng the whiche doth engender fumositie.

I I have red, as many more hath done, that can tell if I do wryte true or false, there is an herbe named \textit{fuga Demonum}, or as the Grecians do name it \textit{Ipericon}. In Englyshe it [is] named saynt Johns worte, the which herbe is of that vertue that it doth repell suche malyfycousnes or spirites."—Fol. xlv.

\textit{Boorde has Cachexia, or a Bad Habit of Body.}

"If the 50. Chapitre dothe shew of an infirmitie the whiche is concurrant with an Hyedropsy.

\textit{Accies, or Cuccxia, or Cathesia}, be the greke wordes, In latin it is named \textit{Mala habitudo}. In Englyshe it is named an euyl dweller, for it is an infirmitie concurrant with the hidropsies.

The cause of this infirmytie.

This infirmitie doth come thorowe euyl, slacke, or slowe digestion.

A remedy.

Vse the confection of Alkengi, and kepe a good dyet, & beware of drykynge late, and drynde not before thou do cate somewhat, and vse temperate drynkes, and labour or exercise the body to sweete. I was in this infirmitie, and by great traumyl I dyd make my selfe whole, more by labour than by phisicke in receyptes of medecines."—Fol. xxiii. back.
Boorde accidentally has the Stone, and cures himself of it.

"[§ 207. Chapitre dothe shewe of the stone in the bladder

Lithiasis is the greke worde. In latin it is named *Calculus in vesica*, and *Lapis* is taken for all the kyndes of the stones. In Englysshe, *lithiasis* is the stone in the bladder. And some doth saye that *Nefresis* is the stone in the raynes of the backe, theryfore loke in the Chapytre named *Nefresis*.

¶ The cause of this impediment.

This impedimente doth come eyther by nature, or els by eatynge of euyd and vyseus meates, and euyd drinkes, as thyeke ale or beare, eatynge broyled and fryed meates, or meates that be dryed in the smoke, as bacon, martynmas biefe, reed hearynge, sprottles, and salt meates, and crustes of bercde, or of pasties, and such lyke.

¶ A remedy.

If it do come by nature, there is no remedy; a man maye mitigate the peye, and breake the stone for a tyme, as shalbe rhershed. If it do come accidentally, by eatynge of meates that wyll ingender the stone, take of the bloud of an Hare, & put it in an erthen pot, and put thereto .iii. vnces of Sa[xi]frage rotes, and bake this togither in an Ouen, & than make ponder of it, and drynke of it mornyng and euenyng. For this mater, this is my practise: fyrrste I do vse a dyet eatynge no newe bread, excepte it be .xxiii. houres olde. I refuse Cake bread, Saffron bread, Rye bread, Lenyn bread, Cracknelles, Symnelles, and all maner of crustes; than I do drynke no newe ale, nor no maner of beere made with Hoppes, nor no hoote wynes. I do refrayne from Fleshe and fishe, whiche be dryed in the smoke, and from salte meates and shell fishes. I do cate no grosse meates, nor burned fleshe, nor fishe. thus vsynge my selfe, I thanke God I dyd make my selfe whole, and many other. but at the begynnyng, when I went about to make my selfe whole, I dyd take the ponder folowyng: I dyd take of Brome sedes, of Percilles sedes, of Saxfrage sedes, of Groned sedes, of eyther of them an vnce; of Gete stone a quarter of an vnce, of Date stone as much; of egges shelles that chekyn hath lyne in, the pyth pulled out, half an vnce; make ponder of al this, and drynke halfe a sponcfull mornyng and euenyng with posset ale or whit wyn. Also the water of Hawes is good to drynke."—Fol. lxxii. (See p. 292, below.)

Boorde occasionally gets a *Nit or a Fly* down his Weasand, and commits the Cure to God.

"[§ 356. Chapitre dothe shewe of the Wesande or throte boll.

Rachea artery be the latin worde. In Englysshe it is named the wesande, or the throte bol, by the whiche the wynde and the
ayr is conveyed to the longes; & if any crome of brede, or drop of drynke, go or enter into the sayde wesande, ye a man do not coughe he shulde be stranguled; and therefore, whether he wyl or wyll not, he must coughe, and laye before hym that is in the throte and mouth; nor he can be in no quietnes vnto the thyme the matter be expelled or ex-pulsed out of the throte, as it doth more largely appere in the Chapitre named Strangulacio.

‡ The cause of this impediment.

‡ This impediment doth come of gredynes to eate or drynke sodeynly, not taking leysure; also it may come of some flye inhausted into a mans throte sodeynly, as I have sene by other men as by my selfe; for a nytte or a flye comming vnto a mannes mouth, when he doth take in his breth and ayer, loke what smal thynge is before the mouth, is inhausted into the wesande, and so it perturbeth the pacient with coughynge.

A remedy.

‡ For the fyrst cause, be nat to gredy, eate and drynke with leyser, fearyng God; and as for the seconde cause, I do committe only to God: for this matter, coughynge is good."—Fol. C.xiii. See too Fol. C.xxii. back.

Boorde can take-in other Phisicians by his Urine.

"There is not the wisest Phisicion liuyne, but that I (beynge an whole man) may deceuyue him by my vryne; and they shall judge a sickness that I have not nor neuer had, and all is thorowe distem-peraunce of the bodye vset the day before that the vryne is made in the mornynge; and this I do saye, as for the colours of vrynes, [vryne] is a strumpet or a harlot, and in it many phisicions maye be deceuyed, but as touchynge the contentes of vrynes, experte phisicions maye knowe the infyrmyties of a pacient vnfallybly."—Extrauagantes, Fol. xxvi.

Boorde has seen Worms come out of Men.

"The .3.64. Chapitre dothe shewe of dunders kyndes of wormes.

Ernes is the latyn worde. In grecke it is named Scolices. In Englishe it is wormes. And there be many kyndes of wormes. There be in the bodye thre sortes, named Lumbrici, Asecrides, and Cucurbiti. Lumbrici be longe white wormes in the body. Asecrides be smale lyttele white wormes as bygge as an here, and halfe an ynche of length; and they be in a gutte named the longacion; and they wyl tycle in a mans foundemcnt. Cucurbiti be square wormes in a mans body: and I have sene wormes come out of a mans body lyke the fashion of a maggot, but they haue bene swart, or hauynge a darke colour. Also there be wormes in a mans handes named Sirones, & there be wormes in a mans fete named degges; then is there a ryngue
worme, named in Latin *Impetigo;* And there may be wormes in a mans tethe & eares, of the which I do pretend to speke of nowe. As for all the other wormes, I haue declared theyr properties and remedies in theyr owne Chapitres.

The cause of wormes in a mannes Eare.

Two causes there be that a man haue wormes in his eares, the one is ingendred thorowe corruption of the brayne, the other is accidentall, by crepynge in of a worme into a mans care or eares.

A remedy.

Instyll into the eare the oyle of bitter Almons, or els the oyle of wormewode, or els tho iuyce of Rewe; warme every thyng that must bo put into the eare."

§ 43. β. Let us take, secondly, the notices of seven evils in England of which Boorde complains:—I. The neglect of fasting. II. The prevalence of swearing and heresies. III. The Laziness of young People. IV. The want of training for Midwives. V. Cobblers being Physicians. VI. The Mutability of Men's Minds. VII. The Lust and Avarice of Men:—adding his few allusions to the state of the poor (p. 86-7), and his one to early marriages (p. 87).

I. *The neglect of Fasting.*

α. "As for fastynge, that rule now a dayes nede not to be spoken of, for fastynge, prayer, and almes dedes, of charytie, be banished out of al regions and provinces, and they be knockynge at paradise gates to go in, wepynge and waylyngne for the Temporaltye and spiritualltye, the which hath exyld them."—Fol. vii. back.

β. "Here it is to be noted that nowe a dayes few or els none doth set by prayer or fasting, regardyng not Gods wordes: in this matther I do feare that such persons be possessed of the deuil, although they be not starke madde."—*The Extravagantes,* Fol. iii. back.

II. *The prevalence of Swearing and Heresies.*

"Do not you thynke that many in this contrie be possessed of the deuil, & be mad, although they be not starke mad? who is blynder then he that wil not se? who is madder then he that doth go about to kyl his owne soule? he that wil not labour to kepe the commandements of God, but dayly wil breke them, doth kil his soul. who is he that loueth God and his neybour, as he ought to do? but who is he that nowe a dayes do kepe their holydayes? & where be they that doth vse any wordes, but swearyng, lyeng, or slaunderynge is the one ende of theyr tale. In all the worlde there is no regyon nor contrie that doth vse more swearyng, then is vse in Englund, for a chylde that scarce can speake, a boy, a gyrl, a wenche, now a dayes wyl swere as great
others as an olde knaue and an olde drabbe. it was vsed that when swearynge dyd come vp fyrst, that he that dyd swere shulde haue a phyllyp, gyue that knaue or drabbe a phyllyp with a club that they do stagger at it, and then they and chyldren wolde beware, after that, of swerynge, whiche is a damnable synne; the vengeance of God doth oft hange ouer them, and ye they do not amend and take repentance, they shalbe dampted to hell where they shalbe mad for euer more, worde without ende. Wherfore I do counsaye al suche euyll disposed persons, of what degre so euer they be of, amend these fautes whyles they haue nowe leysure, tyme, and space, and do penance, for els there is no remedy but eternall punyishment.

A remedy.

Wolde to God that the Kyngge our soueraygne lorde, with his most honorable counsell, wolde se a reformacion for this swerynge, and for Heresies, for the whiche synne we haue had grete punyshament, as by dere price of corne and other vitayles; for no man can remedy these synnes, but God and our kynge; for there be a perilous number of them in Englande if they were diligently sought out; I do speke here of heretikes: as for swearers, a man nede not to seke for theym, for in the Kynges courte, and lordes courtes, in Cities, Borowes, and in townes, and in every house, in maner, there is abhominable swerynge, and no man dothe go about to redresse it, but doth take swearyng as for no synne, whiche is a damnable synne; & they the which doth vs it, be possessed of the Deuill, and no man can helpe them, but God and the kyng. For *Demoniacus loke in the Chapitre named Mania*.” —*The Extravagantes*, Fol. vi.

III. The Laziness of young People.

"§ 43. β.] DOORDE ON SWEARING, HERESIES, AND LAZINESS. 83

“Wolde to God that the Kyngge our soueraygne lorde, with his most honorable counsell, wolde se a reformacion for this swerynge, and for Heresies, for the whiche synne we haue had grete punyshament, as by dere price of corne and other vitayles; for no man can remedy these synnes, but God and our kynge; for there be a perilous number of them in Englande if they were diligently sought out; I do speke here of heretikes: as for swearers, a man nede not to seke for theym, for in the Kynges courte, and lordes courtes, in Cities, Borowes, and in townes, and in every house, in maner, there is abhominable swerynge, and no man dothe go about to redresse it, but doth take swearyng as for no synne, whiche is a damnable synne; & they the which doth vs it, be possessed of the Deuill, and no man can helpe them, but God and the kyng. For *Demoniacus loke in the Chapitre named Mania*.” —*The Extravagantes*, Fol. vi.

A Monge all the feuers I had almost forgotten the feuer lurden, with the whiche many yonge menne, yonge women, maydens, and other yonge persons, be sore infected nowe a dayes.

1 ‘the slowe worme and deadely Dormouse called Idlenes, the ruine of realmes, and confounder of nobilitie.’ —Louis, Duke of Orleans, to Henry IV, in the 5th year of his reign.—*Hall’s Chronicle*, p. 33, ed. 1809.

2 Compare Discipline’s saying, in W. Wager’s “The longer thou liuest, the more foole thou art,” ab. 1568 A.D. (Hazlitt), sign. D iiij back,

Two thinges destroye youth at this day,
*Indulgentia parentum*, the fondnes of parents,
Which will not correct there noughty way,
But rather embolden them in there entents.
Idlenesse, alas! Idlenesse is an other.
Who so passeth through England,
To se the youth he would wonder,
How Idle they be, and how they stand!
The cause of this Feuer.

This feuer doth come naturally, or els by euill and slouthfull bryngyng vppe. If it come by nature, then this feuer is vnecurable, for it can never out of the fleshe that is bred in the bone; yf it come by slouthfull bryngyng vp, it may be holpen by dylygent labour.

A remedy.

There is nothyng so good for the Feuer lurden as is Vnguen-tum baculinum, that is to say, Take me a stycke or wan[d] of a yerde of length and more, and let it be as great as a mans fynger, and with it anoyn the bake and the shulders well, mornyng and euennyng, and do this .xxi. dayes; and if this Feuer wyll net be holpen in that tyme, let them beware of waggynge in the Galowes; and whiles they do take theyr medecine, put no Lubberworte into theyr potage, and be[w]are of knauerynge aboute theyr hert; and if this wyll nat helpe, sende them than to Newgate, for if you wyll nat, they wyll bryngynge them selve thither at length.”—Breu. Fol. iv.

IV. The want of training for Midwyves.

"If it do come of euill orderynge of a woman whan that she is deluiered, it must come of an vnexpert Mydwyfe. In my tyme, as well here in Engelande as in other regions, and of olde antiquitie, euery Midwyfe shulde be presented with honest women of great gruitie to the Byshop, and that they shulde testify, for her that they do present shulde be a sadde woman, wyse and discrete, hauynge experience, and worthy to haue the office of a Midwyfe. Than the Byshoppe, with the counsel of a doctor of Physick, ought to examine her, and to instructe her in that thynge that she is ignoraunt; and thus proued and a[d]mitted, is a laudable thynge; for and this were vsed in Engelande, there shulde not halfe so many women myscairy, nor so many chyldren perish\(^2\) in every place in Engelande as there be. The Byshop ought to loke on this matter.”—The Extravagantes, Fol. xv. back.

V. Cobbler being Physicians.

"O lorde, what a great detriment is this to the noble science of phisicke, that ignoraunt persons wyl enterpyrse to medle with the

A Christian mans hart it would pittie,
To behold the euill bringing vp of youth!
God preserue London, that noble Citie,
Where they haue taken a godly ordre for a truth:
God geue them the mindes the same to maintaine!
For in the world is not a better ordre.
Yf it may be Gods fauour still to remaine,
Many good men will be in that bordre.

See the curious list of Fool's officers, 'A whole Alphabete' of them, 'a rable of roysterly ruffelers,' on the back of leaf F 4.

\(^1\) See quaint W. Bulleyn on Boxyng, &c., Babees Book, p. 240-8.

\(^2\) orig. perished.
ministration of phisicke, that Galen, prince of phisicions, in his Terapentike doth reprehende and disproue, sayeng, 'If Phisicions had nothing to do with Astronomy, Geometry, Logycke, and other sciences, Coblers, Curryars of lether, Carpenters and Smythes, and al such maner of people wolde leave theyr craftes, and be Phisicions,' as it appeareth nowe a dayes that many Coblers be, yfe on such ones! wherupon Galen reprehended Tessalus for his ignoraunce: for Tessalus smattered and meddled with Phisicke, and yet he newe not what he dyd, as many doth nowe a dayes, the whiche I maye ac-
compte Tessalus foolyshe dyseycles."—Breu. Fol. ii. (Compare the First Chapter of the Introduction of Knowledge.)

VI. The Mutability of Men's Minds.

"¶ The .23. Chapitre doth shewe of a mannes mynde.

A Nimus is the latin worde: In greke it is named Thimos. In englyshe it is a mannes mynde. The mynd of a man is very mutable and inconstant, more in one man then in another, but the moste parte myght be amended.

¶ The cause of this Mutabilitie.

This mutabylytie doth come thorowe wanerynge and inconst-
stant wyttes, lackyngg love and charyte to God, to a mannes owne selfe, and to his neyghbour, regardyngg more, other 1 sensualytie or prodigallytie, couectys or lucre, then the welth and profyte of the soule. Yet the mynde of man is so occupied aboute worldly matters and businesses, that God and the soule of man is forgotten, by the whiche great daungers foloweth.

¶ A remedy.

¶ Fyrst, let every man reconeyle hym selfe in and to God, and not to set by the worlde, but to take the worlde as it is, not beyng par-
manente nor alydymge place, but to lyue as one shulde dye every houre. And if a man may haue this memory, he wyll not be mutable, nor set by the worlde, but be constant, haunya g euer a respect to God his creatour, and to his neyghbour, which is every man where sooene he dwell."—Breu. Fol. xv.

VII. The Lust and Avarice of Men.

"¶ The .340. Chapitre doth shewe of touchyngg the whiche is one of the .v. wyttes.

A Actus is the latin word. In greke it is named Aphe. In Eng-
lishe it is named touching or handlyng; and of handlyng or
touching be ii. sortes, the one is venerious and the other is auari-
cious; the one is thorowe carnal concupiscence, & the other is thorowe cupiditie of worldly substance or goodes.

1 other = or.
The cause of these impedimentes.

The fyrst impedimente doth come eyther that man wyll not call for grace to God not to displese hym, or els a man wyl folowe his luxurious sensualtie lyke a brute beaste. The seconde impediment, the which is auaryce or couetyse, wyll touch all thynges, and take as much as he can get, for al is fysh that cometh to the nette with such persons.

A remedy.

For these matters I knowe no remedy, but onely God; for there isfewe or none that doth feare God in none of these ii. causes: if the feare of God were in vs we wolde not do so. Iesus helpe vs all!

On the state of the poor there is hardly anything in Boorde's books. The chapters on Kybes, noticing the bad shoes of children, that on Croaking in the Belly, and that on Lowsiness—a point brought under our notice before by the Babees Book (p. 134, 209), and Caxton's Book of Curtesye—are the only ones I have noted.

Chilblains.

The cause of this impedimente.

This impediment most comonly doth infest or doth happen to yonge persons the which be hardly brought vp, goyng barefooted, or with euyll shoes; and it dothe come of extreme colde and fleumatyke humours.

A remedy.

For the Kybes beware that the Snowe do nat come to the Heles, and beware of colde, nor prycke, nor prycke the Kybes: kepe them warme with wollens clothes, and to bedward washe the heles and the fete with a mans propre vrine, & with Netes fote oyle.—Breu. Fol. lxxxxi.

Croaking in the Belly.

The cause of this impedimente.

This impediment most comonly doth infest or doth happen to yonge persons the which be hardly brought vp, goyng barefooted, or with euyll shoes; and it dothe come of extreme colde and fleumatyke humours.

A remedy.

For the Kybes beware that the Snowe do nat come to the Heles, and beware of colde, nor prycke, nor prycke the Kybes: kepe them warme with wollens clothes, and to bedward washe the heles and the fete with a mans propre vrine, & with Netes fote oyle.—Breu. Fol. lxxxxi.
§ 43. β. BREUVARY EXTRACTS. ON LOWSINESS AND THE TONGUE.

The cause of this impediment.

This impediment doth come of coldenes in the guttes, or longe fastyng, or eatynge of frutes and wyndy meates, and it may come of euyl dyet in youth.

A remedy.

Fyrste, beware of colde and longe fastynge, and beware of eatynge of frutes, potages, and sewes, and beware that the bely be not constupated or costiue, and use draggges to breake wynde."—Breu. Fol. C. back.

Lowsiness.

"Si® The .273. Chapitre dothe shewe of lyce in a mennes body or head or any other place. Pediculacio or Morbus pediculorum be the latin wordes. In greke it is named Phthiriasis. In Englyshe it is named lousines, and there be .iii. kyndes, whiche be to say, head lyce, body lyce, crabbe lyce, and nits. ¶ The cause of this impediment.

This impediment doth come by the corruption of hote humours with sweat, or els of rancknes of the body, or els by vnclene kepynge, or lyenge with lousy persons, or els not chaungynge of a manners sherte, or els lyenge in a lousy bedde.

A remedy.

Take of the oyle of Baye, an vnce and a halfe; of Stauysacre made in fyne pouder, halfe an vnce; of Mercury mortified with fast-ynge spetyll, an vnce; incorporate al this together in a vessel vpon a chafynge dyshe of coles, and anoynt the body. I do take onely the oyle of Bayes with Mercury mortified, and it doth helpe euery man and woman, excepte they be not to rancke of complexion."—Fol. lxxxii.

The custom of mere boys marrying, which Stubbes reproves so strongly in his Anatomie of Abuses, p. 100, ed. 1836 (quoted in my Ballads from MSS, p. 32), Boorde only notices incidentally:

"And let boyes, folysh men, and hasty men, the whych be maryed, beware howe that they do vs theyr wyues when they be with child."—Breu. Fol. viii.

§ 43. γ. Thirdly, we may take some of Boorde's opinions.

Boorde on the Tongue and its greatest Disease.

"¶ The .208. Chapitre doth shewe of a mannes tonge.

Ingua is the latin worde. In greke it is named Glossa, or Glotta. In Englyshe it is named a tonge. The tonge of man is an instrument or a member, by the whiche not onely tastying, but also the
knowledge of mans mynde by the spekyng of the tonge, is brought to vnder-standynge, that reason may knowe the truth frome the fals-hod, and soo conuerse. The tonge is the best and the worste offyeyall member in man: why, and wherfor, I do remit the matter to the judgement of the reders. But this I do say, that the tonge may haue dyuers impedimentes besyde selaunderynge and lyenge, the which is the greatest impediment or syckenes of all other diseases, for it doth kyll the soule without repentaunce. I passe ouer this matter, and wyll speake of the sickenesses whiche may be in mannes tonge, the which maye swell, or elles haue fyssures, or wheales, or carnelles, or the palsey."—Breu. Fol. lxxi. back.

Boorde on Mirth and Men's Spirits.

"The .163. Chapitre dothe shewe of Ioye or myrthe.

Gaudium is the latin worde. In Englyshe it is named ioye or myrth. In Greke it is named Hidoune.

The cause of myrthe.

Myrth commeth many wayes: the princippal myrth is when a man doth lyue out of deadly syn, and not in grudg of conscience in this worlde, and that euerye man doth reioyce in God, and in charitie to his neyghbour, there be many other myrthes and consolacions, some beyng good and laudable, and some yvtuperable. laudable myrth is, one man or one neyghbour to be mery with an other, with honesty and vertue, without sweryng and selaunderyng, and rybaldry speaking. Myrth is in musycall instrumentes, and gostly and godly syngyng; myrth is when a man lyueth out of det, and may haue meate and drinke and cloth, although he haue neuer a peny in his purse; but nowe a dayes, he is mery that hath golde and syluer, and ryches with lechery; and all is not worth a blewe poynte.

¶ A remedy.

¶ I do aduertise every man to remember that he must dye, how, whan, and what tyme he can nat tel; wherfore let every man amende his lyfe, and commyt hym selfe to the mercy of God."—Breu. Fol. lviii. back.

"§ The .329. Chapitre doth shewe of a mannes Spirites.

Spiritus is the latin word. In Greke it is named Pnove or Pneuma. In Englyshe it is named a spirite. I do not pretende here to speake of any spirite in heauen or in hell, nor no other spirite, but onely of the spirites in man, in the which doth consyst the lyfe of man, & there be thrre, naturall, anymal, and vyttal: the naturall spyrite resteth in the head, the animall spirite doth rest in the lyuer, and the vital spirite resteth in the hert of man.
To conforte and to rejoyce these spirites.

Fyrste lyue out of syn, and folowe Christes doctrine, and than vse honest myrth and honest company, and vse to cate good meate, and drynke moderatly."—Fol. C.vii.

"To conforte the stomake, vse Gynger and Galyngale, vse myrth and well to fare ; vse Peper in meates, & beware of anger, for it is a shrode hert that maketh al the body fare the worse."—Fol. C.viii. back.

Boorde on the Heart of Man, and on Mirth.

"¶ The .86. Chapitre doth shewe of the herte of man.

Or is the latin worde. In Greke it is named Cardia. In Englyshe it is an herte. the herte is the principal member in man; And it is the member that hath the fyrrste lyfe in man, and it is the laste thynge that dothe dye in manne. The herte dothe viuifycate all other members, and is the grounde and foundacion of al the vitall spirites in man, and doth lye in the mydle of the bodye, and is hote and drye. And there is nothyng so eyly to the herte as is thought and care, and feare : as for other impedimentes that be longynge to the herte, [they] dothe appere in theyr Chapitres, as Cardiaca.

To conforte the herte.

There is nothyng that doth conforte the herte so much, besyde God, as honeste myrth and good company. And wyne moderately taken doth letyfycate and dothe conforte the herte ; and good breade doth confyrme and doth stablyshe a mannes herte. And all good and temperate drynkes the which doth ingender good bloud doth conforte the herte. All maner of cordyalles and restoratious, & al swete or dulcer thinges doth comfort the hert, and so doth maces and gynger ; reegges, and poched egges not harde, theyr yolkes be a cordiall. Also the eletucty of citrons, Rob de pitis, Rob de ribes, Diambra Aromaticum mustatum, Aromaticum rosatum, and so is Electuarium de gemmis, and the confection of Xilodales, and such lyke be good for the hert."—Breo. Fol. xxxv.

Boorde on Pain and Adversity.

¶ The .99. Chapitre doth shewe of peyne or dolour.

Or is the latin word. In Greke it is named Lyve. In Englyshe it is named peyne or dolour, the whiche may be many wayes, as by syckenes of the body, or disquietnes of a mannes mynde.

The cause of this peyne.

Dyuers tymes of greate pleasure doth come greate peyne, as we se dayly that thorowe ryot and surfeiting and sensualytic doth come dyuers sickeneses. Also with sport and playle, takyng great heate, or takyng of extreme colde doth ingender diseases and peyne.
Also for lacke of pacience many mens and womens myndes be vexed and troubled.

[¶] A remedy.

If a man wyll exchewe many peynes and dolours, lette hym lyue a sober lyfe, and [not] distemper nor disquyed the body by any excesse or sensualite. And let hym arme hym selfe with pacience, and euermore thanke God what soenr is sente to man; for if aduersitie do come, it is either sent to punysshe man for synne, or els probacion: and with sorowe vse honest myrth and good company.”—Breu. Fol. xxxviii. back.

**Boorde on Intemperance.**

“The .214 Chapitre doth shewe of intemperance.

L _Luxus_ is the latin word. In Greke it is named _Asotia_. In Englyshe it is named intemperance. _Temperance is a morall vertue, and worthely to be praysed, considerynge that it doth set all vertues in a due order. Intemperance is a greate vyce, for it doth set euery thynge out of order; and where there is no order there is horror. And therfore this worde _Luxus_ may be taken for all the kyndes of sensualitie, the whiche can neuer be subdued without the recognition and knowledge of a mannnes selfe, what he is of him selfe, and what God is. And for asmuch as God hath geuen to euery man living fre wil, therefore euery man ought to stand in the feare of God, and euuer to loke to his conscience, callynge to God for grace, and dayly to desyre and to praye for his mercye; and this is the best medecyne that I do knowe for intemperance.”—Fol. lxxiii. back.

**Boorde on Drunkennes.**


_Ebrietas_ is the latin worde. In Greke it is named _Methe_. In Englyshe it is named drunkennes.

[¶] The cause of this impediment.

This impediment doth come eyther by wekenes of the brayne, or els by some greate hurte in the head, or of to much ryotte.

[¶] A remedy.

If it do come by an hurt in the head, there is no remedy but pacience of all partes. If it do come by debilte of the brayne & head, drynke in the mornynge a dyshe of mylke, vse a Sirupe named _Sirupus actosus de prunis_, and vse laxatieve meates, and purgacions, if nede do requyre, and beware of superfluous drynkyng, specially of wyne and stronge ale and beere, and if anye man do perceyve that he is dronke, let hym take a vomitie with water and oyle, or with a feather, or a Rosemary branche, or els with his finger, or els let hym go to his bed to slepe.”—Fol. xlii.
Boorde on Man and Woman, which be reasonable Beastes.

"¶ The .182. Chapitre doth shewe of a man.

Homo is the latin worde. In Greke it is named Anthropos or Anir. In Englyshe it is named a man or a woman, which be resonable beastes; and man is made to the similitudenes of God, and is compacke and made of .xv. substances. Of bones, of greystles, of synewes, of veynes, of artures, of strynges, of cordes, of skyn, of pannycle, pellynkes, or calle, of heare, of nayles, of grece, of fleshe, of bloud, and of mary within the bones. a man hath reason with Angelles, felyng with beastes, lyuyng with trees, hauyng a beyng with stones."—Fol. lxiii. back.

Boorde on Marriage.

"And here is to be noted for maried men, that Aristotle sayth, Secundo de Anima, that euery parfyte thynge is, whan one may generate a thynge lyke to hymselfe; for by it he is assimiled to the immortall God. Anicene De naturalibus glorified natural procreacion. And for this cause God made man and woman, to encrease & multiply to the worlds ende. For this matter loke further in the Extrauagantes in the ende of this boke."—Fol. xxxii.

Boorde on the Words of late-speaking Children.

"Chyldren that can not speake vnto the tyme that they do come to a certein age, doth speke these .iii. wordes: Aua, Acca, Agon. Aua doth signifiye father; Acca doth signifiye ioye or myrth; Agon doth signifiye dolour or sorow. All infantes doth speke these wordes, if a man do marke them; and what wa doth signifiye when they crye, I coulde never rede of it; if it do signifiye any thynge, it is displeasure, or not contented."—Extrauagantes, Fol. xxvi. back.

Boorde on the Kings Evil.¹

"¶ The .236. Chapitre doth shewe of the Kynges euyll.

Orbus regius be the latin worde. In Englyshe it is named the kynges euyll, which is an euyl sickenes or impediument.

¹ See Brand’s Antiquities, ed. Ellis, iii. 140—150. Boorde also believed in kings hallowing Cramp-rings as a remedy for Cramp: see his Introduction, p. 121, below; and Fol. C.vi. back, of his Breviary:

"¶ The kynges maiestie hath a great helpe in this matter in halowynge Cramp rynge, and so gyuen without mony or peticioun. Also for the Cramp, take of the oyle of Lyllyes and Castory, yt it do come of a colde cause. If it do come of a hote cause, anoynte the synewes with the oyle of waters Lyllyes, and wyllowes, and Roses. If it do come of any other cause, take of the oyle of Euforbiu?, and Castory, and of Pyretory, and confecto or compounde al togyther, and anoynt the place or places, with the partes adiacent."
The cause of this impediment.

This impediment doth come of the corruption of humours reflectyng more to a pertyculer place then to vnyuersall places, and it is muche lyke to a fystyle; for and yf it be made whole in one place, it wyl breke out in an other place.

Bp Percy in his *Northumberland Household Book*, p. 436, ed. 1827, has the following note on Creeping to the Cross, and hallowing Cramp-Rings:—  
"This old Popish ceremony is particularly described in an ancient Book of the Ceremonial of the Kings of England, bought by the present Dutchess of Northumberland, at the sale of manuscripts of the late Mr Anstis's, Garter King of Arms. I shall give the whole passage at length, only premising that in 1536, when the Convocation under Henry VIII. abolished some of the old superstitious practices, this of Creeping to the Cross on Good-Friday, &c., was ordered to be retained as a laudable and edifying custom.—See Herb. Life of Henry VIII.

'Firste, the Kinge to come to the Chappell or Closet, with the Lords, and Noblemen, wayntinge upon him, without any Sword borne before him, as that day. And ther to tarrie in his Travers until the Byshope and the Deane have brought in the Cruellicxe out of the Vestrie, and layd it upon the Cushion before the highe Alter. And then the Usher to lay a Carpett for the Kinge to Creepe to the Crosse upon. And that done ther shall be a Forme sett upon the Carpett, before the Crucifix, and a Cushion laid upon it for the Kinge to kneale upon. And the Master of the Jewell House ther to be redie with the Cramp Rings in a Bason of Silver, and the Kinge to kneele upon the Cushion before the Forme, And then the Clerk of the Closett be redie with the Booke concernynge the Hallowinge of the Cramp Rings, and the Amner [i.e. Almoner] moste kneele on the right hand of the Kinge holding the sayd booke. When that is done, the King shall rise and goe to the Alter, wheare a Gent. Usher shall be redie with a Cushion for the Kinge to kneele upon: And then the greatest Lords that shall be ther to take the Bason with the Rings, and beare them after the Kinge to offer. And thus done, the Queene shall come downe out of her Closet or Traverse, into the Chappell, with La[dies] and Gentlewomen wayntinge upon her, and Creepe to the Crosse: And then goe agayne to her Closet or Traverse. And then the La[dies] to Creepe to the Crosse likewise; And the Lords and Noblemen likewise.'

"On the subject of these Cramp-Rings, I cannot help observing, that our ancient kings, even in those dark times of superstition, do not seem to have affected to cure the King's Evil; at least in the MS. above quoted there is no mention or hint of any power of that sort. This miraculous gift was left to be claimed by the Stuarts: our ancient Plantagenets were humbly content to cure the Cramp."—Boorde's words abolish this inference of the Bishop's. Brand, *Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, iii. 150, col. 2, quotes Boorde's *Introduct. and Brever.* on this subject, and has other good references, iii. 160, i. 87 (quoting Percy), i. 89, the last of which quotes a letter of "Lord Berners the accomplished Translator of Froissart, to my Lorde Cardinal's grace," 21 June, 1518: "If your grace remember me with some Cramp Ryngs, ye shall doo a thing much looked for."
§ 43. y.] BREVYARY EXTRACTS. KING'S EVIL. MAN'S FIVE WITS. 93

‖ A remedy.

* For this matter let every man make frenedes to the Kynges maiestie, for it doth pertaine to a Kynge to helpe this infirmitie by the grace which the wiche is geuen to a Kynge anoynted. But for as muche as some men do the judge diuers tyme a Fystle or a French pocke to be the kynges Euyll, in suche matters it behoueth nat a Kynge to medle withall, except it be thorowe and of his bountifull goodnes to geue his pytysfull & gracious counsel. For kynges, and kynges sones, and other noble men, hath ben eximious Phisicians, as it appereth more largely in the Introduction of Knowledge, a boke of my makeynge, beyng a pryntyng with Ro. Coplante."—Breu. lxxx. back.

Boorde on the Five Wits, and Men being Reasonable Beasts.


Sensus hominis be the latin wordes. In Grecke it is named Esthisis anthropon. In Englyshe it is named the sences or the wytttes of man. And there be .v. which be to saye, heryng, felington, seyngye, smellyngye, and tastynge; and these sences may be thus denyded, in naturall, anymalle, and racionall. The naturall sences be in all the members of man the which hath any felington. The animall sences be the eyes, the tonge, the cares, the smellyngye, and all thynges perteynyng vnto an unreasonable beast. The racionall sences consisteth in reason, the which doth make a man or woman a reasonable beeste, which by reason may renyle unreasonable beastes, and al other thynges beyng vnder his dominion. And this is the soule of man, for by reason every man created doth knowe his creatour, which is onely God, that created al thynges of nothyng. Man thus created of God doth not differ from a beaste, but that the one is reasonable, which is man, and the other is unreasonable, the which is euery beast, foule, fyshe, and worme. And for as much as dayly we do se and hae in experience that the moste part of reasonable beastes, which is man, doth decay in theyr memory, and be oblivious, necessary it is to know the cause, and so consequently to have a remedy.

‖ The cause of this impedimente.

folios. This impediment doth come eyther naturally or accydentally.

folios. A remedy.

If naturally a mans memory is tarde of wyt and knowlege or vnderstandyng, I know no remedy; yt it come by great study or solicitudnes, breakynge a mans mynde about many matters the which he can nat comprehende by his capacite, and although he can comprehend it with his capacite, and the memory fracted from the pregnancy of it, let hym vse odiferous sanours and no contagious ayers, and vse otherwhyle to drynke wyne, and smel to Amber de grece: every
Boorde on Wounds.

"The .377. Chapitre doth shewe of woundes. Vinus or Vulnere be the latin worde. In Greke it is named Trauma or Traumata. In Englyshe it is named a wounde or woundes: and there be dyuers sortes of woundes, some be newe and freshe woundes, and some be olde woundes, some be depe woundes, and some be playne woundes, and some be fystuled, and some be fostered, some be vicerated and some hath fyssures, and some hath none.

The cause of woundes.

Most comonly woundes doth come thorowe an harlot, or for an hounde; it doth come also thorowe quarelynge, that some hote knauyshe bloude wolde be out; & dyuers tymes woundes doth come thorowe dronkennes, for when the drynke is in, the wytte is out, and then hawe at the, and thou at me: foole be they that wold them part, that wyl make such a dronken marte.

A remedy.

If it be a grene wounde, fyrste stanche the bloude; and yf the wounde be large and wyde, styche it, and after that lay a playster, and let it lyte .xx. houre or more, than open it, and mundify it with white wyne. And if the wounde be depe, vse siccatiue playsteres made with Olibanum, Frankensence, Litterge, Yrcos, the bran of Bones, and Aristologia rotunda and suche lyke. If the wounde be playne, take of the rotes of Lylles, of pome Garnade rynes, of Galles, of Aloes or suche lyke. If the woundes be indifferent, the wounde mundified, vse the pouder of Myrtyles and Rose leues, and suche lyke; and let the pacient beware of venerious actes & of contagions meates and drynkes."—Fol. C.xxi.

Boorde on Obliviousness.

"The .253. Chapitre doth shewe of an impediment named Obliviousnes. Oblivio is the latin worde. In Greke it is named Lithi. In Englyshe it is named obliviousnes or forgetfulness.

The cause of this impediment.

This impedimente doth come of reume or some ventosytic, or of some colde humour lyenge about the brayne; it may come of solictudenes, or great study occupynge the memory so much that it is fracted; and the memory fracted, there muste nedes thene be obliviousnes; & it may come to yonge men and women when theyr mynde is bryched.
A remedy.

Fyrst beware and escheue all suche thynges as do make or ingender oblivionousnes, and than vse the confection of Anacardine, & smel to odiferous and redolent sauours, and vse the thynges or medecines the whiche is specified in the Chapitre named Anima and Memoria. * A medecine for Bryched persones, I do nat knowe, except it be Vunguentum baculum, as it dothe appere in the Chapitre named the feuer Larden."—Fol. lxxxv. back (p. 83, above).

Boorde on Dreams.

"Omnia is the latin worde. In Greke it is named Enipnia. In Englyshe it is named dreames.

The cause of this impediment.

This impedement doth come most comonly of wekenes or emptyynes of the head, or els of superfluous humours, or els of fantasticalnes, or collusion, or illusyons of the deuyll; it maye come also by God thorowe the good aungell, or such lyke matters: but specially, of fraction of the mynde and extreme sickenes doth happen to many men.

A remedy.

For this matter vse dormitary, and refraine from such matters as shulde be the occasion of such matters, and be not costiue. &c."—Extrauagantes, Fol. xxvii.

Boorde on the Face.

"Acies is the Latin worde. In Greke it is named Prosopon. In Englyshe it is named a face, the which is the fayrest thing that euer God made in the compasse of a fote; and it is a wonderfull thyng to beholde, consdyerynge that one face is not lyke another. The face maye haue many impedimentes. The fyrst impedymet is to se a man hauyng no berde, and a woman to haue a berde. In the face maye be moles, wertes, the morphewe, ale pockes, sauceflemme, dandrufe, skurfe, scabbes, pockes, mesele, fystles, cankers, swellynes. For all suche matters loke in the Chapitres of the infyrmyties.

A remedy to mundifie the face.

To clere, to clense, and to mundifie the face, vse stufes and bathes, and every mornynge after keymyng of the head, wype the face with a Skarlet cloth, and wshe not the face ofte, but ones a weke amynt the face a lytle ouer with the oyle of Costine, and vse to eat Electuary de aromatibus, or the confection of Anacardine, or the syrupe of Fumitery, or confection of Manna, and do as is wrytten in the Chapitre named Pulchritudo."—Breu. Fol. xlix.
§ 43. e. Fourthly, let us see Boorde as a physician: some of the cases in which he specially notes his own treatment of diseases. But we should observe, first, that he does not, like a very popular modern medical work for mothers, insist that for every little ailment the right treatment is "Send for a duly qualified medical man." For blisters (or boils) "the whiche doth ryse in the nyght vnkyndely," Boorde says (fol. lxxxv.),

"Fyrst, for this matter, beware of surfetyng, and late eating and drynkyng. And for this impediment, I do neither minister medecines nor yet no salues, but I do wrap a lytle clout ouer or aboute it; and as it dothe come, so I do let it go; for and a man shulde, for euery tryfle sycknes and impediment, runne to the Phisicion or to the Chirurgion, so a man shuld never be at no point with hymselfe, as longe as he doth lyue. In great matters aske substancial counsell; and as for small matters, let them passe ouer."

And he repeats the advice again, under "A White Flawe," Fol. lxxxx. back.

"I wolde not councel a man for euery tryfle sycknes to go to Phisike or Chierurgy: let nature operate in suche matters in expulse suche humours, and medle no further."

So also under "A Blast in the Eye," Fol. C.xxi. back, he says:

"I myghte here shewe of many salubriouse medecines, but the best medecine that I do knowe is, to lette the matter alone, and medle nat with it, but were before the eyes a pece of blacke saceinet, and eate neyther garlycke nor onyons, nor drynke no wynes nor stronge ale, and it wyll were awaye."

Boorde's treatment of Itch:—A good Pair of Nails.

"The Chapitre doth shewe of Itchynge."

Prurigo is the latin word. In Englyshe it is named itching of a mans body, skyn, or fleshe.

The cause of this impedimente.

This impediment doth come of corruptcion of euyll bloud, the which wolde be out of the fleshe; it may also come of fleume myxt with corrupt bloud, the which doth putrifie the fleshe, and so consequently the skyn.

1 See that of Stone, p. 80.  
2 shulde runne, orig.
 § 43. 3. BREUVARY EXTRACTS. FEVER, SCURF, CURDED MILK. 97

A remedy.

This I do aduertise every man, for this matter to ordeyne or prepare a good payre of nayles, to crache and clawe, and to rent & teare the skynne and the fleshe, that the corrupt bloud maye runne out of the fleshe; and vse than purgacions and stuphes & sweates; and beware, reuerberate not the cause inwarde with no oyntment, nor clawe nat the skyn with fyshye fyngers, but washe the handes to bedwarde."—Breu. Fol. lxxxvii. back.

So under Pruritus he says:

"For this mater ordeyne a good payre of nayles and rent the skyn and teare the fleshe and let out water and bloude."—Fol. lxxxvii.

Boorde's treatment of Tertian Fever.

"The medecines the whiche dothe helpe the Feuer cauason, wyl helpe a Feuer terciane. Fyrste purge coler, and .iii. or .iii. hours before the fyfte dothe come, I do thus. I cause a man to lye in his doublet, and a woman in her waste cote, then do I cause them to put on a payre of gloues, & with .i. garters I do bynde the wres tes of the armes, and do lay theyr armes and handes into the bedde, & do cast on clothes to brynge theym to a sweate before the fyte do come .iii. or .iii. hours; and out of Gose quylls, one put into an other, they do take theyr drynke, because they shall take no ayer into the bed; then I do geue them fyrst an ale brue, and suffer them to drynke as mucche Posset ale as they wyl; & when the burnyng do begyn, I do withdrawe the clothes; and thus I do .iii. courses, & have made many hundredes whole; but theyr good dayes I do nat suffre them to go in the open ayer."—Fol. li.

Boorde's treatment of Scurf.

"¶ For this matter I do take .iii. vnces of Bores grece, the skynnnes pulled out; than I do put to it an vnce of the pouder of Oyster shelles burnt, and of the pouder of Brymstone, and .iii. vnces of Mercury mortified with fastyng spetyl; compounde al this together, & anoynt the body .iii. or .iii. tymes, & take an easy purgacion."—Fol. lxxiii.

Curding of Milk in Women's Breasts.

"If the mylke be curded in the brestes, some olde auctours wyll gyue repercussiues; I wolde not do so, I do thus: I do take Dragagant¹, and gumme Arabycke, and do compounde them with the whyte of rawe egges, and the oyle of violettes, and do make a playster. Or els I do take pytch, and do lyquyfie it in the oyle of Roses, puttynge a lytle dunes dunge to it, and dregges of wyne or ale, and make playsters."—Fol. lxxv.

¹ Tragacanth, a gum.

BOORDE.
Pregnant Women's unnatural Appetite.

"An unnaturall appetyde is to eate and drynke at all tymes without dewe order, or to desyre to eate rawe and vnlefull thynges, as women with chylde doth and such lyke. . . . .

† A remedy for women that haue vnlefull lustes.

‡ I have knowen that such lustes hath ben put awaye by smellynge to the sauer of theyr owne shoes, when they be put of. In such lustes, it is best that women haue theyr desyre, if it may be gotten, for they shall never take surfet by such lustes."—Fol. xvi. back.

Ulcer in the Nose; and how then to blow your Nose.

"‡‡" The 264. Chapitre doth shewe of an ulcer in the Nose.

0 Zenai is the Greke worde. In latin it is named Vlceora narium. In Englyshe it is named an Ulcer or sore in the nose.

† The cause of this impediment.

‡ This impedimente doth come of a fylthy and euyll humour, the which doth come from the brayne and heade, engendred of reume and corrupte bloud.

‡ A remedy.

† In this matter, reume must be purged, as it dothe appere in the Chapitre named Reuma; than, pycke not the nose, nor tuche it not, excepte vrgent causes causeth the contrary, & vse gargaries and sternutations. I wyll counsell no man to vse vehement or extreme sternutations for perturbatyng the brayne. Gentyl sternutations is vsed after this sorte. Fyrst, a man rysynge from slepe, or comynge sodenly out of a house, and lokyng into the element or Somne, shal nese twyse or thrisye, or els put a strawe or a ryshye into the nose, and tyckle the ryshye or the strawe in the nose, and it wyll make sternutations: the poudre of Peper, the poudre of Eliborus albus, snufft or blowen into the nose, dothe make quycke sternutations. But in this matter I do advertise every man not to take to muche of these poudres at a tyme, for troblung the seconde principal member which is the brayne. and they the whiche wyll not nese, stope the nosethrylls with the fore fynger and the thome vpon the nose, and nat within the nosethrylles; and if they wold, they can not nese, al maner of medecines natwithstandyng; howe be it, I wolde counsell all men takyng a thynge to prouoke suche matters to make no restrictions."—Fol. lxxxviii. back.

1 sere, orig. 2 for fear of, to prevent. 3 member, orig.
Boorde's cure for Asthma.

"A confection of muske is good. Also loch\textsuperscript{1} de pino, loch de squilla, loch alfescera be good, and so is the sirupe of Isope, and the sirup of Calamint. For I have practised these thynge, and haue sped wel. Fyrst I haue made a ptyssane vnder this maner. Take of Emula campane rootes, pycked and made clene, and cut in sicces, vii. vnces; of the rootes of Fenell washed, and the pyth pulled out .vi. or .vii. vnces; of Anes sedes halfe a pounde, of fyngges halfe a pounde; of greate reasons, the stones pulled out, a quartron of a pounde; of Isope thre good handfulles, of barley clensed .v. handefullses; seth al this togethier in two galons of runnyng water, to halfe a galon. And .xv. dayes I haue gyuen to my pacient, mornyng, noone, and nyght, ix. sponefulles at a tyme; and at the .xv. dayes ende I haue geuen pylles of Cochee, and after that I haue ministred Dyasulfur, and haue made many whole. Also the confection of Philonii of the fyrst inuencion is good: And so is to anoynt the stomake with the oyle of Philosophers, named in latin Oleum philosophorum. And beware of Nuttes, Almons, Chese and mylke, and colde. And the pylles of Agarycke is good for this sycknes."—Fol. xx.

Boorde's treatment of Palsy.

"Fyrst, vse a good dyet, and caste no contagious meates; and yf neede be, vse elysters, and anoynt the body with the oyles of Laury and Camomyll; but whether the Palsy be vniuersal or perticuler, I do anoynte the body with the oyle of Turpentine compounde with Aqua vite, and vse fricacions or rubbynges with the handes, as one wolde rub with grece an olde payre of Botes, not hurtynge the skyn nor the pacient. And I do gyue the pacient Treacle with the pouder of Peper, or els Mitridatum with Peper; or els take of Diatriappierion. And if one wyll, he may rub the pacient with the rotes of Lylyes brayed or stamped; after that vse drye stuphles, as the pacient is able to abyde. Or els, take a Fexe, and with the skynne and all the body quartered, and with the herte, lyuer and lunges, and the fatnes of the intrayles, stones and kyndes, sethe it longe in runnyng water with Calamynt and Balme and Carawyes, and bath the pacient in the water of it; and the smell of a Fexe is good for the Palsy."—Fol. lxxxi.

Wood-powder, Boorde's remedy for Excioriation.

"Anoynt the place with Vauguentum cerisimum, or washe the place ofte with the water of Roch alone, and then caste vpon the place the pouder of a Poste; and if one wyll not washe the place with the water of Roche alone, washe the place then with white wyne, and vse the fyne pouder of a Poste, and there is nothyng wyll skyn so sone as it wyll do. Parauenture some persons readyng this

\textsuperscript{1} lozenge.
boke, specially this mater, wyll laughe me to scorne; but for all that, for skynnynge of a place there is nothyng shal skyn so sone as it wyll do if it be vsed, excepte the place be to mucche vlcerated, but for a mans yerde and other secrete places, I haue proued this pouder to be the most best.”—Fol. xlix.

**Boorde's remedy for Fatness, Fogeyness, or such lyke.**

"§ The best remedy that I do knowe is to use purgacions, and with mete and potages of sewes is to eate muche Peper, and usee electuary of Lachar, and usee gargarices and sternutacions, as it is specified in the Chapitre named Ozinei."—Fol. lxxxxiii.

**Boorde on Priapismus. a.**

"§ Priapismus is the Greke worde. In latin it is named Erectio involuntaria virge. In Englyshe it is named an involuntary standyng of a mans yerde.

The cause of this impediment.

This impediment doth come thorow calidite and inflacions from the raynes of the backe, or els it dothe come of inflacions of the vaynes in the yerde and stones; it may come by the vsage of venerious actes.

‖ A remedy.

‖ Fyrst, anoynt the yerde and coddes with the oyle of Iuneper; and the oyle Camphoric is good. And so is Agnus castus brayed, and made in a playster, and layd upon the stones. And let prestes vs fastynge, watchynge, euyll fare, harde lodgyng, and greate study, and fle from al maner of occasions of Lechery, and let them smel to Rue, Vineger and Camphire."—Fol. lxxxxiii. back.

β. Erection of the yerde to synne. A remedy for that is to leape into a greate vessel of colde water, or to put Nettles in the codpecce about the yerde and stones. Fol. C.ii.1

**Web in the Eye.**

"† In this matter there is .ii. wayes to make one whole. The first is by wyndynge or cuttyng awaye the webbe with an instrument. And the other is by a water to corrode & to eate away the webbe. it maye be remedied by the iuyce of Horehonde, Oculus Christi, and Diaserys, inected into the eye, but I take only the iuyce of Horehonde; & the iuyce of Lycoryce inected in the eye is very good."—Fol. lxxxxvii. back.

1 See also the end of Chapter 77 on Coitus, Fol. xxxii.
Impediment in the Eye.

"I myghte here shewe of many salubriouse medecines, but the best medecine that I do knowe is to lette the matter alone, and medle nat with it, but were before the eyes a pece of blacke sarenet, and eate neyther garlycke nor onyons, nor drynke no wynes nor stronge ale, and it wyll were awaye."—Fol. C.xxii. back.

Boorde on the Gut-caul.

"The .384. Chapitre doth shewe of a Pannicle the whiche shalbe rehearsed.

Zirbus is the latin worde. In Englyshe it is a pannycle or a caule compounde of ii. thyn tunicles of dyuers artoures, and vaynes and fatnesse; it doth couer the stomake and the guttes, and it doth kepe the heat of them, and doth defende the cold: this pellicle or pannycle or caule may be relaxed or broken.

The cause of this impedimente.

\[\text{Fyrst make incision, and after that cauterise the abstraction; and I haue sene the cut cauterised, that the fluxe of bloud shuld nat folowe.}\]

The ouerplus of my mynde in this matter, and all other matters, I do commyt it to the industry of wyse and expert Phisicians and Chierurgions."—Fol. C.xxiii.

For the sake of Chaucer's Somonour,

That hadde a fyr reed Cherubynnes face, for saucefleem he was, with eyen narwe.

(Canterbury Tales, Group A, § 1, ll. 624-5, Ellesmere MS, Chaucer Soc., p. 18)

I add Boorde's two chapters on the disease.

A Saucefleume Face.

"The .170. Chapitre dothe shewe of a saucefleume face.

Vita rosacea be the latin wordes. In Englyshe it is named a sauce fleume face, which is a rednes about the nose and the chekes, with small pymples: it is a preuye signe of leprousnes.

The cause of this impediment.

This impedymet doth come of euyl dyet, and a hote lyuer, or disorderynge a mans complexion in his youth, watchynge and sytynghe vp late.
A remedy.

Fyrst, kepe a good dyct in meates & drynkes, drynke no wyne, fende nat of freshe befe, cate no shell fyshes, beware of Samon & Eles, and egges, and qualifie the heate of the Lyuer and the stomake with the confection of Acetose, and than take this oyntement: take of Bores gypse .ii. vnces, of Sage pouned smal, an vnce and a halfe, of Quycke syluer mortified with fastyng spetyll, an vnce; compounde all this togyther, and mornynge and euenynge anoynte the face, & kepe the chamber .vii. dayes: or els, take of Burre rotes and of Affodyl rotes, of eyther .ii. vnces, of white vinegar .ii. vnces, of Auripigment .ii. drames, of Brymstone a drame; make pouder of al that, that shulde be made pouder of; than put al togyther, and let it stande .xviiii. houres, and after that anoynte the nose and the face."—Fol. lxx. back.

"\(\text{I}^{\text{th}}\) The .311. Chapitre dothe shewe of a Sau-
scleulem face.

Alsam fleuma be the latin wordes. In Englyshe it is named a
sculeleume face, whiche is a token or a preuy sygne of
leprousnes.

The cause of this infirmite.

This infirmytie doth come eyther of the calydytie or heate of
the lyuer, or els of the malice of the stomake: it doth most comonly
come of euyll dyet, and late drynkynge, and great surfetynge.

A remedy.

\(\text{I}^{\text{th}}\) Take of Bores gypse—the skyn and straynes clene pycked out—
an vnce, of Sage fynely stamped an handfull, of Mercury mortified
with fastyng spetyll, an vnce; incorporat al this togyther, and anoynt
the face to bedward. In the mornynge wype the face with browne
paper that is softe, and washe nat the face in .vi. or .vii. dayes, and
kepe the pacient close out of the wynde."—Fol. C.i. back.

§ 43. ✠. Fifthly, and lastly, let us see our author in his serious
aspect.

"✠ The .22. Chapitre doth shewe of the soule of man.

A Nimia is the latin wordes. In Greeke it is named Psichae. In
Englyshe it is named the soule of manne. The soule of man is
the lyfe of the bodye, for when the soule is departed from the body,
the body is but a deade thynge that can not se, heare, nor seele.
The soule can not be felte nor sene, for it is lyke the nature of an
Angell, hauynge wyll, wyt, wysdome, reason, knowledge and vnder-
standyngye, And is partaker of good or euyll, as the bodye and it
dothe or hath deserved or operated. The soule also is a creature made
with man and connexed to man, for man is of .ii. natures, which is
to say, the nature of the soule, and the nature of the body, whiche
is flesh and blood, the flesh or body is palpable and may be seen and felt. The soul is not palpable nor can not be seen nor felt, but both being together nowe and shalbe after the general resurrection in tyme to come, doth, and shall do, feel joy or payne, &c.

It is not the soule onely doth make a man, nor the body of a man is a man, but soule and bodye connexed or joined together maketh a man. And the one deepever from the other be of .ii. natures as I haue sayd, vnto the tyme that they do mete agayne at the day of dome. Therefore let every man in this lyfe so prouide by the meryte of Chrystes passion that soule and bodye byynge perfite man may enter into everlastynge joy and glory to be in heauen with God. The electuary of Gemmis: and the confection named Alchermes be good to comforte the soule or the spirites of man, soule and bodye byynge together here in earth."—Fol. xiii. back.

"The Apendex to all the premisses that foloweth.

L Ordes, Ladies, and Gentylmen, learned and vnderstood, of what estate or degree so euer you be of, thinke not that no man can be holpen by no maner of medecynes, yf so be God do sende the sickness; for he hath put a tyme to every man, ouer the which tyme no man by no art nor science can not prolonge the time: for the number of the monthes and dayes of mans lyfe, God know eth. But this aforesayde tyme, these monthes and dayes, a man may shorten or abbreviate many ways, concerning that God hath geuen man in this lyfe free wyl, the whiche of his ryghteousnes, as longe as we do lyue, he can not take it awaye from vs. Nowe, we haung this free wyl, dyuers tymes we do not occupy it to the wyll of God, as it appereth, both for soule and body; we do kyll our soules as much as doth lye in vs, when that we do breake any of his commaundementes, or do synne deadly: for that matter he hath prouided a spirituall medecine, whiche is, repentance with penance. Also we do kyll our bodyes as much as lyeth in vs (excepte that a man do kyl hym selfe wylfully, as many dayly doth, contrary to Goddes wyll) as wel the one as the other, when a manne doth abbreviate his lyfe by surffetynge, by dronkenesse, by pencyfulnes, by thought and care, by takyng the pockes with women, and leprousnes, and many other infectious sickenesses, beside robbynge, fyghtynge, kyllynge, and many other myschaunces, whiche is not Goddes wyl that such things shuld be done; but God, knowynge at the begynynge of the crearion of the world, that man wolde be prone many wayes to abbreviate his lyfe, made then prouision that man might be holpen, by his grace, and then, the vertue the whiche he dyd gyue to herbes, wedes, trees, rootes, frutes, and stones. The propertie and vertue of the whiche, fewe men or none doth knowe them, except doctours of phisiecke, and such as doth Labour to haue the knowledge of theyr operacions. And this knowledge notwithstandinge, let no man thinke that there is no Phisicion nor
Chierurgion can make a man sodenly whole of his infirmitie, as Chryst and his disciples and manye other sayntes dyd; for they must haue leysure tyme and space as theyr learning and practise is; for sycke men and women be lyke a pece of rustye harnys, the whiche can not be made bryght at the fyreste scourynge; but lette a man continewe in rubbyng and scourynge, and than the harnys wyll be bryghte; so in lyke maner a sycke man can not be made whole of his malady or syckenes the fyreste day, but he must continewe with his medecines. But here let every man that is sycke, beware of blynd Phisicions and Chierurgions the which be ignoraunt, and can not tel what thynges doth parteyne to their science; and therfore let al men be ware of vagabundes and ronagates that wyl smatter with Physicke, for by such persons many sycke men haue ben deceyued, the more pytie, God knoweth! who helpe vs al nowe and euere! Amen!"

"¶ A Preamble to sicke men and to those that be wounded.

Do aduertise every sicke man, and al other men the which hath any infirmitie, sickenes, or impediment, aboue all thynge to pacyfyte hym selfe, or to arme hym selfe with pacynce, and to fyxe his harte and mynde in Christes death and passion, and to call to his remembrance, what peynes, what aduersyte, and what penury, and pouerty Chryst dyd suffer for vs. And he that can thus pacyfy him selfe, and fele his owne peyne in Chrystes passyon, shall mitigate his peynes and anguysh, be it neuer so greate. And therefore let every sycke person stycke as fast to Christe in his peynes and sicke-nes, as Christ dyd stycke fast to the Crosse for his sinnes and redempcion. And then if the pacient wyl haue any councell in Phisicke: fyreste let hym call to him his spirituall Phisicion, which is his goostly father, and let him make his conscience cleane, and that he be in perfyte love and charitie; and yf he haue done any wronge, let him make restitution yf he can; and yf he be in dette, let him loke to it, and make a formal wyl or testament, settyng every thynge in a dewe order for the welth of his soule,—wyse men be sure of theyr testamentes makynge many yeres before they dye, and dothe renewe it once a yere as they increase or decrease in gooddes or substance.—All these aforesayd thynge goostly and godly provided for the soule, Then let the pacient prouyde for his body, and take councell of some expert phisicion, howe & in what wyse the body may be recovered of his infirmitie, and than to commyt his body to the industry of his Phisicion, and at al tymes reddy to folow the wil, mynde, and councell of his Phisicion, for who so ever wyl do the contrary, saynt Augustyne sayth, Seipsum interimit qui precepta medici observare non vult, that is to saye, He doth kyll hym selfe that doth not obserue the commandement of his Phisition."

(The reader should now turn to the Hindwords, p. 317.)
§ 44. If any one groans over the length of these extracts, he can relieve himself by skipping them, and losing the chance of knowing Boorde well. But if he reads them all through, as well as the books following, I think he'll find Andrew Boorde worth knowing, a man at times of great seriousness and earnestness, yet withal of a pleasant humour; reproving his countrymen’s vices, and ridiculing their follies; exhorting them to prepare for their latter end, and yet to enliven their present days by honest mirth. A man eager to search out and know the truth of things, restless in that search, wandering far and often to see for himself. Yet a man bound by many of the superstitions of his time, though also free from many; not “a lewd Popish hypocrite and ungracious priest,” as Harrison calls him, but a man genuine in his piety as well as his love of good ale and wine, and mirth; clever, able to take-in a Scotchman; at times weak and versatile, showing off occasionally, readily helping strangers, chancing to get drunk, falling into sexual excess—having, like his sex, “bursts of great heart and slips in sensual mire,”—yet sound at the core, a pleasant companion in many of England’s most memorable days, worthy, with all his faults, of respect and regard from our Victorian time. Any one who would make him a mere Merry-Andrew, or more of that than anything else, is a bigger fool than he would make Boorde. (See the Hindwors, p. 317.)

§ 45. That Boorde and his writings were esteemed by his contemporaries, we have seen, by his appointment as Suffragan Bishop of Chichester, his attendance on Sir Robert Drury and the Duke of Norfolk, his waiting on Henry VIII, his connection with Cromwell, Barnes’s account of great people resorting to him, the evident references to his books in Wilson’s Rhetorique (p. 116, below), “doctor Boorde breuiary of health” being in Captain Cox’s Library,¹ and Harrison’s mention of the Introduction of Knowledge, and of the Dyetary (if ‘parks’ mean ‘pleasure for harte & hynde, &c.’):—

“An Englishman, indeuoring sometime to write of our attire, made sundrie platformes for his purpose, supposing by some of them to find out one stedfast ground whereon to build the summe of his

¹ It’s the last in the list of the Captain’s books. See p. 30 of my edition of Captain Cox, or Lancham’s Letter, for the Ballad Society, 1870.
discourse. But in the end (like an oratour long without exercise) when he saw what a difficult peecce of work he had taken in hand, he gaue ouer his travell, and onelie drue the picture of a naked man, vnto whome he gaue a paire of sheares in the one hand, and a peecce of cloth in the other, to the end he shuld shape his apparell after such fashion as himselfe liked, sith he could find no kind of garment that could please him anie while togethre, and this he called an Englishman. Certes this writer (otherwise being a lewd ['popish hypocrite'] and vngratious priest) shewed himself herein not to be [altogether] void of judgement, sith the phantastical follie of our nation, [even from the courtier to the carter] is such, that no forme of apparell liketh vs longer than the first garment is in the wearing, if it continue so long and be not laid aside, to receive some other trinket newlie devised by the fickle-headed tailors, who couet to haue seuerall trickes in cutting, thereby to draw fond customers to more expense of monie . . . the Morisco gownes, the Barbarian sleeues, [the mandilion worne to Collie weston ward, and the short French breches] make such a comelie vesture, that except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see anie so disguised, as are my countrie-men of England."—Harrison's Description of England, ed. 1586, p. 171-2.

"these daies, wherein Andrew Boorde saith there are more parks in England than in all Europe (ouer which he trauelled in his owne person)," ib. p. 205, col. 2. See below, p. 274.

Traditions of Boorde linger in Sussex, whose anti-nightingale forest of St Leonards, its keepers and nigh-dwellers he knew, and the Sussex Archaeological Society has revived the memory of him in our day. Though Warton thought that his Dyetary was the only work that would interest posterity, yet Upcott's reprint of his Introduction showed that that book too had plenty of amusement and information in it (see p. 36, above), while the present volume testifies to the value of both works, as well as that of the Brenyary, which contains some of his most characteristic passages, and will, I hope, soon find an antiquarian doctor as an editor.

§ 46. The present reprint of the Fyrest Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge is made, as I have said at p. 19, from Mr Christie-Miller's unique copy of William Coplande's first edition printed at the Rose-Garland in Fleet Street in 1547 or -8, collated with his second of 1562 or -3, printed in Lothbury. My thanks are due 1. to

1 The square brackets [ ] show the new matter inserted in the 2nd edition of 1586.  
3 Introduction, p. 121.
Mr Christie-Miller for his kindness and hospitality to Mr Hooper and myself; and 2. to the Committee of the Chetham Library, and their Librarian, Mr Jones, for lending me their very rare Lothbury volume, and enabling Mr W. H. Hooper to copy all the cuts in it, of which Upcott had only a few copied. The reader will see that the same cut often serves for men of different countries. Mr Hooper says:

“A Man with a hawk, and a Peasant with long-handled bill over his shoulder, are used, Chap. 6, p. 143, in the Lothbury edition (B) for ‘Norway and Islonde,’ Ch. 8, p. 146; both in A (the Rose-Garland edition) and B, for ‘Flaunders,’ changing places right and left; and the hawker appears again at Ch. 14, ‘high Almayne,’ in both A and B.

A dinner party illustrates Ch. 9, p. 148, ‘Selande and Holand,’ and Ch. 13, p. 155, ‘base Almayne,’ in both A and B.

A man with a cloak very jauntily thrown over his shoulder represents in B, Ch. 16, p. 165, ‘Saxony;’ Ch. 30, p. 198, ‘Spaine;’ Ch. 33, p. 206, ‘Bion;’ and Ch. 38, p. 217, ‘Egypt.’

† A bearded man in a skull-cap and long coat, Ch. 19, p. 170, is ‘Hungary,’ and Ch. 26, p. 188, a Genoese; at Ch. 19, p. 170, he is in company with a bird in a tree that appears at Ch. 15 as a production of ‘Denmarke.’

A turbaned figure, half-length, is in both A and B, as, Ch. 20, p. 171, ‘Greece;’ Ch. 23, p. 175, ‘Italy;’ and Ch. 24, p. 181, ‘Venis;’ with two little groups in this last instance.

A crowned head, half-length, stands in B for (Ch. 21) ‘Sicell;’ Ch. 28, p. 194, ‘Catalony;’ Ch. 31, p. 199, ‘Castile & biscay;’ Ch. 32, p. 202, ‘Nauer;’ while in A, two cuts do duty for the four countries.

A grave and learned individual in a long robe stands alone, Ch. 25, for ‘Lombardye,’ p. 186; and at Ch. 35, p. 209, he enacts ‘The latyn man’ so well that the ‘englyshman’ takes off his hat to him.

† The foresaid long-coated man in Ch. 19 and 26 is very like the man labelled Dr Boorde in Barnes in the defence of the Berde; so like that I think it is hardly worth while to cut another.

The cuts for this book seem to have been got together from all quarters. The Englishman in the first chapter may have been cut for the work: there is a bluff King-Hal sort of a look about him that suggests the period. But the Irishman is so knocked about that it is certain he is ‘written up to,’ as the publishers have it nowadays. They look to me an odd lot in every sense of the word; for some seem printed from the wood, while others are from casts, e.g. the Scot is bruised at the edges, and the ends of the ground-lines are thickened, just as old ‘stereos’ wear. Some of the blocks seem

1 The cut of the Frenchman, p. 190, seems to me of the period too.—F.
2 No! The Irishman’s parasites were well known.—F.
to be much older than the date of the book, as they are wormed, and
damaged by use."

On turning to Wynkyn de Worde's print of Hyckescorner, for
my edition of Laneham, I found, on the back of the title, two of our
Introduction cuts. The man who in the Lothbury edition does duty
for Saxony, Spain, Bayonne, and Egypt, p. 165, 206, &c., figures in
Hyckescorner as "Imagyna[cyon]," while the long-coated man used by
Copland for the Hungarian (p. 170), and the Genoese (p. 188), and
by Wyer for Boorde (p. 305), is Wynkyn de Worde's "Pyte." In
The Enterlude of Youth, printed by William Coplande at Lothbury
(after the Rose-Garland Introduction), Boorde's Dane, p. 162, is used
for "Humility" (though he has no name over his head); and
Boorde's Bohemian, p. 166, is used for "Youth."

In like manner the cut used for Andrew Boorde himself¹, Introduc-
tion, Ch. VII, p. 143, below, is merely an old cut of some one else,
with a corner cut out, and Boorde's name let down into it; a fact ob-
scured by Upcott's woodcutter, who evidently thought the break in the
top line ugly, and so filled it up. This "portrait (as is well observed
by Herbert, in his MS memoranda) is introduced for one of Skelton
in the frontispiece to 'Certaine bookees compiled by maister Skelton,
Poet Laureat, printed by Kynge and Marshe.'"—Ames (ed. Dibdin,
1816), iii. 160. Many of the Boorde cuts are used in the titleless
copy of the Shepherd's Kalendar in the British Museum, which I
claim as Copland's (p. 25, above); and most have, no doubt, an
earlier continental history. That on p. 208 is part of Wynkyn de
Worde's 'Robert the Deuyll.'

Again, the 2-men cut of Galen and another man in Boorde's
Dyetary, p. 232, below, is used on the title-page of a little tract in
4 leaves in the British Museum, "Imprynted by me Rycharde
Banckes," and called "The practyse of Cyrurgyons of Mountpyller:
and of other that neuer came there." It is chiefly on the treatment
of skull-wounds.

¹ The cut on the title-page of the Introduction, which Mr W. C. Hazlitt
calls one 'of two serving-men conversing,' is stated by him to have been
copied on the title-page of 'The doctrynaill of good servauntes.
Imprynted at London in Flete strete, at the sygne of Saynt Johan Evangelyste, by me
Johan Butler [circa 1550] 4to. 4 leaves. In verse.' Dr Rimbauld re-edited
this tract for the Percy Society. The cut is also in Frederyke of Jennen.
To our member, Mr Henry Hucks Gibbs,—an old friend and helper of Herbert Coleridge and myself in our Dictionary work since 1858,—I am indebted for the ready loan of his copy—unique, so far as I know—of the 1542 edition of Boorde’s *Dyetary* from which the reprint in the present volume is taken. It has been collated with the undated edition by Robert Wyer in the British Museum, and also with the edition of 1547 (colophon 1567) by Wylyam Powell. Mr W. H. Hooper has copied the cuts for this tract too, and wishes to call attention to the two of St John at the end of it and on the title-page. That on the title is evidently from a cast of the block of that in the colophon, which cast has been cut down, and had another ornament put at the side of it, with a line atop, just as Mr Hooper has made the facsimile now. Mr Hooper has further evidence which proves clearly to him as a woodcutter, that our old printers in the 16th century could cast, and used casts, as we do, though of course to a less extent.

Of the big initial letters used in the *Dyetary*, Mr Hooper has cut all but five, of which he thought the designs much less good than those he has cut, and one extra-big A of the same pattern as the smaller one used on page 234, &c., below, which latter he has copied. The only other alterations in the text are, that the contractions have been expanded in italics according to our rule,—à as *an*, *y* as *that*, &c.,—and that the first letters of proper names, and the stops, have been conformed to modern usage.

§ 47. For all the materials of these Forewords I am indebted to Boorde’s own books, and to the workers who have preceded me in the field, Wood, Bliss, Ellis, Lower, Cooper, Rimbault, Hazlitt, &c. To the latter I feel grateful, though I have expressed freely some of my differences from them. My task has been only to get to their authorities, keep to these without straggling into guesses, and work into them Boorde’s own statements in his different books. The number of supposes and probables is still lamentably great; I hope they will be lessened by the future volumes of Professor Brewer’s admirable Calendar, or some other antiquarian publication of this age, which is setting itself, with more or less vigour, to get at all the facts it can about the men and speech of Early and Middle England.
The notes I have added would have been longer and better, had I been at home among my books, but this, and divers other bits of work, have dawdled on during our four-months’ stay here, from the time when I began to write in the garden, with the lovely lilacs round me, and the hum of bees, till all the roses have gone, and the fresh green of the grass is brown. Games with my boy, long walks with my wife under “the glad light green” of Windsor-Park beeches lit by the golden sun, strolls down the long Rhododendron-Walk with its glorious masses of mauve towering high on either hand, over Runnymede, starred with wild flowers, canopied with sunsets of wondrous hue; rows on the Thames, dotted with snowy swans sailing over the ever-varying green of water-plants; gaily-coloured races at Ascot, picnic at the truly-named Belvedere; drives, visits, dances—oh fair-haired Alice, how well you waltz!—chats, pleasant outdoor country-life: who can work in the midst of it all? I can’t.

And now comes the angry roar of war to trouble one’s sweet content, to make one feel it wrong almost to think of private pleasure or Society’s work. What interest can one take in printers’ dates, or Boorde’s allusions, when the furious waves of French vain-glory, driven by the guilty ambition of a conscienceless adventurer, are dashing against the barriers of German patriotism, striving to deluge thousands of innocent homes in blood?—May this Napoleon and his followers be humbled to the dust!—Still, the Forewords, &c., take up one-third of this book, and that is a fair share for an editor to fill. A great number of most troublesome little points have started up in the course of the work, and my ignorance of monastic rule, Continental countries, coins, languages, medicine, and botany, has made me leave many of these points to future students of the book to settle. I hope, however, that Andrew Boorde will be henceforth better known to English readers than heretofore, and only regret that some of the mirth he loved so well, has not crept into these foregoing pages, through all the bright sights and sweet sounds that have been before and around me while this work has been going on. But one does not get lighter-hearted as one gets older, alas!

*Walnut-Tree Cottage, Egham,*

*July 30, 1870.*
The fyfte boke of the
Introduction of knowledge. The whych
dothe teache a man to speake parte of all maner of
languages, and to know the vsage and fashion of
all maner of countreys. And for to know the
moste parte of all maner of coynes of mo-
ney, the whych is currant in every region.
Made by Andrew Borde, of Phy-
sycke Doctor. Dedicatad to
the right honorable & gra-
cious lady Mary dough-
ter of our souerayne
Lorde kyng Henry
the eyght.
To the rght honorable and gracous lady Mary daughter of our souerayne Lorde kyng Henry the .viii. Andrew borde of phisyk doctor, doth surrender humble commendacion wyth honour and helth.

After that I had dwelt (moste gracous Lady) in Scotlande, and had traunayled thorow and round about all the regions of Christynte, & dwelling in Mountpyler, remembryng your bountyful goodnes, pretended to make thys first booke, named "the Introduction of knowledge" to your grace, the whyche boke dothe teache a man to speake parte of al maner of languages; and by it one maye knowe the vsage and fashyon of all maner of countres or regions, and also to know the moste part of all maner of coynes of mony, that whych is currant in erye prouince or region; trustyng that your grace will accept my good wyll and dylygent labour in Chryste, who kepe your grace in health and honour. Fro Mountpyler the .iii. daye of Maye, the yere of our Lorde .M.CCCCC.xlii.

The Table of thys booke foloweth.

The fyrrst chapter treateth of the naturall disposicion of an Englyshman, and of the noble realm of England, and of the mony that there is vsyd. [And of Cornwall, p. 122] (p. 116)

The seconde chapter treateth of the naturall dysposycion of Walshmen, and of the countre of Wales, teching an Englyshe man to speake some Walshe. (p. 125)

The thyrd chapter treateth of the naturall dysposicion of an Irysh man, and of the kyngdomoshyp of Irland, and also teachyng an Englyshe man to speake some Irysh, and of theyr mony. (p. 131)

1 Contractions in the original are expanded here in italics, as 'that' for 'y'; capitals are put to some proper names; foreign words are printed in italics; modern stops are put, and hyphens.
INTRODUCTION. TABLE OF CONTENTS.  

1 The fourthe chapter treateth of the naturall disposycyon of a Scotyshe man, and of the Kingdom of Scotland, and the speche of Scotland, and of their mony.  

(p. 135)

The .v. chapter treateth of Shotlande2 and of Fryselond, and of the naturall dysposycion of the people of the countreyes, and of3 theyr money.  

(p. 139)

The .vi. chapter treateth of Norway & of Islond, and of the naturall disposycion of the people of the countreyes, and of theyr speche, and of theyr money.  

(p. 140)

The .vii. chapter treateth of the Auctor, the5 which went thorow and rounde about Christendome; and what payne he dyd take to do other men pleasure.  

(p. 143)

The .viii. chapter treateth of Flaunders, and of the naturall disposicion6 of Fleminges, and of their money, and of7 theyr speche.  

(p. 146)

The .ix. chapter treateth of Seland & Holand, & of the natural disposicion of the people, & of theyr spech, and of their money. (p. 148)

The .x. chapter treateth of Braban, & of the naturall disposicion of Brabanders, & of their money & speche.  

(p. 150)

The .xi. chapter treateth of Gelderland and of Cleueland, and of the natural disposicion of the people of that8 countreyes, and of9 their money and speche.  

(p. 152)

The .xii. chapter treateth of Gulik & Lewke,10 & of the naturall disposycion of the people of the8 countreyes, and of their money, and of their speche.  

(p. 155)

The .xiii. chapter treateth of base Almayn, and of the natural disposicion of the people of that countrey, and of7 theyr mony, and of7 theyr speche.  

(p. 155)

The .xiii. Chapter treateth of high Almayn, & of the naturall disposicion of the people of that countrey, and of7 theyr mony, and of their spech.11  

(p. 159)

1 sign. A .ii. 2 Scotlande A ; Soctlande B. 3 A has only “of ;” B only “and.” 4 theyr AB. 5 of Auctor y° AB. 6 dispocion A ; a mistake made 4 or 5 times more. 7 B leaves out “of.” 8 for “those.” 9 B leaves out “and of.” 10 Julich or Juliers (the town is between Aix and Cologne) and Lîège. 11 and speche B.

BOORDE.
The .xv. chapter treateth of Danmarke, and of the naturall disposition of the people of the countrey, and of the money and speche.

(p. 162)

The .xvi. chap. treateth of Saxsony, & of the natural disposition of the Saxons, & of their money, & of their spech.

(p. 164)

The .xvii. chapter treateth of the kingdom of Boem, and of the disposicion of the people of the countrey, and of their money, and of their speche.

(p. 166)

The .xviii. chapter treateth of the kingdom of Poll, & of the naturall disposition of the people of the countre, & of their mony, and of their speche.

(p. 168)

The .xix. chapter treateth of the kingdom of Hungry, and of the natural disposition of the people of the countrey, and of their money, and of their speche.

(p. 170)

The .xx. chapter treateth of the land of Greece, & of Constantin-nople, and of the natural disposition of the people of the countrey, and of their mony and speche.

(p. 171)

The .xxi. chapter treateth of the kyngdom of Sycel & of Calabry, and of the disposicion of the people of the countrey, and of their mony and speche.

(p. 175)

The .xxii. chapter treateth of the kingdom of Naples, and of the disposicion of the people of the countrey, and of their money and speche.

(p. 176)

The .xxiii. chapter treateth of Italy and of Rome, and of the disposicion of the people of the countrey, and of their money, and of their speche.

(p. 177)

The .xxiii. chapter treateth of Venys, & of the disposicion of the people of the countrey, & of their money & spech.

(p. 181)

The .xxv. chapter treateth of Lombardy, & of the natural disposicions of the people of the countrey, & of their money, and of their speche.

(p. 186)

The .xxvi. chapter treateth of Ieene and of the Ieneueys, & of their spech, and of their money.

(p. 188)

The .xxvii. chapter treateth of Fraunce, and of other provinces

that AB. 2 sign. A .ii. back. 3 B leaves out "& of." 4 Genoa and the Genoese. 5 A .iii. not signed.
the which be under Fraunce, and of the disposicion of the people, and of their mony and speche. (p. 190)

The .xxviii. chapter treateth of¹ Catalony, and of the kyngdome of Aragon, and of the disposicion of the people, and of theyr money, and of theyr speche. (p. 194)

The .xxix. chapter treateth of Andalosye, and of the kingdome of Portingale, and of the disposicion of the people, and of theyr money, and of theyr speche. (p. 196)

The .xxx. chapter treateth of Spayne, & of the disposycion of a Spayneard, and of the money and of the² speche. (p. 198)

The .xxxı. chapter treateth of the kyngdome of Castel³ and of Ryscaye⁴, and of the dysposycion of the ⁵people of that countrey, and of their money and spech. (p. 199)

The .xxxii. chapter treateth of the kyngdome of Nauer, and of the disposicion of the people, and of their money and theyr speche. (p. 202)

The .xxxiii. chapter treateth of Bayon, and Gascoyn, and of lytle Britayn, and of the disposicion of the people of those countreys, and of their mony and of their⁵ spech. (p. 206)

The .xxxııı. chapter treateth of Normandy & Picardy; of the disposicion of the people, & of their money & spech. (p. 208)

The .xxxv. chapter treateth of the Latyn man and of the Englysh man, and where Latine is most vsed. (p. 209)

The .xxxvi. chapter treateth of Barbari, and of the blake Mores, and of their Moryske speche. (p. 212)

The .xxxvıı. chapter treateth of Turkey, & of the Turkes, and of their money and of their speche. (p. 214)

The .xxxvııı. chapter treateth of Egypt, and of the Egypciens, & of their speche. (p. 217)

The .xxxıx. chapter treateth of Iury and of the Iues, and of their speche. (p. 218)

Thus endeth the table.

¹ B leaves out "of.
² and their B.
³ Castle B (Castille).
⁴ Bascaye H.
⁵ people and B.
⁶ B leaves out "and of."
The fyrst chapter treateth of the naturall disposicion of an Englyshman, and of the noble realme of England, & of the money that there is vsed.

I'm naked, as I can't settle what to wear.

I like new fashions.

I am an English man, and naked I stand here, Musyng in my mynde what rayment I shal were; For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyl were that; Now I wyl were I cannot tel what. All new fashyons be plesaunt to me; I wyl haue them, whether I thrye or thee.  

1 A iii. baek.
2 See chapter xxii, below, p. 177. The Neapolitan says: "Al new fashyons to Englund I do bequeue." Wilson, speaking of books, says: "And not onely are matters set out by description, but men are painted out in their colours, yea, buildynges are set forthe, Kingdomes and Realmes are portreced, places & times
CHAP. I. | INTRODUCTION. THE ENGLISHMAN. 117

Now I am a frysker, all men doth on me looke;
What should I do, but set cocke on the hoope? 8
What do I care, yf all the worlde me fayle?
I wyll get a garment, shal reche to my tayle;
Than I am a minion, for I were the new gyse.
1 The next yere after this I trust to be wyse, 12
Not only in wering my gorgious aray,
For I wyl go to learnyng a hoole somers day; 3
I wyll learme Latyne, Hebrew, Greeke and Frenche,
And I wyll learme Douche, sittyng on my benche. 16
I do feare no man; all men feryth me;
I ouercome my aduersaries by land and by see;
I had no peere, yf to my selfe I were trew;
Bycause I am not so, dyuers times I do rew. 20
Yet I laxe nothyng, I haue all thynge at wyll;
Yf I were wyse, and wolde holde my self styl,
And medel wyth no matters not to me partayning,
But euer to be trew to God and [to] my kynge. 5
But I haue suche matters rolling in my pate,
That I wyll speake and do, I cannot tell what;
No man shall let me, but I wyll haue my mynde, 27
And to father, mother, and freende, I wyl be vnkynde;
I wyll folow myne owne mynd and mym old trade;
Who shal let me, the deuyls nayles vnpared?
Yet aboue al thinges, new fashions I lóue well,
And to were them, my thryft I wyl sell. 32
In all this worlde, I shall haue but a time;
Holde the cuppe, good felow, here is thyne and myne!

are described. The Englishman for feeding and chaunging
for (sic) apparell: The Dutchman for drinking: The French-
man for pride & inconstance: The Spaniard for nimblenes of
body, and much disdaine: the Italian for great wit and pol-
icie: the Scottes for boldnesse, and the Boeme for stubborn-
nesse."—1553. Wilson's Art of Rhetorique, edit. 1584, fol.
181-2.—W. C. Hazlitt.

1 A iii. not signed. 2 B leaves out "next."
3 See note 1, next page. 4 A leaves out B's "not."
5 B leaves out this line: because of the "kynge," I sup-
pose, as Queen Elizabeth was reigning in 1562 and 1563.
Englishmen! strive for learning, and stop swearing;

then all countries will come to you to learn the truth.

Is our land good, our people bad? No.

Englishmen are as good as any men;

and English lands, there's none like.

But no corn should be exported.

| The Auctor respondith. |

| O good Englyshe-man, here what I shall say: |
| Study to haue learnyng, with vertue, night and day; |
| Leue thy swearyng, and set pryde a syde, |
| And cal thou for grace, that with thee it may byde; |
| Than shall al nacions, example of the take, |
| That thou hast subvalued syn, for Iesus Christes sake. |
| And werkes of mercy, and charyte, do thou vse; |
| And al vyces and syn, utterly refuse; |
| Than al countreys a confluence wyl haue to thee, |
| To haue knowledge of trueth and of the veryte, |
| Of lernyng of Englyshe, of maners also. |
| Iesus I beseche, to kepe thee from all wo, |
| And send thee euer fortune, and also much grace, |
| That in heauen thou mayst haue a restyng place. |

The Italyen and the Lombarde say, Anglia terra—bona terra, mala gent. That is to say, “the land of England is a good land, but the people be yl.” But I say, as I doo know, the people of England be as good as any people in any other lande and nacion that euer I haue traauayled in, yea, and much more better in many thynges, specially in maners & manhod. as for the noble fartyle cou?trey of England, hath no regyon lyke it; for there is plente of Gold & Siluer. For Gold, Siluer, Tin, Lead & Yron, doth grow there. Also there is plentie of fishe, fleshe and wylde foule, and copiousnes of woll & cloth. And if they wold kepe their corne within their realme, they had ynoogh to finde themself without scarcite, & of a lowe price. Though they haue no wines growing within the realme—the which they might haue yf they would,—yet there is no

1 On the contempt for learning in England in Henry VIII's time, see the Forewords to the Babees Book, p. xii-xiv, the Additions to it of 1869, the Preface to Quene Elizabehes Aehademy, &c. p. ix, x, and Starkey's Dialogue on England in Henry VII's Time, E. E. T. Soc. 1870, p. 182-6, &c. On the Swearing in England, see p. 82-3 above. 2 thee B. 3 A .iii. back.
realme that hath so many sortes of wines as they. The region is of such fertilitie that they of the countrey nede not of other regions to helpe them. Englishmen be bolde, strong, & mighty; the women be ful of bewty, & they be decked gayly. They fare sumptiously: God is sereued in their churches devountli; but treason & deceyt among them is vsed craftyly, the more pitie; for ye they were true wythin themselfs, thei nede not to feare al-though al nacions were set against them; specialli now, consydering our noble pynce hath, & dayly dothe\(^1\) make noble defences, as castels, bulwarke, & blokhouses, so that, almost, his grace hath munited, & in maner walled England rounde aboute, for the saugerd of the realme, so that the poore subjectes may slepe and wake in saugerd, doing theyr busines without parturbaunce.

2 ¶ In England there be manye noble Citie and townes, Amonges the whyche the noble citie of London precellethe al other, not onely of that region, but of all other regyons; for there is not Constantynople, Venis, Rome, Florence, Paris, nor Colyn, can not be compared to London, the qualities and the quantite consynded in al thynges. And as for the ordre of the citie in maners, and good fashions, & curtasy, it excelleth al other cities and townes. And there is suche a brydge of puleritudnes, that in all the worlde there is none lyke.\(^3\) In Englande is a metropolytan, the whych is a patriarke; and ther be now but few; for there was a patriarke of Ierusalem, ther is a patriarke at Constanti-nople, & there is a patriarke at\(^4\) Venis; but al these aforesayde patriarke hath not, one for one, so many bysshops vnder them as the patriarke or metropolytan

1 \(^1\) this applies rather to 1542 than 1547. See Notes. Boorde notices that 7 castles were built, and 5 renewed by Henry.—Forewords, p. 23, near the foot.

2 sign. B. J.

3 This bridge was the first stone London Bridge, begun by Peter of Colechurch, A.D. 1176, finished in 1209, and which lasted till the New Bridge was built in 1825. For many centuries it was the wonder of Europe.—Chronicles of London Bridge, 2nd ed. 1839.

4 A leaves out B’s “at.”

Englishmen are mightie; English women full of beauty.

But treason is in the land.

Were we true to ourselves, we need fear none.

Our King builds castles too.

The noble city of London excels all others; and

Its bridge is the fairest in the world.

The Metropolitan of England is a Patriarch, with more bishops than any other.
of England. In England is the third aunyte\(^1\) vniuersite of the worlde, named Oxford. And there is another noble vniuersitie called Cambrige. There is also in Englande more nobiler\(^2\) portes and hauens than in any other region; there is Sandwiche, Douer, Rye, Wyn-chelse, Hastynes, Pemsey, Bryght-Hemston,\(^3\) Armde, Chychester, Porche mouthe, Southampton, Dartmouth, Exmouth, and Plommouth. I do not recone no hauens nor portes betwixt Comewall, Deynshire, and Wales, but beyond Cornewal and Wales, as saynt Danys, Carnaruan, Umarys,\(^4\) Aberde,\(^5\) Cornewal, Weschester, Cokersend, and Cokermouth, Carlel, Barwyke, New-castell, Bryllyngtone, Hull, Bostowe, Lyn, Yermouthe, and Harwyche, and dyuers other portes and hauyns, long to reherse. 

\[CHAP. I.\]

1. ancientest. 2. noble B. 3. Bryght, Hemston A; Brighthelmstone or Brighton. 4. ? Beaumaris, on the east coast of Anglesey. 5. ? Aberystwith, on the west coast of Cardiganshire, or Aberffraw, west coast of Anglesey, &c. 6. sign. B J. back.
great stones, some standyng, and some lyenge ouer-thawart, lyeng and hangyng, that no Gemetricion can set them as they do hange. And although they stande many a hondred yeares, hauyng no reparacion nor no solidacion of morter, yet there is no wynde nor wether that doth hurte or peryshe them. Men say that Marlyn brought to that place the sayd stones by the deuels helpe & crafte.

¶ In the Forest of saynt Leonardes in Southsex there dothe neuer syenge Nightyngale; although the Forest rounde aboute in tyme of the yeare is replenysshed wyth Nightyngales, they wyl syng rounde aboute the Forest, and neuer within the precyncte of the Forest, as dyuers kepers of the Forest, and other credible parsons dwelllyng there, dyd shew me.

¶ In dyuers places in England there is wood the which doth turne into stone. ¶ The kynges of England, by the power that God hath gyuen to them, dothe make sicke men whole of a sycknes called the kynges enyll.1 ¶ The Kynges of Englanede doth halowe every yere Crampe rynges,3 the whyche rynges, worene on ones fynger, dothe helpe them the whyche hath the Crampe.

¶ There is no regyons nor countrey in al the world that theyr money is onely gold & syluer, but only Eng-lande; for in England all theyr money is golde & syluer. There Golde is fyne and good, specyally the sonerayns, the Ryals, and the halfe Ryals; the olde noble, the Aungels and the halfe aungels, is fyne golde. But the nobles of twenty grotes, and the crownes and the halfe crownes of Englanede, be not so fyne Golde as the other is. Also Golde of other regyons, and some Syluer, yf it be good, doth go in England. The syluer of England is Grotes, halfe grotes, Pens, halfe pens, and there be some Fardynges. ¶ In England doth grow golde, and

1 See *The Brenyary of Health*, fol. lxx, and Forewords, p. 91-93 above.
2 sign. B.ii.
3 See the Forewords, p. 91-2.
Syluer, Tyn, Leade, and Irone.  ¶ The speche of Englande is a base speche to other noble speches, as Italion, Castylion, and Frenche; howbeit the speche of Englande of late dayes is amended.  

¶ The apendex to the fyrst Chapter, treatinge of Cornewall, and Cornyshe men.

I can brew  
beastly beer

like hogwash,

I'm very hungry;

give me a quart of ale.  I've fish and tin,

but suffer cold and hunger

I'll go to law for a straw.

¶ Iche cham a Cornyshe man, al[c]he can brew;  
It wyll make one to kacke, also to spew;  
It is dycke and smoky, and also it is dyn;  
It is lyke wash, as pygges had wrestled dryn.  
Iche cannot brew, nor dresse Fleshe, nor vyshe;  
Many volke do segge, I mar many a good dyshe.  
Dup the dore, gos!  iche hab some dyng to seg,  
‘Whan olde knaes be dead, yonge knaes be fleg.”

¶ Iche chaym yll afyngred, iche swere by my fay  
Iche nys not cate no soole  
Iche wolde fayne taale ons myd the cup;

Nym me a quart of ale, that iche may it of sup.  
A, good gosse, iche hab a toome, vyshe, and also tyn;  
Dryinke, gosse, to me, or els iche chyl begyn.  
God! watysh great colde, and fynger iche do abyd!  
Wyl your bedauer, gosse, come home at the next tyde.  
Iche pray God to coun him wel to vare,  
That, when he comit home, myd me he do not starie  
For putting a straw dorow his great net.  
Another pot of ale, good gosse, now me fet;  
For my bedauer wyl to London, to try the law,  
To sew Tre poll pen, for waggyng of a straw.  
Now, gosse, farewell! yche can no lenger abyde;  
Iche must ouer to the ale howse at the yender syde;

1 Boorde evidently didn't appreciate the Anglo-Saxon words of our speech as he did his own long Latin and Greek coinages.  
2 therein: as dyn above is “thin,” dycke, “thick.”  
3 gossip, mate.  
4 a-hungered.  
5 soul, flavouring, meat; p. 138, l. 21.  
6 sign. B .ii. back.  
7 at home.
And now come myd me, gosse, I thee pray,

And let vs make mery, as longe as we may.

Cornwal is a pore and very barren countrey of al maner thing, except Tyn and Fysshe. There meate, and theyr bread, and drynke, is marde and spylt for lacke of good ordring and dressynge. Fyrres and turues is theyr chief jewel; there ale is starke nought, lokinge whyte & thycke, as pygges had wrasteled in it,

1 smoky and ropye,
and neuer a good sope,
in moste places it is worse and worse,
pitie it is them to curse;
for wagginge of a straw
they wyl go to law,
and al not worth a hawe,
playinge so the dawe.

In Cornwall is two speches; the one is naughty Englyshe, and the other is Cornyshe speche.

And there be many men and women the whiche cannot speake one worde of Englyshe, but all Cornyshe. Who so wyll speake any Cornyshe, Englyshe and Cornyshe doth folow.

One. two. thre. foure. fyue. six. seuen. eyght. nyne.  
Ouyn. dow. tray. peswar. pimp. whe. syth. eth. naw.

2 Ten. aleuyn. twelue. thertene. fourtene. fyftene.

Dec. vnee. dowe. tredee. peswardee. pympdeec. 
Syxtene. seuentine. eyghtyne. nyntene. twenty. 
Whedeec. sythdeec. ethdeec. nawdeec. Igous. 
One and twenty. two and twenty. three and twenty. 
Ouyn war igous. dow war Igous. tray war ygous. 
Fouer and twenty, &c. 

peswar ygous: and so forthe tyl you come to thyrtie.

No Cornysheman dothe the nomber aboue .xxx. and is named. Deec warnegeous. And when they haue tolde thyrtie, they do begyn agayn, “one, two, and

1 Printed as prose.  2 B .iii. not signed.
thre," And so forth. and when they have recounted to a hundred, they saye kans. And if they number to a thousand, than they saye Myle.

God morow to you, syr! Dar day dew a why, serra! God spede you, mayde! Dar zona de why math-tath.1
You be welcome, good wyfe!

Welcom a whe gera da
I do thanke you, syr. Dar dala de why, syra.
How do you fare? Vata lev genar why?
Well, God thanke you, good master!
Da dar dala de why, master da!
Hostes, haue you any good meate?

Hostes, eus bones2 de why?
Yes, syr, I haue enowghe. Eus, sarra, grace a dew.
Give me some meate, good hostes!

Reuch bones2 de vy, hostes da!
Mayde, giue me bread and drinke!
Math-tath,1 eus me barow ha devas!
Wife, bringe me a quarte of wine!

t Gwrac, drewquart gwain de vy!
Woman, bringe me some fishe!

Benen,3 drewh pyson de vi!
4 Mayde, brynge me egges and butter
Math-tath,1 drewgh me ydo5 how a manyn de vi
Syr, much good do it you!
Syrra, betha why love wen ycke!

Hostes, what shal I paye?

Hostes, prendra we pay?
Syr, your rekenyng is .v. pens.
Syrra, iges rechen eu pymp in ar.
How many myles is it to london?
Pes myll der eus a lemma de Londres?
Syr, it is thre houndred myle.

Syrra, tray kans myle dere.

\[\text{Maktheid P. (John W. Peard).} \quad \text{2 Boos P} \quad \text{3 Benen AB. (Bennen P.)} \quad \text{4 B .iii. back.} \quad \text{5 oye, an egg; pl. oyow P.}\]
INTRODUCTION. OF WALES.

God be with you, good hostes!
Bena tewgen a why hostes da!
God gyue you a good nyght!
Dew rebera vos da de why!
God send you wel to fare!
Dew reth euenna thee why fare eta!
God be wyth you! Dew gena why!
I pray you, commend me to all good felloues.
Meesdesyer, why commende me the olde matos da.
Syr, I wyl do your commaundement.
Syrra, me euuden gewel ages commaundement why.
God be with you! Dew gena why!

A talk in Cornish and English.

The second chapytre treateth of Wales. And of the natural disposition of Welshmen. Teaching an Englishman to speake some Welsh.

I Am a Welshman, and do dwel in Wales,
I haue loued to serche boudgets, & looke in males; I like thieving.

1 Dew genew, P.  2 Maz den syra, good man Sir, good Sir, P.
3 Maynys, pl. of Mayn, an intimate, P.  4 B.iii. not signed.
I don't like work, and I do like prigging.

I love Roasted Cheese. (p. 129.)

My Harp is my treasure;
it's made of mare-skin and horse-hair.

I sing like a bumble-bee.

South Wales is better than North, for food.

Mountains: Snowdon and Manath Deny.

1. I do love cawse boby, 2. good roasted cheese;
And swysh swashe metheglyn I take 4 for my fees; 16
And if I do go barlegged, it is for no pryde;
I haue a gray cote, my body for to hyde.

And if I do go barlegged, it is for no pryde;
I haue a gray cote, my body for to hyde.

And wherby ryches I do not greatly set,
Syth all hys fyssbe that commeth to the net.

I do not to labour, nor to delue nor to dyg;
My fyngers be lymed lyke a lyme twyg;
And wherby ryches I do not greatly set,
Syth all hys fyssbe that commeth to the net.

I am a gentleman, and come of brutes blood;
My name is, ap Ryce, ap Dauy, ap Flood.

I am a gentylman, and come of brutes blood;
My name is, ap Eyce, ap Dauy, ap Flood.

I lone not to labour, nor to deluo nor to dyg;
My fyngers be lymed lyke a lynie twyg;
4 And wherby ryches I do not greatly set,
Syth all hys fyssbe that commeth to the net.

I go bare-legged.

Bycause I do go barlegged, I do cach the coffe;
And if I do go barlegged, it is for no pryde;
I haue a gray cote, my body for to hyde.

I haue a gray cote, my body for to hyde.

I am a gentylman, and come of brutes blood;
My name is, ap Eyce, ap Dauy, ap Flood.

I am a gentylman, and come of brutes blood;
My name is, ap Eyce, ap Dauy, ap Flood.

I am a gentylman, and come of brutes blood;
My name is, ap Eyce, ap Dauy, ap Flood.

I am a gentylman, and come of brutes blood;
My name is, ap Eyce, ap Dauy, ap Flood.

I am a gentylman, and come of brutes blood;
My name is, ap Eyce, ap Dauy, ap Flood.

I am a gentylman, and come of brutes blood;
My name is, ap Eyce, ap Dauy, ap Flood.

I am a gentylman, and come of brutes blood;
My name is, ap Eyce, ap Dauy, ap Flood.

I am a gentylman, and come of brutes blood;
My name is, ap Eyce, ap Dauy, ap Flood.

I am a gentylman, and come of brutes blood;
My name is, ap Eyce, ap Dauy, ap Flood.

I am a gentylman, and come of brutes blood;
My name is, ap Eyce, ap Dauy, ap Flood.

I am a gentylman, and come of brutes blood;
My name is, ap Eyce, ap Dauy, ap Flood.

I am a gentylman, and come of brutes blood;
My name is, ap Eyce, ap Dauy, ap Flood.

I am a gentylman, and come of brutes blood;
My name is, ap Eyce, ap Dauy, ap Flood.

I am a gentylman, and come of brutes blood;
My name is, ap Eyce, ap Dauy, ap Flood.

I am a gentylman, and come of brutes blood;
My name is, ap Eyce, ap Dauy, ap Flood.
of the which is a fayre fountayne. And 
yf the winde be
any thyng vp, 
yf a man do stande at the top of the
hyl in any place, and do cast his hat or cap downe the
hyll, the cap or hat shall flye bacwarde, and not for-
warde, although a man stande in neuer so came\(^1\) a place,
as they of the countrey doth tel me.

There is a wel in Wales called "Saynte Wenefrydes 
Well." Walshe men sayth that if a man doth cast a 
cupe, a staffe, or a napkyn, in the well, it wyll be full of 
droppes or frakils, and redyshe like bloude; the whyche 
is false, for I haue proved the contrary in sondry tymes.

\[\text{\textcopyright In Wales there hath ben many goodly 
& stronge Castels, and some of them stande yet. The Castels 
and the Countre of Wales, and the people of Wales, be }
muche lyke to the Castels and the countrey and the 
people of Castyle and Byscaye; \(^2\) for there is muche 
pouerty, and many reude and beastlye people, for they do 
drynke mylke and whay; they do fare ful euel, and theyr 
lodgynge is poore and bare, excepte in market townes,
In the whych is vsed good fashion and good vytales,
good meate, wine, and competent Ale, and lodgynge. 
North Wales and Sowth Wales do vary in there speche, 
and in there fare, and maners. Sowth Wales is best; 
but for all the variaunce of the premisses, they can not 
speke \(x\) worde to-gyther of Welshe, but "deauol," 
that is to say, "the devyl," is at the ende of one of the 
wordes, As "the foule euyl," whyche is the fallyng 
syckenes,\(^3\) is at the ende of euer skotyshe mans tale. 
In Wales in diuers places is vsed these two stulticious\(^4\) 
matters. the fyrste is, that they wyl\(^5\) sell there lams, and 
theyr caules, and theyr corne the whych is not sowen, 
and all other newynges, a yere before that they be sure 
of any newyng; and men wyl bye it, trustynge vpon 
hope of suche thynges that wyl come. The seconde

\(^{1}\) calm. \(^{2}\) sign. C i. \(^{3}\) See p. 136, line 4. 
\(^{4}\) stulticous in, B. \(^{5}\) well A ; wel B.
stulticious matter is, that ye any of theyr frendes do dye, & whan they shall be buried and put in to the graue, in certayne places they wyl cry out, making an exclamacion, and sayeng, "O venit!" that is to saye, "O swetynge! why dost thou dye? thou shalt not go from vs!" and wil pul away the corse, sayeng, "venit! we wyl dye with the, or els thou shalt tary with vs!" wyth many other folysh words, as the Castilions and the Spaniardes do say & d0 at the burieng of theyr frendes: thys dyd I se & herin Eithen and Oswold-estre, and other places.

The Walsh men be hardy men, stronge men, & goodly men; they woulde be exalted, & they do set muche by theyr kynred & prophecyes; and many of them be lounyng and kyndharted, faithful, & vertuous. And there be many of them the whyche be lyght fyngered, & loueth a purse; but this matter latly is reformed. but lechery in manye places is to much vsed, Wherfore ther be many bastards openly knownen; and many prestes sonnes aboundeth in the countrie, specially in North Wales; but that is nowe reformed, considring the restriction of the kynges actes, that prestes shal haue no concubynes who so wyll lerne to speake some Welshe, Englyshe and Welshe foloweth. And where that I do not wryte true Welshe, I do write it that euery man may rede it and vnderstand it without any teachynge.

The Welsh numerals.

One. two. thre. four. fyue. syx. seuyn. eyght.

Eun. daw. try. pedwar. pimp. wheeth. sayth. oweth.

Nyne. ten. aleuen. twelue. thryptene. fourtene.

Nau. deek. vnardeek. deuardeek. tryardeek. pedwardeek.

Fyftene. syxtene. seuyme. eyghtene.

Pympdeek. vnarbundeek. dauarbundeek. tryarbundeek.

Nyntene. twenty. one and twenty. two and twenty.

pedwarbunteek. igain. vnar igayn. deuar igayn.

1 Lat. benedictus, D. (B. Davies.) 2 See p. 200. 3 sign. C.J. back. 4 Statute 31 Hen. VIII, chap. 14, A.D. 1539. See 'Notes.' 5 wheeth D.
Therty. forty. fyfty. syxty. syeunty.
thegarhigen. deugen. degadugen. trygen. degatrygen.
Eyghty. nynety. a.C. two .C. M.
pedwarugen. degapedwarugen. hant. dekant. Myl.

1 Lat. benedicat D. 2 ychy D. 3 sign. C .ii.
4 Aros ychy D. 5 ? gwragath D. 6 ? wnwy D.
7 pabellter D. 8 naw D. 9 crosso D.

BOORDE.
A TALK IN WELSH AND ENGLISH. [CHAP. II.

Syr, you be hartyly welcome!

Sera, mae yn grosso dw i worthy!

Maystres, haue you any good meat and lodgyng?

Veymaistres, osgenmoch whe thin or booyd ta a cletty da?

Syr, I haue good meate and good lodgyng.

Sere, mae gennyf vid ta a cletty da.

Hostes, what is it a clocke?

Veye cleto vraae, beth idioo by ar i glowh?

Syr, it is .vi. a clock.

Sere, me hy yn wheh ar y glowh.

Hostes, when shall we go to supper?

Vey cleto vrae pamser i cwnw y ny in supper?

By and by. Yn yniann.

Gyue me some drynuke! Moes imi diod!

Gyue me some ale! Moes imi currow!

Gyue me some bred! Moes imi var a!

Gyue me some chese! Moes imi gaws.

Hostes, geue me a rekening!

Vey leto vrae moes ³ imi gyfry.

⁴ Syr, ye shall pay thre pens for your supper.

Sere, whe delough tair keinowh dio se ⁵ ich supper.

Hostes, God thanke you!

Voy cleto vrae⁶ dew a thiolchah!

Much good do it you! Enwhyn thawen!

How do you fare? Par behiut charuh⁸ whe?

Good morow! Daws.⁹

Good nyght to you.¹⁰ Nos a dawch a whe.

Farewell! Yni awn!¹¹

Tary, tary, come hydder! Arow arow¹¹ therdomma!

Hold thy peas, hold your peas! Tau, tau son!

Thus endeth of Wales.

¹ rawn A. ² ima A. ³ mee A. ⁴ sign. C .ii. back.
⁵ ? dros for dio se D. ⁶ wraas A. ⁷ thiolphah A.
⁸ arnoch D.
⁹ Upcott's reprint of B leaves out these phrases, though B has them.
¹⁰ Yn i awn A. ¹¹ for Aros, aros D.
The thyrde Chapter treateth of Irland. And of the naturall disposition of an Irishe man, & of theyr money and speche.

1 I am an Iryshe man, in Irland I was borne; I loue to weare a saffron shert, all though it be to-torne. My anger and my hastynes doth hurt me full sore; I cannot leaue it, it creaseth more and more; And although I be poore, I haue an angry hart. I can kepe a Hobby, a gardyn, and a cart; I can make good mantyls, and good Irysh fryce; I can make aqua vite, and good square dyce. Pediculus other whyle do byte me by the backe, Wherfore dyvers times I make theyr bones cracke. I do loue to eate my meate, syttyng vpon the ground, And do lye in oten strawe, slepyng full sound. I care not for ryches, but for meate and drynke; And dyuers tymes I wake, whan other men do wynke. I do vse no potte to seeth my meate in, Wherfore I do boyle it in a bestes skyn;
I don’t use cups; and I live poor.

Ireland is divided into the English Pale, and the wild Irish.

Men of the Pale have English ways, but are testy.

The wild Irish and Redshanks don’t sow or till, or care for household goods.

They are rude and wrathful;

they boil their meat in a skin.

Than after my meate, the brothe I do drynk vp, I care not for my maser, neyther cruse nor cup. I am not new fangled, nor neuer wyll be; I do lyue in pouerty, in myne owne countre.

‖ Irland is a kingdomship longing to the kyng of England. It is in the west parte of the world, & is deuyded in ii. partes. one is the Engly[sh] pale, & the other, the wyld Irysh. The English pale is a good countrey, plentye of fishe, flesh, wyldfoule, & corne. There be good townes & cities, as Du[b]lyn & Waterford, wher the English fashion is, as in meat, drinke, other fare & lodging. The people of the Englyshe pale be metely wel manerd, vsing the Englishe tu?zge; but naturally they be testy, specially yf they be vexed; Yet there be many well disposed people, as wel in the Englysh pale as in the wylde Iryshe, & vertuous creatures, when grace worketh aboue nature. ‖ The other parte of Irland is called the wilde Irysh; and the Redshankes be among them. That countrey is wylde, wast & vast, full of marcyces & mountayns, & lytle corne; but they haue flesh sufficient, & litle bread or none, and none ale. For the people there be slouthfull, not regarding to sow & tille theyr landes, nor caryng for ryches. For in many places they care not for pot, pan, kettyl, nor for mattrys, fether bed, nor such implementes of household. Wherfore it is presuppose that they lak maners & honesty, & be vntaught & rude; the which rudenes, with theyr meloncoly complexion, causeth them to be angry & testy wythout a cause. ‖ In those partyes they wyll eate theyr meat syttyng on the ground or erth. And they wyl sethe theyr meat in a beasts skyn. And the skyn shall be set on manye stakes of wood, & than they wyll put in the water and the fleshe. And than they wyl make a great fyre vnder the skyn betwyxt the stakes, & the skyn wyll not greatly

1 C .iii. back. 2 marryees B.
bren. And when the meate is eaten, they, for theyr drynke, wil drynk vp the brothe. In suche places men and women wyll ly to-gether in mantles and straw. There be many the which be swyft of fote, & can cast a dart peryously. I did neuer finde more amyte and loue than I haue found of Iryshe men the whyche was borne within the English pale. And in my lyfe I dyd never know more faythfuller men & parfyt lyuers than I haue known of them. ¶ In Irlond there is saynt Partrycke's purgatory, the whych, as I haue lerned of men dwellyng there, and of them that hath be there, is not of that effycacyte as is spoken of, nor nothing lyke. Wherfore I do aduertise euery man not haue affyaunce in suche matters; yet in Irlond is stupewdyous thynges; for there is neyther Pyes nor venymus wormes. There is no Adder, nor Snake, nor Toode, nor Lyzerd, nor no Euyt, nor none suche lyke.

2 I haue sene stones the whiche haue had the forme and shap of a snake and other venimous wormes. And the people of the countre sayth that suche stones were wormes, and they were turned into stones by the power of God and the prayers of saynt Patryk. And Englysh marchauntes of England do fetch of the erth of Irlonde to caste in their gardens, to kepe out and to kyll venimous wormes. ¶ Englysh money goth in Irlond, for Irlond belongeth to England, for the kynge of Englonde is kyng of Irlond. In Irlond they haue Irysh grotes, and harped grotes, & Irysh pens. ¶ If there be any man the which wyll lerne some Irysh, Englysh and Irysh dothe folow here togyther.

One. two. thre. foure. fyue. syx. seuen. eyght. 
Heven. dow. tre. kaar. quick. seth. showght. howght
nyne. ten. aleuyn. twelu. thirtene. fourtene.
nygh. deh. heunek. dowek. tredeek. kaardeek.

1 patriarkes B. 2 C .iv. not signed. 3 fololow A; folowe B.
A TALK IN IRISH AND ENGLISH.

Irish numerals.
fyuetene. syxtyene. sceuentene. eyghtene.
quiekdeek.1 schudeek. showyghtdeek. houghtdeek.
nynetene. twenty. one & twenty. ii. & twenty. thre & twenty
myghtdeek. jeh. hewn feet. douhfeet. tref feet.
Thirty. forty. fyfty. syxty. a hundred.
Dehfeet. cayfeet. dewhegesdeiyth.2 tref feet. keede.

God spede you, syr! Anoha deich sor!
You be welcome to the town. De van vely.
How do you fare? Kany stato?
I do fare well, I thanke you.
Tum agoomawh gramahogood
Syr, can you speke Iryshe? Sor, woll galow oket?
3 ¶ I can speke a lytle. Tasym agomee.

Mayden, come hether, and gyue me som meate!
Kalyn, tarin chowh, toor dech!
¶ Wyfe, hane you any good meate?
Benitee, wyl beemah hagoot?
¶ Syr, I haue enoughe. Sor, tha gwyler.
¶ Wyfe, gyue me bread! Benyteee, toor haran!
¶ Man, gyue me wine! Farate, toor fyn!
¶ Mayden, gyue me chese!
¶ Wyfe, gyue me fleshe!
¶ Gyue me some fyshe!
¶ Much good do it you!
¶ How far is it to Waterford?
Gath haad o showh go port laarg.
It is one an twenty myle. Myle hewryht.
¶ What is it a clocke? Gaued booleh glog?
¶ It is .vi. a clocke.
¶ Whan shal we go to supper?
Gahad rah moyd aner soper?
¶ Giue me a rekenyng, wyfe.
Toor countes doyen, benitee
¶ Ye shall pay .iii. pens. Ycke ke to tre pym Iny.

1 qulekdeck B. 2 dewhegesnayth B. 3 C .iv. back.
Whan shal I go to slepe, wyfe?
Gah hon rah moyd holowh?
By an by. Nish feene.
God night, sir! Ih may sor!
Fare wel, fare wel! Sor doit, sor doit!
Thus endeth the maner and speche of 1
Irland.

The fourth 3 chapter treateth of Scotland, and the natural disposycion of a Scotyshe man.
And of theyr money, and of theyr speche. 4

Am a Scotyshe man, and trew I am to Fraunec; 4
In evey countrey, myselfe I do auaunce; 4
I wyll boost myselfe, I wyll erake and face; 4
I loue to be exalted, here and in evey place. 4
an Englyshe man I cannot naturally loue, 4
Wherfore I offend them, and my lorde aboue; 4
He that wyll double with any man, 4
He may spede wel, but I cannot tell whan. 4
I am a Scotyshe man, and haue dissymbled muche, 4
and in my promyse I haue not kept touche. 4

1 of of AB. 2 sign. D.i. 3 fourth A; fourth B.
4 A note written here in Mr Christie-Miller's copy says, "vid. etiam Jo. Bruerinum in suo lib. de re Cibaria."
Whenever I speak I swear by the Foul Evil (see p. 127).

South Scotland has bad ale, but much oat cake.

The Highlands are full of moors.

The Southern Scots will gnaw a bone, and put it back in the dish.

In the Borders they live in penury, in huts; man, wife, and horse in one room.

Great morder and theft in tymes past I haue vset; 11 I trust to God hereafter, such thynges shal be refused. And what worde I do speake, be it in myrth or in borde, "The foule euyll" shalbe at the end of my worde; Yet wyl I not chaunge my apparell nor aray, although the French men go neuer so gay. 16

Scotland is a kyngdome, the kyng of the whyche hath in olde tyme come to the parliment of the kyng of England, and hath be suhiect to England. Scotland is deuyded in two partes; the one part, that is to say, nexte England, is Hayden, Edenborow, Lythko, Sterlynge, Glasco, saynt Androwes, saynt Iohns towne, wyth the countres anexed, and adjacent to the aforesayd cities and townes: [therein] is plenty of fysh and flesh, and euell ale, exept Leth ale; there is plenty of hauer cakes, whiche is to say, oten cakes: this parte is the hart and the best of the realme. The other parte of Scotlande is a baryn and a waste coustre, full of mores, lyke the lande of the wylde Ireshe. And the people of that parte of Scotland be very rude and vmanered & vnaughted; yet that part is somwhat better than the North parte, but yet the Sowth parte wyll gnaw a bone, and cast it into the dish again. Theyr Fyshe and Fleshe, be it rosted or soden, is serued wyth a syrup or a sause in one disshe or platter: of al nacyons they do sethe theyr fysh moste beste. The borders of Scotland toward England,—as they the which doeth dwell by Nycoll forest, and so vpward to Barwyke, by-yonde the water of Twede,—lyueth in much pouertie and penurye, hauynge no howses but suche as a man maye bnylde wythin .iii. or .iii. houres: he and his wyfe and his horse standeth all in one rome. In these partyes be many out-lawes and stronge theues, for muche of theyr

1 D. i. back.
2 Boorde studied and practised in Glasgow. See the Bre-words, p. 59.
lynyng standeth by stelyng and robbyng. Also it is naturally geuen, or els it is of a deuyllyshe dysposicioun
of a Scotysh man, not to loue nor fauour an Englyshe
man. And I, beyng there, and dwellynge amongeth, was hated; but my scyences & other polyces dyd kepe me in fauour, that I dyd know theyr secretes. The people of the countreye be hardy men, and stronge
men, and well fauored, & good musyceyon; in these quali"tes they be mooste lyke, above all other nacions, to an Englyshe man; but of al nacyons they wyll face, crake, and boost themselfe, theyr frendes, and theyr countre, aboue reason; for many wyll make strong lyes. In Scotland a man shall hau good chere —he that can away wyth it after the countrey fashion—for litle money. The most parte of theyr money is bras. In bras they hau pens, and halfe plackes, & plackes: four Scotish pens is a placke, and a placke is almost worth an Englyshe peny, for .xviii. Scotish pens is worthe an Englyshe grote: in Scotland they hau Scotysz grotose of syluer, but they be not so good, nor so muche worth, as an Englyshe grote. In golde they hau halfe face crownes, worth of our money .ii. shyl-lynges and .iii. pens. And they hau crownes of .iii. shillinges & .viii. pens. if a Scotysh man do pay .xx. crownes of golde, or a thousande crownes of golde, he doth say, "I haue payde .xx. pound, or a thousande pounde"; for euer crowne of .iii. shillinges and .viii. pens is a pounde in Scotland. In Scotelande they hau two sondry speches. In the northe parte, and the part ioynyng to Ierland, that speche is muche lyke the Iryshe speche. But the south parte of Scotland, and the usuall speche of the Peeres of the Realme, is lyke the northen speche of England. Wherfore ye any man

1 See the note from The Complaynt of Scotland, p. 59 above.
2 See Boorde's Letter VI, to Secretary Cromwell, in the Forewords, p. 59.
3 D .ii. not signed.
A TALK IN SCOTCH AND ENGLISH.

A talk in Scotch and English.

Scotch numerals:

One, two, three, foure, fyue, syx, seuyn, eyght, nyne,

Ene, tre, dre, joore, feue, sax, sauen, awght, neen,
ten, aleuen, twelue, thertene, fourtene, fyftene, syxtene.
tane, alauer, twalue, dertene, fortene, ruyetene, saxtene.
seuentene, eyghtene, nyntene, twenty, one and twentye.
sauentene, awghtene, nyntene, twante, ene and twanty.
two & twenty, a houndred.
twe an twanty, a houndryth.

1 God morow, syr! Gewd day, sher!
Do you know me, good fellow?
Ken ye me, gewd falowh?
Ye syr, wel Inough! Ye sher, in good jayth!
What countrey man be you?
What contryth man be ye?
I am a good felow of the Scotyshe bloud.
I es a gewd falow of the Scotland blewd.
Than haue you plenty of sowes and pygges.
Than haue ye fell many of sewes and gryces.
A pygge is good meate. A gryce is gewd sole. 2
Syr, by my fayth you be welcome!
Sher, by my fayth but yours vel come!

For as muche as the Scotysh tongue and the northen Englyshe be lyke of speche, I passe ouer to wryte anye more of Scottyshe speche.

1 D .ii. back. 2 soul, flavour. See p. 122, l. 16.
The .v. chapytre treateth of Shetland and of Fryceland & of the naturall disposycion of the people of the countrey.

1 I Was borne in Shotland, my countrey is ful colde;
And I was borne in Friceland, where mucche fysh is sold;
For corne and for shoes, our fysh we do sell;
And symple rayment doth serue us full well;
Wyth dagswaynes and roudges we be content;
And our chiefe fare, in the tyme of Lent,
Fyshe, at any tyme seldom we do lacke.
But I beshrew the louse that pyncheth vs by the back!

II Shotland is a smale countrey or Ilande, the whyche is a colde countrey and baryn, for there is nothinge the whyche is commodious nor pleaasunt, except fyshye.

II Fryce is in maner of an Ylande, compassed aboute on the one syde with the occyan sea, hauyng hys begynnynge at the ende of the water of Reene, and doth end towards Denmarkes sea. And although they be anexed to Germany, yet they do dyffer, for they do use contrary fashyons, as well in theyr apparel as in

1 D .iii. not signed.  2 coarse cloths and rugs.
Frisians have no firewood; and no great Lords, but only Justices.

Friesie is like Low German or Dutch. Groningen. Frisian coins.

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OF FRIESLAND. OF NORWAY. [CHAP. V, VI.

The maners, for they be rurall and rusticall; they haue no wood there, but turves and dung of beastes, to make theyf fyre. They wolde not be subject to no man, although they be vnder the Emperours dominion: they do loue no war, nor bate, nor strife, nor they loue not, nor wyl not haue no greate lordes amonge them; but there be admitted certayn Justices, And Justice that loueth, and prayseth, Chastyte. The countrey is could, baryn, and poore, lackyng riches; yet there is plenty of pasture: theyrs speche is lyke to base Germanyens spech; it doth dyffer but lyttle. One of the chiefe townes of Fryce land is called Grunnyghen. In golde they haue Ryders, Gylders, and Clemers gylders. In syluer they haue Iochymdalders.

1 The .vi. Chapter treateth of Norway & of Islonde, and of the natural disposicion of the people of the countrey, and of theyr money and speche.

1 D .iii, back. See p. 142 for a note on the cuts.
I Am a poore man, borne in Norway;
Hawkes and fysh of me marchauntes do by all daye.
And I was borne in Island, as brute as a beest;
When I ete candels ends, I am at a feast.
Talow and raw stockfysh, I do lone to ete;
In my countrey it is right good meate;
Raw fysh and flesh I eate when I haue nede;
Upon such meates I do lone to feed.
Lytle I do care for matyns or masse,¹
And² for any good rayment, I do neuer passe;
Good beastes skyns I do loue for to were,
We wear wolves' and bears' skins.

⁴ A Norway is a great Iond compassed about almost wyth the See; the countre is very colde, wherefore they haue lytle corne, and lytle bread and drynyke; the countre is wylde, and there be many rewde people. They do lyue by fysshying and huntyng. Ther be many castours and whyte beares⁴, & other monstorous beastes; there be welles, the whyche doth tourne wood in to Irone. In somer there be many daies that the sunne doth neuer go downe, but is continuallye daye. And in many dayes in wynter it is styll nyght. In Norwaye ther be good hawkes: ther is lytle money, for they do barter there fysh and hawkes for Mele, and shoes, and other marchaundies.

Iselond is beyond Norway: It is a great Iond compassed about wyth the Ise See; the countre is wonderfull cold, and in dyuers places the see is frosyn, and full of Ise. There is no corne growynge there; nor they haue lytle bread, or none. In stede of bread they do eate stockefyshe; and they wyll eate rawe fyshes and fleshe; they be beastly creatures, vnmanered and vn-taughte. They haue no houses, but yet doth lye in

¹ anye of gods servasse B. This change implies that Mary's reign was over. Forewords, p. 19.
² And as B.
³ D .iii. not signed.
⁴ No white bears in Norway.— G. Vigfusson.
Icelanders lie in caves like swine; give away their children, and are like the people of Calyco.

They barter fish for meat, &c., and use no money.

Priests, though beggars, have concubines.

No night in summer.

I can’t speak Icelandic.

canes¹, all together, lyke swyne. They wyll sell there Iselond curres, & gyue a-way their chyldren. They wyll eate talowe candells, and candells endes, and olde greece, and restye tallowe, and other fylthy thinges. They do wyll wylde beastes skinnes² and roudges. They be lyke the people of the newe founde land named Calyco. In Iselond there be many wylde beastes.

The people be good fyshers; muche of theyr fysh they do barter wyth English men, for mele, lases, and shoes, & other pelfery. They do vse no mony in the countre, but they do barter or chaunge one thynge for another. There be som prestes the whych be beggers, yet they wyll haue concubynes. In Sommer tyme they haue, in maner, no nyghte. And in wynter tyme they haue, in lyke maner, ³ fewe howres of dayelyghte. their language I can not speke, but here and there a worde or two, wherfore I do passe ouer to wryte of it.

¹ In Iceland the subterranean dwelling is a standing phrase.—G. Vigfusson.
² No wild beasts in Iceland.—G. V. Skins got from abroad.
³ D.iii. back.

Instead of the two cuts at the head of chap. vi., of the Rose-Garland edition (1517 or -8), the Lothbury edition of 1562 or -3 substitutes the two below:
The vii. Chapyre sheweth howe the auctor of thys boke, how he had dwelt in Scotland and other Ilandes, did go thorow and rounde about Christendom, and oute of Christendome; declarynge the properties of al the regions, countreys, and prouynces, the whiche he did trauel thorow.

Of noble England, of Ireland and of Wales,
And also of Scotland, I haue tolde som tales;

On this woodcut the late Mr Dyce remarks in his *Skelton's Works*, i, "the portrait on the title-page of *Dyuer's Balettyg and Dyties solaeguous* (evidently from the press of Pynson; see Appendix II, to this Memoir) is given as a portrait of 'Doctor Boorde' in the *Boke of Knowledge* (see reprint, sig. 1)." The pinnacle over the Doctor's head is complete in A, broken in B as in our cut. The cut that Wyer used for Boorde is on the title-page of Barnes's *Treatyse on Beards* below, p. 305.  

sign. E i.
I write conscientiously.

Tho' my metre is doggrel,

wise men will take my meaning.

Our royal Realm of England has no equal.

Were I a Jew or Turk, I yet must praise it.

All nations flow to it.

In all my travels I never knew 7 Englishmen who lived permanently abroad.

Yet how many aliens live here!

I shall now tell you of more lands I've travelled in.

And of other Ilondes I have shewed my mynd; He that wyl trauell, the truth he shall fynd. After my conscience I do wryte truly, Although that many men wyl say that I do lye; But for that matter, I do greatly pas, But I am as I am, but not as I was. And where [as] my metre is ryme dogrell, The effect of the whych no wyse man wyll depell, For he wyll take the effect of my mynde, Although to make meter I am full blynde.

For as muche as the most regall realme of England is cytuated in an angle of the worlde, having no region in Chrystendom nor out of Chrystendom equaialent to it,—The commodyties, the qualite, & the quantyte, wyth other and many thynges considered, within & aboute the sayd noble realme,—Wherefore1 yf I were a Iewe, a Turke, or a Sarasin, or any other insidele, I yet must prayse & land it, and so wold every man, yf they dyd know of other contrees as well as England. Wherfore, all nacyons aspyeng thys realme to be so commodyous and pleasaut, they haue a confluence to it more than toanye other regyon. I haue tramayled round about Chrystendom, and out of Christendom, and I dyd neuer se nor know .vii. Englyshe men dwellynge in any town or cyte in anye regyon byyond the see, excepte marchauntes, students, & brokers, not theyr byeing permanent 2 nor abydyng, but resorting thyther for a space. In Englande howe manye alyons hath and doth dwell of all maner of nacyons! let every man Iudge the cause why and wherfore, yf they haue reason to perscrute the mater. I haue also shewed my mynde of the realme of Ierlande,3 Wales, and Scotland, 4 and other londes; pretendyng to shew of regyons, kyngdoms, countreys, and provinces, thorow and round about

1 wherof B. 2 permanent B. 3 England B. 4 E .i. back.
where that I haue traueylyd, specially aboute Europ, and parte of Affrycke: as for Asia, I was neuer in, yet I do wryte of it by auctours, cronycles, & by the wordes of credyble Parsons, the whiche haue trauelled in those partyes. But concernyng my purpose, and for my trauellyng in, thorow, and round about Europ, whiche is all Chrystendom, I dyd wryte a booke of euery region, countre, and prouynce, shewyngne the myles, the leeges, and the dystaunce from citye to cytie, and from towne to towne; And the cyties & townes names, wryth notable thynges within the precyncte [of], or about, the sayd cytyes or townes, wryth many other thynges longe to reherse at this tyme, the whiche boke at Byshops-Waltam—viii. myle from Wynchester in Hampshyre,—one Thomas Cromwell¹ had it of me. And bycause he had many matters of [state] to dyspache for al England, my boke was loste,² the which myght at this presente tyme haue holpen me, and set me forward in this matter. But syth that I do lacke the aforesayde booke, humbly I desyre all men, of what nacyon soeuer they be of, not to be discontent wyth my playne wryt- yng, & that I do tell the trewth; for I do not wryte any thyngne of a malicious nor of a peruerse mynde, nor for no euyll pretence, but to manyest things the which be openly known, And the thynges that I dyd se in many Regyons, Cytyes, and Countryes, openly vysed.

Pascal the playn dyd wryte and preach manifest thynges that were open in the face of the world to rebuke sin; wyth the which matter I haue nothyng to do, for I doo speke of many countryes & regions, and of

¹ Compare this of the dead, "one Thomas Cromwell," with Boorde's letter to the living, "Right Honerable Lorde the Lord of the Pryue Seale," &c. Forewords, p. 62.
² Boorde's Itinerary of England—not Europe—was printed by Hearne in his edition of "Benedictus Abbas Petroburgensis de Vita et Gestis Henrici III, et Ricardi I," &c., vol. 2, p. 777 (before and after). Hearne's account of Boorde, from Wood's Athenæ, and his own knowledge, is in vol. i. of the same book, p. 36-56. Forewords, p. 23.
I describe countrics and men.

I wish to tell travellers what they're to do;

and about foreign money and speech.

I went from Calais through Flanders.

the natural dysposicyon of the inhabitours of the same, with other necessary thynges to be known, specially for them the whiche doth pretende to trauayle the countrees, regions, and provinices, that they may be in a redines to knowe what they should do whan they come there; And also to know the money of the countre, & to speke parte of the language or speache that there is vsed, by the whiche a man may com to a forder knowledge. Also I do not, nor shal not, dispraue no man in this booke perticulerly; but manifest thinges I doo wryte openly, and generally of comin vsages, for a generall commodite and welth.

¶ And in beyng ouer sea at Calys, I went first thorow Flaunders; wherefore the Flemmyng confesseth him selfe, sayeng:—

The .viii. Chapter treateth of Flaunders,

And of the naturall disposicion of a Fleming, and of their money and of their speche.

1 sign. E .ii.
CHAP. VIII.
INTRODUCTION.
OF FLANDERS.

Although I wyll be dronken other whyles as a rat? "Buttermouth Flemyng," men doth me call; Butter is good meate, it doth relent the gall. To my butter I take good bread and drynke; To quaf to moch of it, it maketh me to wynk.

Great studmares we bryng vp in Flaunders; We sell them into England, wher they get the glaunders.

Out of England, and out of the aforsayd regyons to come thorowe England, to fetche the course and cyrcuyt of Europ or Chrystendom:—From London, that noble cyte, let a man take his Iorney to Rochester, Cawnterbury and Douer, or to Sandwiche, to take shippyng to sayle to the welfauered towne of Calys, the which doth stand commodyously for the welth and succor of all Englande; In the whyche towne is good fare and good cheere, and there is good order, & polytike men, great defence, & good ordynawnce for warre. The sayde towne hath anexed to it for defence, Gynes, Hammes, and Rysbanke, Newman brydge, & a blocke-howse against Grauelyng, in Flaunders. From Calys a man must goo thorowe Flaunders. Flaunders is a plentyfull countre of fyshe & fleshe & wyld fowle. There shall a man be clenly serued at his table, & well ordred and vsed for meat, and drynke, & lodgyng. The countre is playn, & somwhat sandy. The people be gentyl, but the men be great drynkers; and many of the women be vertuous and wel dysposyd. In Flaunders there be many fayre townes: as Gawnt, Burges, & Newport, and other. In Flaunders, and in Braban, and other provinces anexed to the same, the people wil eate the hynder loynes of frogges, & wyll eate tod-

1 sign. E. ii. back. 2 Newnam B.
3 meat, drinke B.
4 See an old recipe for cooking them, in Queen Elizabeth's Academy, &c., Part ii. p. 152, E. E. T. Soc. 1869.
As for the speche & the money of Flauanders, [they] doo not dyffer but lytle from Base-Almayne; wherfore loke in the chapiter of Base-Almayn. [Chap. xiii, p. 157-8.]

The .ix. chapiter treyth of Selond, and Holond,² and of the naturall dysposycyon of a Selondder, and Holander, & of their money and of theyr³ speche.

The Island.

Hollanders make cloth.

1 E .iii. not signed. See the cut again on p. 155.
2 Selande, Holand, B.
3 & their B.
INTRODUCTION. ZEALAND AND HOLLAND.

We lacke no butter that is unsanery and salt, Therfore we quaf the beer, that causeth vs to halt. We haue harvest heryng, and good hawkes, With great elys, and also great walkes: Wyth such thynges, other londes we help and fele; Suche marchaundise doth helpe vs at nede; Yet to vs it sholde be a great passyon To chaunge our rayment or our olde fashyon. 12

1 Seland and Holand be proper and fayre Hands, and there is plenty of barreled butter, the whych is resty & salt; and there is cheese, & hering, salmons, Elys, & lytle other fysh that I did se. ther be many goshawkes, and other hawkes, & wyld foule. Ther be these good townes in Seland: Mydilborow, and Flosshing, & other mo. In Holand is a good towne called Amsterdam; and yet right many of the men of the countres wyll quaf tyl they ben dronk, & wyl pysse vnder the table where as they sit. They be gentyll people, but they do not fauer Skottyshe men. The women in the church be deuout, & vsyth oft to be confessed in the church openly, laying theyr heads in the prestes lap; for prestes there do sit whan they do here confessyons, and so they do in many other prouynces anexed to the same. The women be modestyouse, & in the townes & church they couer themself, & parte of theyr face and hed, with theyr mantles of say, gadryd and pleted mouche like after nonnes fashyon. theyr language, theyr money, theyr maners and fashyons, is lyke Flaunders, Hanaway, and Braban, which be commodityous and plentyfull countreyes.

1 Lorde, how the Flemines bragged, and the Hollanders craked, that Calice should be wonne, and all the Englishemen slain; swearyng, and starrynig, that they would haue it within thre daies at the moste; thynkyng verely that the soune of Calice could no more resist their puyssance then a potte of double beere, when they fall to quaffynge. — Hall's Chronicle, p. 181, ed. 1809.

2 Whan A; with B. 3 E .iii. back.
The x. Chapter treatyth of Braban, and of the natural disposicion of a Brabant-er, of theyr speche and of theyr money.

3 §§ I Was borne in Braban, that is both gentil and free;  All nacyons at all tymes be well-come to me.  I do vse martes, dyuers tymes in the yere;  And of all thynges, I do loue good Englysh beere.

4 In Anwarpe and in Barow, I do make my martes; There doth Englysh marchauntes cut out theyr partes.  I have good sturgyon, and other good fyshe;  I loue euer to haue good meate in my dyshe;

8 I haue good lodgyng, and also good chere,  I haue good wyne, and good Englyshe herre;  Yet had I rather to be drowned in a beere barell

11 Than I wolde chaunge the fashion of my olde apparel.

Braban is a comodyous and a pleausaunt countrey,  In the whyche is plentifulnes of meat, drynke, & corne; there is plentiful of fysh, and fleshe; there is good

1 tenth B.  2 theyr B.  3 E .iii. not signed.  4 Bacow B. ? Breda. Under *the .XXIII. yere of Kyng Henry the VII.* Hall says: *In this yere [A.D. 1531] was an olde Tolle demanded in Flanders of Englyshmen, called the Tolle of the Hounde, which is a Ryuer and a passage: The Tolle is .xii. pence of a Pardell. This Tolle had been often tymes demanded, but never payed: insomoche that Kyng Henry the seuenth, for the demaunde of that Tolle, prohibited all his subiectes to kepe any Marte at Antwerpe or Barow, but caused the Martes to be kepte at Calyes.*—Chronicle, p. 786, ed. 1809.
Sturgyon, Tunney, and many other good fysh, and good chepe. The countre is playn, and ful of fartylyte. God is well served in theyr churches; and there be manye good and devout people; and the people be louyng; & there be many good felowes the whyche wyll drynke all out 1: there be many good craftes men, speciall, good makers of Arras clothe. There a man may by all maner of lynen cloth, & silkes, & implimentes for howsholde, & plate and precious stones, and many other thynges, of a compytent pryce. The speche there is Base-Douche, and the money is the Emperours coyne, of the whyche I do wyte of whan that I do speke of Base-Almayne. In Brabant be many fayre and goodly townes: the fyrst is Hand-warp, a wellauered marchaunt towne; the spyre of the churche is a curyous and a ryght goodly latren. There is the fayrest flesh shambles that is in Chri²stendome. There is also a goodly commyn place for marchauntes to stand and to walke, to dryue theyr bargyns, called “the Burse.” And Englyshe marchauntes haue there a fayre place. There is another towne called Louane, whiche is a good vnyuersyte. There is also Brussels, and Mawgh-lyn, and other mo. ¶ Here is to be noted that there is another countre ioynyng to Braban, the whych is called Hanawar or Hanago. The countre is like Braban and Flaunders, as well in the fartylyte ³ and plentyfulnes of the countre, as of the money and the conversacion of the people: howbeit, Hanaway and the Hanaways do dyffer somwhat in the premysses; for they do speke in divers places, as well Frenche as Doche; for it lyeth betwyxt ⁴ Braban, Flaunders, and Fraunce. Theyr money is the Emperours coyne, as the money of Flaunders & Braban is, and all is one coyne: the chefe town of Hanago is saynt Thomas, and Bargen, and dyuers other.

1 gar aus.  2 E.iii. back.  ³ fertylitie B.  ⁴ betwene B.
The \textit{xi.} Chapter treteth of Gelderlond \& of Cleuelonde, and of the naturall disposition of the people of those cuntres, \& of their money \& their speche.

1 \textit{I Am of Gelderlond,} \& brought vp in the lond of Cleue;  

\begin{quote}
Few men believe me.  
I like fighting,  
and am always poor, \& my children lack food.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
In many thynges few men wyl me beleue;  
I love brawlyng and war, and also fyghtyng;  
Nyght and day do proull, to get me a lyuyng;  
Yet for all that, I am euer poore and bare,  
Therfore I do lyue styl in penury and care;  
For lack of meat, my chyldren do wepe,  
Wherfore I do wake whan other men do slepe.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
The fashyon of my rayment, chaunge I wyll not;  
I am well contented whan I am warme and hot.
\end{quote}

Although that Gylanderlond and Cleuelond be two sondry countrees \& dukedoms, yet nowe one duke hathe them both. Cleuelond is better then Gelderlond, for Gelderlond is sandy, and [has] muche waaste and baryn ground. The Gelders be hardy men, and vse mocho fyghtynges, war, and robbing. The countrees be poore,  

\begin{quote}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{1} sign. F. i. \ See the cut in B on the next page.  
\textsuperscript{2} 'the Duke of Gelders,' \textit{Hall}, p. 743, A.D. 1527.}
\end{quote}
for Gelderland hath vsed moche warre. The chyfe

townes of Gelder lond is the towne of Gelder¹, & another
towne called Nemigyn. And the chefe towne of
Cleuelond is the towne of Cleue. In Gelder londe and
Cleue lond theyr money is base gold, syluer, & brasse.

In gold they haue Clemers gylders, and golden gilders,
and gelders arerys: a gelder areris is worth .xxiii.
steuers: .xxiii. steuers is worth .iii. s. There is an-
other piece of golde called a horne squylyone:

a horne squylyone is worthe .xii. steuers
.xii. steuers is worthe .xix. d. ob.² In Syluer
they haue a snappan; a snappan is worth
.vi. steuers: .vi. steuers is worth .ix. d.
ob. In brasse they haue nor-
kyns and halfe norkyns,
& endewtkyne. their
speche is Base
Douche.

¹ Arnhem is the chief town of the present Guelderland.
Gelder is now in Kleveberg, Prussia. ² ob = ¼d.
The xii. chapyter treyth of the lond of Gulyk & of Lewke, and of the naturall dysposycion of the people of the countres and of theyr money and of theyr specche.

I Was borne in Gulyke; In Luke I was brought vp; Euer I love to drynke of a full cup.
My geese ones a yere I do clyp and pull;
I do sell my fethers as other men doth wall;
If my goos go naked, it is no great matter,
She can shyft for her selfe yf she haue meat & water.
The fashyon of my rayment, be it hot or cold,
I wyl not leue in ony wyse, be it neuer so old.

The lond of Gulyk is a dewkedom, and the lond of Lewke is an Archebyshopryche, for Archebyshoppes in Doche lond hathe great lordshyps and domynyons; yet they, and the aforesayd londes rehersed, from Calys, be vnder the domynyon of the Emperour. Gulyk is a fayre countre, not hyly nor watteryshe, but a playne countre.

1 sign. F .i. back.  2 Guylk AB.  3 F .ii. not signed.
geese, and the geese shall go naked; and they do sell the fethers to stuffe fether beds. They have lytle wyne growyng in the countre. The chief townes of Gulyk is, the towne of Gulyk, and a towne named Durynge. the people be poore of the countre; townes men be ryche; & a man for his money shalbe well orderyd & intreted, as well for meat & drynke as for lodging. The lond of Lewke is a pleasaunt countre. The cheefe towne is the cytie of Lewke; there is Lewkes veluet made, & cloth of Arys. The speche of Gulyk and Lewke is Base-Doche. And theyr money is the Emperours Coyne; but the Byshop of Lewke doth coyne both gold, syluer, and bras, the whiche is currant there, and in the londes or countres ther about.

The .xiii. Chapiter doth speake of base Almayn, and of the disposicion of the people of the coun-trey; of theyr speche & of theyr money.

1 ¶ I Am a base Doche man, borne in the Nether-lond;

1 F .ii. back. The cut has been used before, on p. 148.
I often get drunk, Diverse times I am cupshoten, on my feet I cannot stand;

Dyners tymes I do pysse vndermeth the borde;
My reason is suche, I can not speke a word;
Than am I tongue tayd, my fete doth me fayle,
And than I am harneysed in a cote of mayle;

Than wyl I pysse in my fellowes shoes and hose,
Than I am as necessary as a waspe in ones nose.

Now am I harnest, and redy, Doche for to speke;

A lomp of salt butter for me is good meat;
My knees shall go bare to kepe me out of heat;
Yet my olde cote I wyl not leaue of,
For if I should go naked, I may catche the cof.

Base Almayne, or base Doche londe, rechyth from the hydermost place of Flaunders and Hennago, to the cite of Mense, and to Argentyne, as some Doche men holdeth opynyon. The cheef Cyte of Doche land or Almayne is the noble cyty of Colyn, to the whyche cometh the fayre water of Reene; on bothe sydes of the whyche water of Reene doth growe the grapes of the whyche the good Renysh wyne is made of. There is a vyne of grapes at a towne called Bune, of the whyche reed Renysh wyne is made of. al Base-Almayne is a plentiful countre of corne and Renysh wyne, and of meat and honest faire, and good lodgyng. The people be gentyll and kynd harted. The worst fawt that they haue: many wyl be dronken; and whan they fall to quaffyng, they wyll haue in dyuerse places a tub or a great vessell standyng vnder the boord, to pysse in, or else they wyl defyle al the howse, for they wyl pysse as

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1 *Trene*: com. Drunken, *cupshotten*, tipsie, whitled, flusht, mellow, ouerseeene, whose cap is set, that hath taken a pot too much, that hath seene the diuell. *Forbeu* ... mellow, fine, cup-taken, pot-shotten, whose fudling or barley Cap is on.—*Col-grave*. 
they doo syt, and other whyle the one wyll pis in
a nother\(^1\) shoes. They do lone sault butter that is
resty, and bareled butter. In Base Doche land be many
\(^2\) vertuous people, and full of almes dedes. In Base
Almayn or Doche lond theyr money is gold, tyn, and
brasse. In gold they haue crownes, worth four s. viii.
d. of sterlyng money. They haue styuers of tyn and
bras: two styuers and a halfe is worth an Englysh
grote. they haue crocherdes; .iii. crocherds is les worth
than a styuer. they haue mytes; .xxvi. mytes is worth
an Englyshe peny. They haue Negyn manykens; a
manyken is worth a fardyng; a Norkyn is worth a
halfpeny. They haue bras pens; a bras peny is .ii. d.
fardyng of theyr money. Who so that wyl lerne to
spoke some Base Doche,—Englysh fyrst, and Doche,
doth folowe.

One. two. thre. foure. fyue. syx. seuyn. eyght. nyne.

\(Ene.\) twe. drie. vier. vie. ses. seuen. acht. nughen.
ten. aleuyn. twelue. thyrten. fowrtene. fyftene.

teeue. clohe. twaclue. dertyene. vierteene. viefteene.
syxtene. seuentene. eyghtene. nyntene. twenty.
sestyene. seuentyene. achtyene. negentyene. twentgith.
one and twenty. two and twenty. thre and twenty.
en an twentieth. twe an twentieth. dre an twentith.
thyrt. forty. fyfty. syxty. seuenty. eyghty.
derteh. vierteh. vynith. sesteh. zeuenteeh. achtenteh.
nynete. a hondred. a thowsand.
negenteth. hondret. dowsent.

God morow, brother! Morgen, brore i
Syr! God gyue you good day!

Heer! God geue v goeden dah!
Syr! how do you fare? Heer! hoe faerd ghy?
Ryght well, blessyd be God!
Seer well, God sy ghebenedyt!

\(^1\) another's.
\(^2\) F .iii. not signed.
Frend, whyche is the ryght way from hens to Colyn?

*Vryent, welk is den rethten wch van hoer te Colyn?*

1 Syr, hold the way on the ryght hand.

*Heer, holden den wch aye drechit hand.*

Wyfe, God saue you!    *Vrow, God gruet v!*

My syr, you be welcome!

*Myn heer, yk hiet you welcome!*

Haue you any good lodgyng?

*Hab v ench good herberh?*

Ye, syr, I haue good lodgyng.

*yo, myn heer, I hab goed harberh.*

Wyfe of the house, gyue me some bread!

*Vrow^3^ van de heuse, ghewft 4 me broot!*

Mayd, gyue me one pot of beare!

*Meskyn, ghewft me en pot beere!*

Brother, gyue me some egges!

*Brore, ghewft me eyeren!*

Gyue me fysehe and fleshe!

*Ghewft me fis an flees!*

What shall I pay, ostes, for my supper?

*How veele is to be talen, warden, for meell tyd?*


Hoste, God thanke you!    *Warden, God dank ye!*

God gyue you good nyght and good rest!

*God ghewft v goeden naght an goed rust!*

God be wyth you!    *God sy met v!*


Thursday, *donnersdah.*    Fryday, *Vrydah.*

Saterday, *Saterdah.*

Can you speke Doche?    *Can ye Doch sprek?*

I can not speke Doche; I do vnderstond it.

*Ik can net Doch spreke; Ik for stow.*

---

1 F .iii. back.  
2 drynke A; bread B.  
3 Brow A; Vrow B.  
4 gefit B.
The .xiii. Chapter treateth of hyghe Almayne or hyghe Doch lond, and of the dysposycyon of the people, and of theyr speche and of theyr money.

I Am a hygh Almayne, sturdy and stout,
I laboure but lytle in the world about;
I am a yonker ³; a fether I wyll were;
Be it of gose or capon, it is ryght good gere.
Wyth symple thynges I am well content;
I lacke good meat, specyally in Lent.
My rayment is wouyn moche lyke a sacke;
When I were it, it hangeth lyke a Sack.
Every man doth knowe my symple intencyon,
That I wyll not chaunge my olde fathers fashyon ⁴.

¹ F.iii. not signed.
² Instead of the 3 cuts above, from the Rose-Garland edition, the Lothbury edition of 1562-3 gives only the centre one, which it has used before for the Norwegian, p. 142 at foot, and which both editions have used before for the Fleming, p. 146 above.
³ G. ein junecker, a yonker, youngster or youngster.—Ludwig. Dutch een Jonck-heer or Joncker, A young Gentleman, or a Joncker.—Hexham.
⁴ In 1510, Henry VIII made some 'yong Gentelmen' of his court fight together with battle-axes in Greenwich Park, and then gave them 200 marks to have a banquet together: "The whiche banket was made at the Fishemongers Halle in Teames strete, where they all met, to the number of .xxiii, all ap-
High-Almayne goes from Maintz to Trent in the Tyrol.

High and Low-Germans differ much.

The High-Germans are rude, and badly drest.

One sticks a fox-tail or feather in his cap, and is called a Fonker.

Girls drink only water.

Snow lies on the mountains all the year.

Hygh Almayne, or hyghe Dochelond, begyneth at Mens, and some say it begyneth at Wormes, & containeth Swauerlond or Swechlond, and Barslond, and the hylles or mountayns of the most part of Alpes, stretching in length to a town called Trent by-yonde the mountayns: half the 1 towne is Doche, & the other halfe is Lombardy. There is a greate dyfference betwyxt Hygh Almayne and Base Almayne, not only in theyr speche and maners, but also in theyr lodgynges, in theyr fare, and in theyr apparell. The people of Hygh Almayne, they be rude and rustycall, and very boystous in theyr speche, and humbly in their apparell; yet yf some of them can get a fox tale or two, or thre fox tayles, standyng vp ryght vpon theyr cappe, set vp with styckes, or that he maye have a capons feder, or a goose feder, or any long feder on his cap, than he is called a "yonker." they do fede grosly, and they wyll eate magots as fast as we wyll eate comfets. They haue a way to brede them in chese. Maydes there in certayne places shall drynke no other drynke but water, vnto the tyme she be maryed; yf she do, she is taken for a comyn woman. Saruants also do drynke water to theyr meat. the countre is plentyfull of apples and walnuts; the mountayns is very baryn of al maner of vytes; howbeit the good townes be prouyded of vitels. Snowe dothe ly on the mountaynes, wynter and somer; wherfore, the hotter the daye is, the greater is the

pareyled in one sute or liuery, after Almain fashion, that is to say, their vther garmentes all of yealow Satyne, yealow hosen, yealow shoes, gyrdels, scaberdes, and bonettes with yealow fethers, their garmentes & hosen all cutte and lyned with whyte Satyn, and their scaberdes wounde abought with satyne. After their banket ended, they went by torche light to the Towre, presentinge them selves before the kynga, who toke pleasure to beholde them."—Hall's Chroni-
cle, p. 516. "the kynga, with xv. other, appareled in Almayne Iackettes of Crymosyne & purple Satyne, with long quartered sleeves"... "and then folowed xiii. persones, Gentelmen, all appareled in yealow Satyne, cut like Almaynes, bearyng torches." ib., ed. 1809.

The third dale of Maie [1512] a gentleman of Flaunders, called Guyot of Guy, came to the kyng [Henry VIII] with v.C. Almaines all in white, whiche was cutte so small that it could scace hold together.—ib., p. 527.
flods, that they renne so swyft that no man can passe
for .v. or .vi. howres, and than it is drye agayne.
Certayn mountaynes be so hygh that you shal se the
hyll tops aboue the cloudes. In the vally it is euer
colde. I haue seen snowe in somer on saynet Peters
day and the Vysytacion of our Ladye. A man may see
the mountaynes fyftene myle of, at a cyte called Ulmes,
where fustyan vlmes is made, that we cal holmes. In
Hyghe Almayne be good cities and townes, as Oxburdg,
Wormes, Spyres, Gyppyng, Gestynge, and Mommyng.
In Hygh Almayne their money is golde, alkemy, and bras.
In gold they haue crownes of .iiii. s. & .viii. d. In alkemy
and bras they haue rader Wyese phenyngs worthe 2 al-
most a styuer; they haue Morkyns3, Halardes, Phenyngs4,
Crocherds, Stiuers5, and halfe styuers. Who so wyl
lern Hygh-Doch,—Englysh fyrst, & Doche, followeth.

1st sheene. 2d sheene. 3d sheene. 4th sheene. 5th sheene.
6th sheene. 7th sheene. 8th sheene. 9th sheene. 10th sheene.
11th sheene. 12th sheene. 13th sheene. 14th sheene. 15th sheene.
16th sheene. 17th sheene. 18th sheene. 19th sheene. 20th sheene.
21st sheene. 22nd sheene. 23rd sheene. 24th sheene. 25th sheene.
26th sheene. 27th sheene. 28th sheene. 29th sheene. 30th sheene.
31st sheene. 32nd sheene. 33rd sheene. 34th sheene. 35th sheene.
36th sheene. 37th sheene. 38th sheene. 39th sheene. 40th sheene.
41st sheene. 42nd sheene. 43rd sheene. 44th sheene. 45th sheene.
46th sheene. 47th sheene. 48th sheene. 49th sheene. 50th sheene.
51st sheene. 52nd sheene. 53rd sheene. 54th sheene. 55th sheene.
56th sheene. 57th sheene. 58th sheene. 59th sheene. 60th sheene.
61st sheene. 62nd sheene. 63rd sheene. 64th sheene. 65th sheene.
66th sheene. 67th sheene. 68th sheene. 69th sheene. 70th sheene.
71st sheene. 72nd sheene. 73rd sheene. 74th sheene. 75th sheene.
76th sheene. 77th sheene. 78th sheene. 79th sheene. 80th sheene.
81st sheene. 82nd sheene. 83rd sheene. 84th sheene. 85th sheene.
Hostes, hau ye good meate?
Wertyn, hab ye god eften?
ye, I hau e enough.  yo, Ik hab gonough.
Hostes, gyue me egges, chese, and walnens!
Wertyn, geue meh ayer, caase, en valshe nots!
mouch good do it you!  Goot go seken eyh esscu!
I thank yo[u], my mayster!
Ich dank ze, myh\(^1\) leuer hern!
What tyme is it of the day?  What hast is gosloken?
Hostes, God be with you, wyth al my hert!
Wartyn, Goot go seken for harteon!
my master, wyl ye drynk a pot of wyne?
myh leuer hern, wylter drenke a mose wyne?

The xv. chapter treateth of Den-
mark and of the
natural dysposy-
cion of the people,
and of theyr mo-
ny and speche.

1 I Am a Dane, and do dwell in Denmarke,
Seldom I do vse to set my selfe to\(^3\) warke

1 ?myn.  2 sign. G .i. back.  B puts the cuts on the right.  3 a B.
LYUE at ese, and therfore I am content;
Of al tymes in the yere I fare best in Lent;
I wyl ete beenes, and good stock stock-fish—
How say you, is not that a good dysh?—
In my apparel I was neuer nyce,
I am content to were rough fryce;
Symple rayment shal serve me ful wel;
My old fashion I do vse to kepe,
And in my clothes dyuers tymes I slepe;
Thus I do passe the dayes of my lyfe,
Other wliyle in bate, and other wliyle in stryfe;
Wysdome it war to lyue in peace and rest;
They that can so do, shal fynd it most best.

Denmark's a very poor country, but has fine trees.
The Danes hath bene good waryers; but for their
pouertye I do marueyle how they dyd get ones Eng-
londe; they be subtyll wytte, & they do proll muche
about to get a pray. They haue fysh and wyldfoyle su-
cient. Theyr lodgyng and theyr apparel is very symple
& bare. These be the best townes in Denmarke: Ryp,
& By borger. In Denmark, their mony is gold, and
alkeym, and bras. In gold they haue crownes; & al
other good gold doth go there. In alkeyme and bras
they haue Dansk whyten. Theyr speche is Douche.

1. G.ii, not signed.
2. Yet in the great Dearth of wheat in England in 1527, wheat was im-
ported from Denmark, among other places: "the gentle marchaunts of the
Styliard brought from Danske, Breme, Hamborough, and other places, great
plentie; & so did other marchaunts from Flauunders, Holand, and Frisland,
so that wheat was better chepe in London then in all England once."—Hall's
The xvi. Chapter treateth of Saxsony, and of the natural disposicion\(^1\) of the Saxons, and of their money, and of their speche.

\(\text{It} \ \text{I am a Saxson, serching out new thynges}^3\);
Of me many be glad to here new tidinges.
I do persist in my matters and opinions dayly,
The which maketh the Romayns vengians on me to cry;
Yet my opinions I wyl neuer\(^4\) lene;
The cursyng that they gyue me, to them I do bequene;
The fashion of my rayment I wyl euer\(^5\) vse,
And the Romayns fashion I ytterly refuse.

Out of Denmarke a man may go in to Saxsony. Saxsony is [a]\(^6\) Dukedom-shyp, And holdeth of hym selfe. I do maruel greatly how the Saxsons should conquere Englonde, for it is but a smalle countre to be compared to Englond; for I think, if al the world were set against Englonde, it might neuer be conquerid, they beyng treue within them selfe. And they that would be false, I praye God too manyfest them what they be.

The countre of Saxsony is a plentiful\(^7\) countre, and a

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\(^1\) disposicion \(A\); disposicion \(B\).
\(^2\) G.ji. back.
\(^3\) thynkes \(A\).
\(^4\) euer \(A\); neuer \(B\).
\(^5\) euer \(A\); neuer \(B\).
\(^6\) A omits 'a.'
\(^7\) plentyfill \(A\); plentiful \(B\).
fartyll; yet there is many greate mountaynes and woddes, in the whyche be Buckes and Does, Hartes, and Hyndes, and Wylde Boores, Beares, and Wolfes, and other wylde beastes. In Saxony is a greate ryuer called Weser; And there be salte wels of the water, of the Weser river, the whyche is made whyte salt. In the sayd countre doth grow copper. The people of the countre be bold and strong, and be good warriers. They do not regarde the byshoppe of Rome ¹ nor the Romayns, for certaine abusions. Martyn Leuter & other of hys factours, in certayne thynges dyd take synistrall opinions, as concernyng prestes to have wyues, wyth such like matters. The chefe cyte or town of Saxony is called Witzehurg, wittenburg which is a vniuersite. In Saxony theyr monye is golde and brasse. In golde they have crownes, In Saxon money. brasse thei have manye smal peces. There speche is Doch speche.

¹ Andrew Boorde speaks, I suppose, as a Saxon heretic here (Pope = Bp of Rome), Romanist though he had been, and condemning Luther as he does in the next lines.

The Lothbury edition, 1562-3, substitutes the cut below for the one at the head of this chapter. The Rose-Garland edition uses it for the man of Bayonne, p. 165, below, and both editions use it for the Egyptian, p. 217.
The xvii. chapter treateth of the kyngdom of Boeme, and of the dysposycion of the people of the countre, of theyr monye, and speche.

I Am of the kyngdome of Boeme,
I do not tel al men what I do meane;
For the popes curse I do lytle care;
The more the fox is cursed, the better he doth fare.
Euer sens Wyclif dyd dwel wyth me,
I dyd neuer set by the popes auctorite.
In certayn articles Wyclif dyd not wel,
To reherse them now I nede not to tell,
For of other matters I do speke of nowe;
Yf we do not wel, God sped the plow!
Of our apparrel we were neuer nyce;
We be content yf our cotes be of fryce.

The kyngdome of Boeme is compassed aboute wyth great hygh mountaynes and great thycke wods.
In the whyche wods be many wylde beastes; amonges

1 G .iii. not signed.
2 G .iii. back.
al other beastes there be Bugles, that be as bigge as an oxe; and there is a beast called a Bouy, lyke a Bugle, whyche is a vengeable beast. In dyuers places of Boeme there is good fartyl ground, the whyche doth bryng forth good corne, herbes, frutes, and mettals. The people of Boeme be opinionatyue, standyng much in theyr owne conceits. And many of them do erre contrary to vs in the ministracion of the .vii. sacraments, & other approbated thynges, the which we do vse in holy churche. In Boeme is indifferent lodging, and competent of vitels, but they do loue no Duckes nor malardes. theiry condicions and maners be much lyke to the Hygh Almayns, & they do speke Duch. In Boeme is a goodly cyte called Prage, wher the king of Boeme doth ly much whan he is in the countre. In Boeme theyr monye is Golde, Tyn, and Bras. In Golde they haue crownes; In Bras they haue smal peces as in Doch lond; theyr speche is Doch.

Instead of the right-hand cut of the Rose-Garland edition, at the head of this chapter, the Lothbury one has another, of a woman without a flower, and with differences in her skirt. It is given on the right here.
The .xviii. chapter treateth of the kyngdome of Poll, and of the naturall dysposicion\(^1\) of the people, and of theyr mony and spech.

\(^2\) I Am a power man of the kyngdom of Pol; Dyuers tymes I am troubled wyth a heuy nol. Bees I do loue to haue in every place, The wax and the honye I do sel a pace;

\(^3\) I do sel flex, and also pyche and tar,

Marchaunts cometh to me, fetchyng it a far. My rayment is not gorgious, but I am content To were such thynges as God hath me sent.

\(^4\) The kyngdome of Poll is on the Northe syde of the kyngdom of Boeme, strechynge Estwarde to the kyngdom of Hungary. In Pol be great wods and wyldernes, in the whych be many bees, and wylde beastes of diuers sorts. In manye places the countre is full of fartillite, and there is much pych, and Tar, and Flex. There be many good townes; the best towne named\(^3\) Cracoue. The people of the countre of Poll be rewde, and homlye in theyr maners and fashions, and many of them haue learned craftines in theyr byeng and sellyng; and in the countre is much pouerte and euyll

\(^1\) dysposion A; dysposicion B.

\(^2\) G .iii.

\(^3\) anned A; named B.
fare in certayne places. The people do eat much hony
in those parties. they be peasible men; they loue no
warre, but louyth to rest in a hole skin. Theyr
rayment and apparel is made after the
High Doche fashion wyth two wyrnck-
kles and a plyght; theyr spech is
corrupt Doche; the mony of
Poll is goulde and
bras; all maner
of gold goth
there.

\footnote{too A; to B.}

The Lothbury edition of 1562 or 1563 gives this woodcut of the Pole, or
power man of the kyngdom of Pol,' or rather the personage who does duty
for him.
The xix. chapter treateth of the kyngdome of Hungary, and of the natural disposition of the people, and of the mony & spech.

I do dwel in the kyngdome of Hungary;
I hate the Turks; Bytwyxt the Turkes and me is lytle marcy;
And although they be strong, proud, and stout,
Other whyle I rap them on the snowt;
Yet haue they gotten many of our towns,
And haue won of our londs and of our bowns;
If we of other nacions might haue any helpe,
We wold make them to fle lyke a dog or a whelp.

Out of my countre I do syldome randge;
The fashion of my apparel I do neuer chaunge.

1 G iii. back. The right-hand cut is from B, and differs a little from that in A, which is the cut of Boorde on the title-page of Barnes, p. 305 below, with a different riband over the head.
2 dysposion A; dysposion B.
INTRODUCTION. OF HUNGARY.

The kyngdom of Hungary is beyond the kyngdome of Poll, estward. The lond is deduied into two partes, the whych be called "great Hungary," and the "lesse Hungary." The countres be large & wyde; there is gret mountayns and wildernes, the whych be repleted with manye wylde beeastes. Ther is salte digged out of hylles. And there is found certayne vaynes of gold. In Hungary ther be many Aliens of dyuers nacions, and they be of dyuerce fashions, as wel of maners as of lyu-ynge, for the lond doth Ioyne to the lond of Grece at the south syde. The great Turke hath got much of Hungary, and hath it in peaseable possession. And for as much as there is dyuerce people of diuerce nacions, ther is vsed diuerce speches, & ther is currant diuerce sortes of mony. ther be many good cytyes & townes the which be called "vouen;" Sculwelyng, Warden, Scamemanger, and a noble cytie called Clipron, and a regal castyl called Neselburgh, And a gret citie called Malla vina, the whych is almost the yttermost cytie of Hungary, by the whych cite doth roune the regall Hod of Danuby. The spech of Hungary is corrupt Italien, corrupt Greke, & Turkysh. Theyr mony is gold [&] bras: in gold thei haue ducates & sarafes. In bras thei haue myttes, ducates, & soldes, and other smal peses of brasse which I haue for-got.

The .xx. chapter treateth of the lond of Grece, & of Constantine-nople, and of the naturall disposicion of the people, and of theyr mony and speche.
I Am a Greke, of noble spech and blond,
Yet the Romayns with me be mervellous wood;
For theyr wodnes and cursyng I do not care;
The more that I am cursyd, the better I do fare.
Al nacions vnder them, they woulde fayne haue;
Yf they so had, yet would they more craue;
Vnder their subiection I would not lyue,
For all the pardons of Rome if they wold me geue.

The seven provinces of Greece.

Constantinople belongs to the Turks.

St Sophina’s is the fairest cathedral in the world.

Constantinople is built with two sides to the sea.

By it is St. George’s Arm, or the Hellespont.

1 Am a Greke, of noble spech and blond,
Yet the Romayns with me be mervellous wood;
For theyr wodnes and cursyng I do not care;
The more that I am cursyd, the better I do fare.
Al nacions vnder them, they woulde fayne haue;
Yf they so had, yet would they more craue;
Vnder their subiection I would not lyue,
For all the pardons of Rome if they wold me geue.
Erisemon lyeth there: and they say that there is the holy crosse, and Iesu Chrystes cote that had no scene. The \textit{vniuersitie} of Salerne, where physick [is] practysed is not far from Constantinople. the Greciens do erre & swere in mani articles concerning our fayth, The whyche I do thinke better to obmyt, and to leue vn-wryten, than to wryte it. In Constantinople their money is gold, syluer, & Brasse: in gold they haue sarafes; a saraf is worth .v.s. sterlynge; in syluer they haue aspers; an asper is worth an Englysh peny; in Bras they haue soldes; .v. sold is worth an Asper. they haue myttes; .iii. myttes is worth a sold.

a letter whiche the Greciens sent to the byshop of Rome:—

Parotenciam tuam summam ci[\textit{c}]ca\textsuperscript{3} tuos subiectos firmiter aredimus; superbiam tuam summam\textsuperscript{4} tollerare non possumus; Auariciam\textsuperscript{5} tuam saciare non intendimus. dominus tecum! quia dominus nobiscum est.

If any man wil learene to speke Greke, such Greke as they do speake at Constantynople and other places in Greece,—Englysh and Greke doth folow.

One. two. thre. foure. fyue. syx. senyn. eyght. 
\textit{Ena. dua. trea. tesser\ae. pente. cxi. esta. oucto.}
	nyne. ten. aleyyn. twelue. thyrtyene. fowrtene.

\textit{ena\textsuperscript{6}. deca. edeca\textae. ededacna. decatre\ae. decatessera.}

fyftene. syxtene. seuentyene. eyghtene. nynte.

\textit{decapente. decae\textaei. decaest\ae. decaoucto. deca\textae\textae.}

twenty. one and twenty. two and twenty, &c. 

\textit{cochi. ecochiena. ecochidua,\textsuperscript{7} \&c.}

thirty. forty. fyfty. syxty. seuenty. eyghty.

\textit{trienda. serenda. penenda. ecxinida. estiminda. outind\ae.}

nynte. a hundred.

\textit{eniminda,\textsuperscript{8} ekathoi.}

\textsuperscript{1} If \textit{.ii.} not signed. \textsuperscript{2} \textit{vniuersitie} A. A leaves out too the next ‘is’ of B. \textsuperscript{3} \textit{shnam cica} AB. \textsuperscript{4} \textit{sin\ae} AB. \textsuperscript{5} Auariciam AB. \textsuperscript{6} eca AB. \textsuperscript{7} dna AB. \textsuperscript{8} enim\ae\ae\textit{AB}.
A talk in Modern-Greek and English.

God spede you, Ser! Calaspes, of-ende!
Ser, you be welcome! Ofende, calasurts!
Syr, from whens do you come? Ofende, apopoarkistis.
I did come from England.
Ego napurpasse apo to anglia.
How far is it to Constantinople?
Post strat apo to Constantion.
Ser, ye haue .xxti. myle. Ofende, ekes ecochi mila.
Mastres, good morow! Chira, cala mera!
Mastres, haue you any good meate?
Chira, ekes kepotes calonofy.
Ser, I haue enough. Ofende, ego expolla.
Mastres, geue me bread, wyne, and water!
Chira, moo dosso me psome, cresse apo to nero!
Com hyder, and geue me some flesh.
Eila do dosso moo creas.
Bryng hyder to me that dish of flesh!
Ferto to tut obsaria, creas.
Good nyght! Cale spira!

The trewe Grck foloweth.

Another talk in true, or Classical, Greek.

Good morow! Cali himera!
Good spede! Calos echois!
Good euyn! Cali hespera!
You be welcome! Cocharitomenos hikis!
Syr, whych is the way to Oxford?
Oton poi to Oxonionde?
Syr, you be in the right way. O outtos orthrdomcis.
Hostiler, set vp my horse, and gyuc him meate!
Zene\textsuperscript{1}, age ton hispon apon apothes, kae sitison arton.
Mayd, haue you any good meate? Eta, echis ti siton?
Ye, master, enowgh. Echo dapsilos.
Geue me some bread, dryanke, and meate.
Dos mi ton arton, poton, kae siton.
What is it a clok? Po sapi hi hora tis himeras?

\textsuperscript{1} Zene AB.
Wyfe or woman, gene me a reckenyng!

_Gyny_¹, _eipe moi ton Analogismon._

I ame contentyd or plesed. _Arescy moy._

hostes, fare wel! _Zene_², _chere!_ or els, _Errosa!_

Syr, you be hertely welcome!

³ _Kyrie, mala cocharitomenos ilthes._

Woulde to God that you woulde tary here styl!

_Eithe ge to entautha men aei para hymas menois._⁴

O wyfe, I can not speake no Greke!

_Ohe gyny_¹, _ov dyname calos clinisci legin._

Syr, by a lytel and a lytyle you shal lerne more.

_O outes dia microu mathois an ablinisci lalein._

O hostes, there is no remidy but I must depart.

_Zene, anagaeos apieton esci moy!_

Syr, than God be your sped in your iorney!

_Deospota, theos soi dixios esto metaxi procias!_

Fare wel to you al! _Cherele apapapantes!_

God be with you! _Thos meth ymon!_

The .xxi. chapter treateth of

the kyngdome of Sicell,

and of Calabre, And of

the naturall disposition of the people,

and of theyr mony and

speche.

I was borne in the kyngdome of Sycel;

I care for no man, so that I do wel.

And I was borne in Calabry,

Where they do pynche⁵ vs many a fly.

---

¹ _Gyuy AB._ ² _Zeue AB._ ³ _H .iii. not signed._ ⁴ _Kyrle AB._

⁵ _meuois AB._
We be nayboures to the Italyons,
Wherfore we loue no newe fashions;
For wyth vs, except he be a lord or a Grecyon,

1 Hys rayment he wyl not tourne from the old fashyon.

I haue spokyn of Greece, one of the endes or poyns of Europ; wherfore I pretend to returme, and to come round about, & thorow other regyons of Europ vnto the tyme I do come to Calas agayne,—where that I dyd take my first iorney poyn out of Englund,—& other landes anexed to the same; wherfore in my returnyng I wyl speke fyrst of Sicel & Calabry. Sicel is an Ilound, for it is compased wyth water of the see. ther be many flyes, the whych wyl styng or byte lyke the flyes of Italy; and loke, where that they do stynge, they wyll bryng the blond after; and they be such flyes as do set on our table & cup here in England. But they be so seger and so vengeable that a man can not kepe hym selfe from them, specially if he slepe the day tyme. in Sicel is much thondoryng and lyghtnyng, and great impietouse wyndes. The countrey is fartyl, and there is much gold. The chefe towne is Ciracus. & there is a goodly ryuer called Artuse, where is found whyt corall.

Calabre is a prouince ioyned to Italy; & they do use the Italian fashion; and theyr mony and speche is muche lyke Italy money and speche.

The .xxii.3 chapter treateth of the kingdome of Naples, and of the naturall dysposicion of the people and of theyr speche and of there money.

In the kyngdome of Naples I do dwel;
I can nod4 with my hed, thynkyng euell or well.
When other men do stond in great dout,
I know5 how my mattersshalbe brought about;

H .iii. back. 2 jupietouse A (impetuous); jupirtoose B. 
3 .xx. A. 4 not A; nod B. 5 knew AB.
The fashion of my rayment I wyl neuer leue;  
Al new fashyons, to Englund I do bequeue;  
I am content with my meane aray,  
1Although other nacions go neuer so gay.

I must nedes go out of the cyrcuyt, and not dy-rectlye go round about Europ & Chrystendom; for if I should, I shold leue out kyngdomes, countres & provinces; wherfor, as I went forward, so I wyl come bakeward, and wyll speke of the kyngdom of Naples.

The countre, & specially the citye of Naples, is a populus cytye & countre; yet I dyd not se nor know that they were men of gret actiuite, for they do line in peace without warre. The countrey is ful of fortylite, & plentiful of oyle, wine, bread, corne, fruit, and money. The Napulions do vse great marchaundyse; & Naples is ioyned to Italy, wherfore they do vse the fashions and maner of Italyons and Romayns; and marchauntes passeth from both parties by the watter of Tiber. in Naples ther be welles of water the whych be euuer hot, and they be mediscenable for sycke people. the chefe cathedral churche of Naples is called Brunduse. Theyr spech is Italian corrupted. In Naples theyr money is gold and brasse, lyke money of Italy and Lumberdy; and they do vse the fashyons of the Italyans.

The .xxiii. chapter treateth of Italy and Rome, and of the naturall dysposyeyon of the people, and of theyr money & speche.
My country is fertile.

I want the world to be subject to me.

I've let my church fall down.

Italy and Rome.

My country is fertile.

If I am a Romayne, in Italy I was borne;
I lacke no vytyles, nor wyne, breade, nor corne;
All thynges I haue at pleasure and at wyll;
Yf I were wyse, I wolde kepe me so styl;
Yet all the worlde I wolde haue subiecte to me,
'But I am a-frayd it wyll neuer be.
Every nacion haue spyed my fashions out;
To set nowght by me now they haue no dout.
My church I do let fall; prophanes your[v?] is vsed;
Yet in my apparell I am not mutable,
Althowh in other theynges I am founde variable.

Italy is a noble champion countre, plesaunt, & plentyfull of breade, wyne, and corne. There be many good pastures & vinyerdes. The noble water of Tyber doth make the countre rych. The people of the countre be homly and rude. The chefe cyte of Italy is called Rome, the whych is an old cyte, & is greatly decaide; & saint Peters churche, whych is theyr head church & cathedral churche, is fal downe to the grounde, and so hath lyen many yeres wythout redyfiyng. I dyd se lytle vertue in Rome, and much abominable vyees, wherfore I dyde not lyke the fashion of the people; such matters I do passe ouer. who so wyl se more of Rome and Italy, let hym loke in the second boke, the lxvii. chapter. The Latyns or the Italions, the Lomberdes & the Veneciens, wyth other prouynces anexed to the same, doth vary in dyuers numbringe or rekanynge of theyr cloke. At mydnyght they doth beyn, and do reken vnto xxiii. a cloke, & than it is.

1 H .iii. back.  2 vniyerdes A; vinyardes B.
3 nople A; noble B.  4 redyfiyng A; reedifiying B.
5 See The Extravagantes, or second Part of The Brevyary, fol. v. back, and vi., extracted in the Forewords above, p. 77-8. On 'the second boke,' see p. 21.  6 that A; the B.
7 clocke B. After 'cloke,' A wrongly inserts "and than it is, mydnyghte and at one a cloke," which it repeats a line further on.  8 doo B.  9 then B.
mydnyght; and at one a clok\(^1\) thei do begyn agayne. also theyr myles be no longer\(^2\) than\(^3\) our miles be, and they be called Latten miles. Doch myles and French leges\(^4\) maketh .iii. of our myles, and of\(^5\) Latyn myles. In Rome and Italy theyr monye is gold, syluer, & bras. In gold thei haue ducates, in syluer they haue Iulyys,—a Iuly is worth .v.d. sterlynge,—in bras they haue kateryns, and byokes, and denares. who that wyl learne some Italien,\(^6\)—Englyshe and Italyen doth folow.

7 One. two. thre. foure. fyue. syx. seynte. eyghte. nyne. Italian numerals, \([\dagger \text{ for setto.}]\)

Uno. two. tre. quater. sinco. si. serto\(^\dagger\). octo. nono. ten. aleuyn. twelue. thytene. fowrtene. fyftene. syxte. dees. vese. duose. treee. quaterse. kynse. sese. seuentynye. eyghtene. nyntene. twenty. one and twenty. desseetto. desotto. desnono. vincto. vinto vno.
two and twenty. thre and twenty. foure and twenty. vincto duo. vincto tre. vincto quater. therty. forty. fyuete. sexte. seunte. trento. quaranto. singuanto. sessento. settanto.
eyghte. nynte. a honderd. a thowsande.

centeno. nonanto. cento. milya.

Good morow, my syr! Bonus dies, nu sir! Good lyfe be to you, mastres! Bona vita, ma dona! Ys thys, or that, the ryght way to go to Rome?

Est kela, vel kesta, via recta pre andare Rome?
(The true wryting is thus: Est quela vel questa via; I write phonetically, to enable Englishmen to understand Italian.)

How farre is Rome hens? Sancta de ke est Roma?
Hit is .xl. myles hence. Est karenta milia.\(^9\)
Brother, how farre is it to the nexte lodgyng?

Fradel, kanta de ke ad altera ostelaria?

---

1 clokke B. 2 long or A. 3 then B. 4 leages B. 5 or AB. 6 Italien and AB. 7 sign, I .i. 8 an' if. 9 nulia A; milia B.
A talk in Italian and English.

Hit is .iii. myle. *Sunt kater*¹ milia.

May we have there this night good lodging?

*Podemus auere bonissima loga pro reposar?*

My serre, there is good lodging.

*My ser, se aueryte bonissima.*

You be welcome to this count[e]ye! can you speke Italian?

*Vene² venuta kesta terra! se parlare Italianna?*

³Ye ser, I can speke a lytle. *My ser, se vin*⁴ pank

I do thanke⁴ you wyth al my hart! *Regracia, bon cor!*

What tydynges is in your countre?

*Auete nessona noua de vostra terra?*

There is nothing but good, blessed be God!

*Nessona noua† salua tota bona, gracia none Deo!*

How do you fare? *Quomodo stat cum vostro corps?*

I do fare wel. *Ge sta beene.*

Wyl you go eate some meate? *Volite mangare?*⁵

What is it a cloke, brother? *Kantar§ horas, fardell?*

Hyt is thre and twenty a clock. *Sunt vincitres horas.*

Wyfe, geue me a pot of wyne!

*Ma dona, dona⁶ me vn buccal de vyne!*

Much good do hit⁷ you! *Mantingat vos Deus!*

Bryng vs a reckenyng, wyfe!

*Far tu la counia, madona!*

Hostes, pay to this man .iii. kateryng.

*Hostessa, paga kesto hominy tres katerinos.*

God be wyth you! *Va cum De!*

---

¹ katet AB. ² It is *Vene*, not *Bene* in AB. ³ sign. I i. back.

⁴ thanke A; thanke B. ⁵ maugare A; mangare B.

⁶ doua A. ⁷ good hit A; good do hit B.
The .xxiii. chapter treateth of Venys, and of the
naturall dysposicyon of the people of the
country, of ther mony and of theyr spech.¹

²I am a Venesien both sober and sage;
In all myne actes and doynges I do not outrage;
Grauite shal be founde euer in me,
Specially yf I be out of my countrey.
My apparell is ryche, very good and fyne.
All my possessyon is not fully myne,
For part of my possession, I am come tributor³ to the
Turke.

To lyue in rest and peace, in my cytye I do lourke. 8
Some men do saye I do smell of the smoke;
I passe not for that, I haue money in my pooke
To pacyfye the Pope, the Turke, and the Iue:
I say no more, good felow, now adew! 12

Yf I should not bryng in & speke of Venes here, I
sholde not kepe the circuit of Europe. whosoeuer that
hath not sene the noble citie of Venis,⁴ he hath not
sene the bewtye & ryches of thyss worlde.⁵ Ther be

¹ of theyr speche and of there money B. ² sign. I .ii.
³ tribut B. ⁴ venus A ; venis B.
⁵ A rare poem in a paper MS of Mr Henry Huth's, about
1500 a.d.,—a poem of which part is printed in Wey's Pilgrimages
for the Roxburghe Club—praises Venice as strongly as Andrew
Boorde does:
Venice is the King of all Cities. 

Here begynnyth the Pilgrymage and the wayes of Jerusalem.

God hat made bothe heuen & helle,
To the, lorde, I make my mone,
And geue me grace hat sothe to telle
Of pac.LAZYRMAT hat I haue to gone.
I toke my loue at Veynes towe,—
And bade felowes for me to praye,—
That is a cyte of grete Renowne,
And to Jerusalem I toke my waye;
But of alle hat Cyets hat I haue seyne,
That maye Ueyes kyng beyn,
That stondith in Greiks see alone:
Hit is so stronge alle abowte,
Of enemyes dare hit not drede;
Corsayntes lyen in þe toune abowte;
Who so wylle hym seke, he shall haue mede.
Saynt Marke, Saynt Nicholas,
Thes two sayntes theye loue & drede;
Saynt Elyne hat fonde þe Crosse,
And Saynt Iorge, oure ladyes knyghte,
Amonge hem beryth grete voyis,
And lythe in golde & sylvere I-dyght;
Saynt Powle, þe fyrst Eremygth.
And Saynt Symone iust, also
Zachare, þe fadre of Iohan baptiste,
Lyeth thesene but a lytel therfro;
Saynt Luce and saynt Barbara
That holy were, bothe olde & younge;
A M' Innocentys and moo
Lythe there closyd;
Saynt Cristofer lythe in þe Cyte:
Twyes in þe sere, who so theder wyll come,
He shall hane playne Remyscioun
Also wel as in the sere of grace,
Than paswyd we to þe Iles of þe see,
Corfe, Medon, and Candye;
And some of þe Iles of þe see with-owten dowte
Ben sevyn houndred myle abowte,
And al longyth vnto Venes towe,
Whiche is a Cyte of grete renoune:
And in þe yle of Rodys, as we gone,
We fynde Relikis many one:
A Crosse made of a Basyn swete
That Crist wyssh in his Aposteles feete,
And A thorne of þe crowne.
That stake in his hede abouyn,
That blowyth euer good Frydaye,
A fayre myracle hit is to saye.
Ther is Saynt Loye, & seint Blase;
Ther is þe hande & þe Arme
Of saint Kateryn, þe blysseyd virgen. . .

1 of B.
great confluence of marchauntes, as well Christians, as all sortes of infydel s. The citie of Venis doth stande vii. mype wythin the sea: the sea is called the gulf; it doth not eb nor flow. Thorow the stretes of Venys ronnyth the water; and euer marchaunt hath a fayre lytle barge standyng at his stayeres to rowe thorow and aboute the citie; and at bothe sydes of the water in euer strete a man maye go whyther he wyll in Venys; but he must passe ouer many bregges. The marchauntes of Venys goeth in longe gownes lyke preestes, with close sleues. The Venyscyons wyll not haue no lorde nor knyghtes a-monges theym, but only the Duke. The Duke of Venys is chosen for terme of hiselyfe; he shall not marie, by cause his sonne shall not clayme no inheritaunce of the dukedomshyp, the Duke may haue lemons & concubyns as manye as he wyl.

1 sign. I.i. back.
2 Thomas does not notice this custom; though he says that younger brothers in Venice do not marry. Of the Venetian young man he says:—

"his greatest exercise is to go, amongst his companyons, to this good womens house and that. Of whiche in Venice are many thousands of ordinarie, lesse than honest. And no meruaile of the multitude of theyr common women; for amonge the gentillmen is a certeine vse, that if there be dunders brethern, lightely but one of theim doeth marie: because the number of gentillmen should not so encrease, that at length their common wealth might waxe vile: wherfore the rest of the brethern doe kepe Courtysanes, to the entent they may haue no lawfull children. And the bastardes that they begette, become most commonly monkes, friers, or nunnes, who by theyr friendes meanes are preferred to the offices of most profite, as abbottes, priours, and so forth. But specially the Courtysanes are so riche, that in a maske, or at the feast of a mariage, or in the shrounyge tyrne, you shall see theim decked with jewelles, as they were Queenes. So that it is thought no one citee againe hable to compare with Venice, for the number of gorgcouse dames. As for theyr beaulltye of face; though they be fayre in deede, I woul not highlye commend theim, because there is maner none, old or yong, vnpeincted. In deede of theyr stature, they are of the most parte veraie goodly and bigge women, wel made and stronge,"—Thomas's Historye of Itayle, fol. 84, back (1549 A.D.; edit. 1561).

In an earlier part of his book, Thomas speaks as follows of the Venetian women:—
The Duke mayn't leave Venice.

The Venetian women are very gay.

Some Venetian women beguile their husbands.

All dress more gorgeously than any other women.

Churchmen keep fine courtesans.

The Venetian Doge seems grand, but is really an honourable slave.

He can't go out without leave.

But he can make the Council take a ballot on his opinions.

The Duke shall neuer ryd, nor go, nor sayle out of the eyte as longe as he dothe lyue. The Duke shall rule the

"As for the women,
Some be wondres gaye,
And some goe as they maye.
Some at libertee dooe swymme a flote,
And some woulde faine, but they cannot.
Some be meerie, I wote wel why,
And some begyle the housbande, with finger in the eie.
Some be maryed agaynst theyr will,
And therfore some abyde Maydens styll.
In effect, they are women all,
Euer haue been, and euer shalld.
—But in good earnest, the gentilwomen generally, for gorgeous atyre, apparayle and Iewelles, excede (I thynke) all other women of our knowen worlde, I meane as well the courtisanes as the maryed women. For in some places of Italye, speciallie where churchemen doe reigne, you shall fynde of that sorte of women in riche apparalle, in furniture of household, in service, in horse and hackeney, and in all thinges that apperteyne to a delicate Lady, so well furnyshed, that to see one of them vn-knowynglye, she should semme rather of the qualitee of a princesse, than of a common woman. But because I haue to speake hereafter in particulier, I would forbear to treate anye further of theym in thys place."—Fol. 6. The Historye of Italye, by W. Thomas, 1549, edit. 1561.

1 "They have a duke called after theyr maner doge, who onely (amongst al the rest of the nobilitie) hath his office immutable for terme of life, with a certaine yereby provision of .4000. duckates, or therabouts. But that is so appointed vnto him for certaine ordinarie feastes, & other lyke charges, that hys owne aduauntage therof can be but smal. And though in apparaunce he semmeth of great astate, yet in veriy deede his power is but smal. He kepeth no house, lyneth priuely, & is in so muche scrutitude, that I haue hearde some of the Venetians themselues cal him an honourable slave: For he cannot goe a mile out of the towne without the counsails licence, nor in the towne depart extraordinarily out of the palais, but priuely and secretyly: And in his apparalle he is prescribed an ordre: so that, in effect, he hath no maner of preeminence but the bare honour, the gift of a few small offices, and the libertee Di mettere rea porta, which is no more but to propond vnto any of the counsaile his opinion, touching the ordre, reformacion, or correcction of anye thyng: and that opinion euery counsaile is bound take vp into a trial of theyr sentences by Ballot: (the maner of the whych balloting shal hereafter appeare;) and this privilee, to have his onlye opinion ballotted, no man hath but he. And whereof many haue reported, that the Duke in ballotting should have two voices, it is nothinge so; for in genyng his voice, he hath but one ballot, as all others haue."—Thomas's Historye of Italye, fol. 77 (1549, edit. 1561).
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senyorite, and the seniorite shall gourne and rule the
comynalte, and depose and put to deth the Duke if
they do fynd a lawful cause. The Duke weryth a
coronet ouer a cap of sylke, the whych stondeth vp lyke
a podyngge or a cokes come, bekynge forward, of .iii.
handfoll longe. The Duke do not come to the butyful
church of saint Marke but [on] certen hygh feastes in
the yere, & the fyrst eyght daies after that he is made
Duke, to shew hym selfe. I dyd neer se within the cyte
of Venis no pouerte, but al riches. ther be none in-
habitours in the cithat is neede & pour. vitelles there
is dere. Venys is one of the chepest portes of all the
world. the Venyscions hath great provision of warre, for
they haue euer in a redynes tymbre readye made to
make a hundre gales or more at [a] tyme. they haue
all maner of artillery in a redynes. They haue greate
possessions ; and Candy, and Scio, with other Iles and
portes, cites & landes, be vnder ther dominion. Whan
they do heare masse, & se the sacrament, they do in-
clyne, & doth clap theyr hand on theyr mouth, and do
not knock them self on the brest. at hygh masse they
do vse prycksong & playnsonge, the orgins & the trum-

As our rulers are getting honest enough to give poor and
squeezable voters the protection of the Ballot, I add Thomas's
further account of the Venetian system:

"This maner of geuyng theyr [the great Council's] voices by
ballotte, is one of the laudablest thyngeys used amongst them.
For there is no man can know what an other dooeth.—The
boxes are made with a holow place at the top, that a man may
put in his hand; and at the ende of that place hange ii, or .iii.
boxes, into whiche, if he wyll, he may let fall his ballot, that no
man kann perceyue hym. If there be but two boxes (as commonly
it is in election) the one saileth yea, and the other sayeth naye:
And if there be .iii. boxes (whiche for the most parte haue
in cases of judgement) the one saileth yea, thether sayth naye,
and the thyrde saileth nothyngge: and they are all well enough
known by theyr dyuers colours. By this order of ballottyng,
they procede in judgement thoroughly al offices, vpon all maner
of causes: beynge reputed a soueraigne preseruation of justice."

—Ibid. fol. 79.

1 coymynalte A; comenalte B.     2 neuer B.
3 at tyme A; at a tim B.     4 sco AB.
and when St Mark is named.

The Venetians poll their heads.

Bagantyns.

The xxv. Chapter treateth of Lombardye, and of the natural dysposicion of the people, and of their speche and of their monye.

I am a Lombort, and subtyl crafit I haue,
To deceyue a gentyl man, a yeman, or a knaue;
I werke by polye,² subtylyte, and craught, [craft]
The whych, other whyle, doth bryng me to nought.
I am the next neyghbour to the Italion;
We do bryng many thynges out of al fashyon;
We care for no man, & no man caryth for vs;
Our proud hartes maketh vs to fare the worse.

¹ I .iii. not signed. ² poplyse AB.
In our countre we eate Adders, snayles,\(^1\) and frogges, And above al thyng we be sure of kur dogges; For mens shyns they wyl ly in wayte; It is a good sport to se them so to bayte.

2 Lombardy is a champion countrey & a fartyl, plentye of wyne and corne. The Lomberd doe\(^3\) set muche by his berd, & he is scorneful of hys speche; he wyl geue an aunswer wyth wryeng his hed at the one side, displaysyne his handes abrode; yf he cast hys head at the one syde, and do\(^4\) shrge vp hys shoulders, speake no more to hym, for you be answered. The Italyons, and some of the Venecyons, be of lyke dysposicion. In Lomberdy ther be many vengable cur dogges, the whyche wyll byte a man by the legges or he be ware. they\(^5\) wyll eate frogges, guttes and all. Adders\(^6\), snayles, and musheroms, be good meate there. In dyuerse places of Italy and Lombardy they wyll put rose-mary into theyr vessels of wine. Florance is the chefe towne of Lombardy; it is a pleasaunt towne, and a commodiouse; it standeth betwext two hylles. the Lomberdes be so crafty, that one of them in a countrey is enough (as I hane heard many olde & wyse men say) to mar a whole countrey. the maner of the people and the speche be lyke the Italyons; the people of the countrey be very rewde. In Lomberdy and Italy they go to plow but wyth two oxsone, and they be couered with canuas that the flyes shall not byte them. there money is brasse, called katerins and bagantyns; in syluer they haue marketes; a market is a galy halpeny: in gold they haue ducates.

\(^1\) See the recipe for dressing them in \textit{Q. Eliz. Academycy}, \textit{Ch.} Part II. p. 153. \(^2\) I .iii. back. \(^3\) doth B. \(^4\) to AB. (The prefix to is hardly applicable to \textit{shrug}.) \(^5\) That is, the Lombards, not their curs. \(^6\) See p. 273, l. 13.
The xxvi. chapter treateth of Iene and of the Ianuayes, and of theyr spech, and of their mony.

I make Treacle and Fustian; and (?) take-in my customers.

I stick to my old fashions in dress.

If I am a marchaunt; borne I was in Iene;
When I sell my ware, fewe men knoweth what I mene;
I make good treacle, and also fustyan;
Wyth such thynges I crauft wyth many a poer man;
Other of my marchaundes I do set at a great pryce;
I counsel them be ware lest on them I set the dyce;
I do hyt dyuerce tymes; som men on the thomes.
Wher soeuer I ryde or go, I wyl not lese my cromes.
In my apperel, the old fashyon I do kepe;
Yf I should do other wyse, it would cause me to wepe.
Better it is for a man to haue his rayment tore,
Than to runne by-hynd-hande, and not to be before.

1 This cut is from B. A has the canopy complete, except a third of the top line, and the cape on the right shoulder is complete, as is the cut of Boorde on the title-page of Barnes's Treatyse below.
2 l.iii. not signed.
3 trateth A; treteth B.
4 marchauntes A; marchaundes B: merchandise.
Gorgyouse apparell maketh a bare purse; 
It bringeth a man by-hynd, & maketh him worse & worse.  

14. The noble cyte of Iene is a pleasant and a commodityse cyte, And well servd of all maner of yuttells, for it stondeth on the see syd. there is made veluet and other sylkes; and ther is lustyne of Iene mad[e], and triacle of Iene.

Iene, Provence, and Langwadock, lyeth on the cost of Barbary, where the whyte and the blacke2 mores be3; & so doth Catalonie,4 Aragon, and Cyuel, and parte of Portyngale; of the5 whych countryes I wyl speke of after in this boke. the Ianeewayes be sutyl and crafty men in theyr marchaundes6; they loun cleynlynes; they be hyghe in the instep, and stondeth in theyr owne consayte. to the fayre and commodious citie of Iene be-longeth gret possessions, the whyche is ful of fartilite, and plentiful of fysh and frut. whan they do make theyr treacle, a man wyll take and cate poysen and than he wyl swel redy to brost7 and to dye, and as sone as he hath takyn trakle, he is hole agene. theyr spech is Italyon and French; theyr mony is much lyke8 the Italyons.

1 I .iii. back. 2 placke B. 3 Who come over and rob the Genoese, &c. : see p. 213. 4 See Boorde's letter in the Forewords, p. 56. 5 of it of the AB. 6 merchandise, dealing. 7 borst B. 8 lyke to B.
The xxvii. Chapter treateth of Fraunce, and of our prouences the whyche be vnder Fraunce, and of the natural dysposicyon of the people, and of ther money and of theyr speche.

I am a French man, lusty and stout;
My rayment is iagged, and kut round a-bout;
I am ful of new inuencions,
And dayly I do make new toyes and fashions;
Al nacions of me example do take,
Whan any garment they go about to make.

2Fraunce is a noble countre, and plentiful of wyne, bread, corne, fysh, flesh, & whyld3 foule. thare a man

1 sign. K. i. 2 sign. K. i. back. 3 wild B.
shalbe honestly orderyd for his mony, and shal haue good chere and good lodging. Fraunce is a rych countrre & a plesaunt. in Fraunce is many goodly townes, as\(^1\) Granople, Lyons, and Parys; the which Parres\(^2\) is de-
uyded in thre partes :—Fyrste is the\(^3\) towne; the citie, & the vniuersite. in Fraunce is also\(^4\) Orlyance, and Put-
tyors, Tolose, and Mount Pylor, the which .iii. townes be vniuercites. beyond Fraunce be these great princes, fyrt
is Prouinces and Sauoy, Dolphemy & Burgundy; then is the fayer prouynces of Langwhadock & good Aquytany.

The other prouynces I wil speke of whan I shal wryt in retornyng home to Calys, where that I toke my first iorny or vyage. the people of Fraunce doo delyte in New fashions gorgious apparell, and wyll haue euery daye a new fashion. They haue no greate fantasy to Englyslnnen; Dislike Engiish—they do loue syngyng and dansyng, and musicall instrumentes; and they be hyghe mynded and statly people. The money of Fraunce is gold, syluer, and Frenche money: brasse. In gold they haue French crownes of .iiii. s.viii.d.; in syluer they haue testons, which be worth halfe a Frenche crowne; it is worth .ii. s. iii. d. sterlyng. in bras they haue mietes, halfe pens, pens, doubles, lierees, halfe karalles & karales,\(^5\) halfe sowses & sowses; a brass Caroiuses, sowse is worth .xii. bras pens \(^6\); a karoll is worth .x. bras pens, a lier is worth three brasse pens, a double is worthe two brasse pens .xxiii. Brasse halpens ys a sowse, [and] is almooste worthre thalpens of our mony; myttes be brasse fardinges: if any man wyll lerne Fraunce\(^7\) and Englyshe,—Englyshe and Fraunce\(^7\) doth folowe.

One. two. thre. foure. fyue. syx. seuen. eyghte. nyne. French numerals.

One. deux. trous. cater. cynk. sys. set. huyt. neuf.
ten. aleuyn. twelue. thytene. fowrtene. fyftene. sixtene. 
\(^8\) dix. vnysce. deuse. treise. katorse. kynse. scise.

1 as a A. 2 partes A; parres B. 3 that AB. 4 fraunce also AB. 5 from Upcott; 'halfe karalles karalle' AB. 6 cp. 'eigght shyllynges, huyt sous,' p. 193. 7 frenche B. 8 K .ii. not signed.
A TALK IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH.  [CHAP. XXVII.

French numerals. seuentyne. eyghtene. nyntene. twenty. one and twenty. desett. deshuit. desneuf. vinct. vinct ung. therty. forty. fyuete. sexe. seuente. eyghte. trente. katrente. cynkante.2 sesante. septante. hytante. nynte. a honderd. a thowsand. x. thowsand. notante. Cent. mille. dix mille.

Good morow, my syr! bon iour, mon ser!
God geue you a good day! Dieu vous dint bon iore!*
God spede you, my brother! Dieu vous gard, mon frer!*
frend, God sane you! Amy, Dieu vous salue!
Of whens be you? Vnde eta† vou?
I am of England. Ie sues† de Angliater.
You be welcome, gentyl companyon!
Vous etes bien venu, gentyl companyon!
Syr, how do you fare? Syr, comment vous portes †?
I fare wel. Ie porta bene†.
Howe doth my father and mother?
comment se porte mon peer et me mater†?
Ryght wel, blessed be God! Tresbien, benoyst soyt Dieu!*
I praye you that ye commend me to my father and to all my good frendes.

Ie vous prie que me commendes a mon pere et a tous mes bons amys.*

Whyche is the right way for to go from hens to Parys?
Quele est la droyt† voye pour alier dicy a Paris?
Syr, you must hold the way on the ryght hand.
Syr, il vos fault tenyr le chymin a la droit† mayn.
Tel me yf ther be any good lodgyng.

Dictes sil y a poynt de bon logls.

There is ryght good lodgyng.

Il i en ya vng tresbon logis.†

My frend, God thanke you! 3 Mon amy, Dieu marces.
Syr, God be wyth you! I must depart.

1 vinci AB; † for vingt et. 2 onkante AB. 3 K .ii. back.
* These seem to me genuine French of Rabelais' time.—C. Cassal.
† These must be by a travelling Brown, Jones, or Robinson.—C. Cassal.
Syre, Dieu soit auecques vous, car me fault departer.*
fare wel!  adewe!
dame, God saue you!  Dame, Dieu vous salu!
You be welcome!  Vous estes bien venu!*
Dame, shall I be here wel logyd?
Dame, seray ie icy bien loge?
ye, syr, ryght wel.  Ouy, syr, tresbien.
Now geue me somwyne.  Or done moy de† uym.
Geue me bred.  done moy de† pane.
Dame, is al redy to supper?
[Dame, est tout pret a souper †?] ²
Ye, syr, whan it pleaseth you.
Ouy, syr, quant il vous plaïra.
Syr, much good do it you!  Syr, bon preu vous face!*
I pray you, mak good chere!
Ie vous prye, factes bon chere!
Now tell me what I shall pay.
Or me dictes combien Ie³ payera.†
Ye haue in all eyght shyllynges.
Vous aues en tout huyt sous.*
Syr, God geue you a good nyght, and good rest!
Syr, Dieu vous doynt bon nuy et bon repose!*  
My frend, if you do speke, take hede to thy selfe!
Mon amy, si tu parles, gard a toy!
To speke to much is a dangerous ⁴ thynge.
Le trop parler est dangeres,⁵

*† Here is to be noted, that I, in al the countres that euer I dyd trauyl in, Aquitany,—the whyche is wyth-in the precynt of Fraunce, and on of the vttermost provincies of Fraunce, Langadok except, the which Aquytany pertainth by ryght to the crowne of Englond, as Gascony and Bion and Normandy doth,—which is the most plenteuffull country for good bred & wyne, consideringly

* See notes on last page.
¹ same A ² not in A, but in B. ³ ye AB.
⁴ dangerous A; dangerous B. ⁵ dangereus A; danguereus B.
⁶ K .iii. not signed.

BOORDE.  13
the good chep,\(^1\) that I was euuer in;\(^2\) a pen\'orth of whyte bread in Aquitaine\(^3\) may serve an honest man a holee weke; for he shal\(^4\) haue, when I was ther, \(\frac{\pi}{2}\) kakys for a pen; and a kake served me a daye, \& so it wyll any man, excepte he be a rauennor. the bred is not so good\(^5\) chepe, but the wyne \& other vittels is in lyke maner good chepe. Aquytany ioyneth to Langwadock, the whych Langwadock is a noble country, and plentyful, as Aquytany is: ther is mucho whee growyng, specially from Tolose to Mount-piliour. Tolose \& Mount-pyliour be vniuersites. in Tolose regneth treue Iustyce \& equitie: of al the places that euere I dyd com in, Munipiliour is the most noblisist vniuersite of the world for phisicions and surgions. I can not gene to greate a prayse to Aquitane and Langwadock,\(^6\) to Tolose and Mountpiliour.

The xxviii. chapter treateth of Catalony and of the kyngedome of Aragon, and of the natu-rall dysposycyon of the people, and of theyr money and\(^8\) of theyr spech.

\(^{1}\) I am borne in Catalony; the Emproure dwelleth wyth mee;\(^9\) Why he so doth, I can not tel the.

\(^{1}\) chepe B (bargain, cheapness).
\(^{2}\) Compare the end of Chapter xxxii. p. 206, "Aquitany hath no fellow for good wyne \& bred."
\(^{3}\) Aquiany A; aquiani B.
\(^{4}\) for "should."
\(^{5}\) god A; good B.
\(^{6}\) langadoen AB.
\(^{7}\) B has for this cut, the king's head on p. 175.
\(^{8}\) and of A.
\(^{9}\) "mee" is not in A, but is in B.
When I fayght with the Mors, I set al at sixt or seuyyn; He that is in hel thynketh no other heuuen.
And I was borne in Aragon, where that I do dwel.
Masyl baken, and sardyns, I do eate and sel,
The whych doth make Englyshe mens chykes lenc,
That neuer after to me they wyll come agene:
Thus may you know howe that we do fare,
The countres next vs al be very bare;
We haue no chere but by the se syd,
Although our countres be both large and wyde;
Castyll, and Spayne, and we, kepe on vse;
They that leke not vs, let them vs refuce;
And playnly now I tell you my intencyon,
My rayment I chaunge not from the olde fashion.
Catalony, which is a prouince, and Aragon which
is a kyngdome, be anexed to gider.
the Emproure doth much in Catalony, for in those partes he hath not only Catalony vnder hys dominion, but also he hath the kyngdom of Aragon, the kyngdom of Spayne, the kyngdome of Castil, and Biscay, and part of the kingdom of Nauer. The countres of Catalony and Aragon, except it be by the see syde and great townes, is poer & euyl fare, & worse lodgyng; yet ther is plenty of fruit, as fygges, Poudganades, Orenges, & such lyke. the chefe townes of Catalony is called Barsalone, and Tarragon, and Newe Cartage. in Aragon the chefe towne is called Cesor Augusta; nowe it is called Sarragose. thorowe Aragon doth rone a noble ryuer called Tber. the spech of Catalony & Aragon is Castillion; how be it they dyffer in certene wordes, theyr vsage, theyr maner & fashyons, is much after the Spainierdes fashions; theyr mony is diuerce coynes of the Emperour, for all maner coynes of the Emperour goeth ther.

1 When I fayght with the Mors, I set al at sixt or seuyyn;
2 faught B.
3 borne A ; borne B. 4 Mesyl B.
5 refuse B.
6 gither B. 7 pomgranates. 8 angusta A.
The xxix. Chapter treateth of Andalase, of Cyuel, and of the kyngedome of Portyngale, and of the natural dysposicyon of the people, and of ther speche, and of their money.

Andalusia.  
I was borne in Andalase
Wher many marchantes commeth to me,
Some to bay, and some to sel;
In our marchantes we sped ful wel.

Seville.  
And I was borne in Cyuel, lackyng nothyng;
Al nacions, marchauntes to me doth bryng.
And I was borne in the kyngdome of Portyngale;
Of spices & of Wyne I do make great sale.
By marchauntes, al my country doth stond
Or els had I very poer land.
Yf any man for marchauntes wyl come to vs,
Let hym bryng with hym a good fat purse,
Than shal they haue of vs theyr full intencion,

1 K.iii. not signed.  
2 bey B.  
3 marchandes B.  
4 I a B.  
5 merchaundices B.
And know that in our rayment we kepe the olde fashion.

Portyngale is a rych angle, specially by the See side, for the comon corse of marchaunte straungers. the kyng of Portyngale is a marchaunte, & doth vse mar-

chauntes. Lustborne and Acobrynge be the chefe townes of Portyngale. The countre stondeth much by spyces, fruites, and wyne. The Portingales seketh theyr lyuynge fare by the see, theyr money is brasse and fyne golde. In bras they haue mariuades and myttes and other smale peces; in gold they haue cursados worth .v. s. a pece; they haue also portingalus, the whych be worth .x. crownes a pece. the

spech of Portingale is Castilyone; how be it in some certen wordes they doth swerue from the true Castilion speche. The men and the women and the maydens doth vse theyr rament after the fashion of the Spainierdes, the men hauyng pold hedes, or els her handgyng one there shoulders; and the maydens be poled, hauynge a gar- lond about the lower part lyke a

Barfote Frier.

Portugal is used by merchants.

Lisbon and Alcoutrin (?).

Portuguese money: maravedies, gold crusados, and portingales.

Portuguese speech is nearly Castilian.

The folk dress like Spaniards.

Girls crop their crowns, and leave a rim like a friar’s.

1 K .iii. back. 2 marchaundes B. 3 marmades AB. 4 out that A; one there B. 5 that A; ther B. 6 at A; a B.
The xxx. chapter treateth of the natural disposicion of Spanyardes, of the countrey, of the money, and of the speche.

I am a Spaynyard, and Castylyon I can speke;
In dyuers countrieys I do wander and peke;
I do take great labour, and also great payne;
To get a poore lyuyng I am glad and fayne;

In my countrey I haue very poore fare,
And my house and my lodgyng is very bare.
A Spanyshe croke I do vse for to were,
To hyde mine olde cote and myn other broken gere.

Spayne is a very poore countrye within the realme, & plentiful by the sea syde; for al theyr riches & marchauntes they bryng to the sea syde. I know nothing, within the countre, of ryches, but corne. Bys-kay & Castyle is vnder Spayne; these countryeys be baryn of wine and corne, and skarse of vitels; a man shall not get mete in many places for no mony; other whyle you shall get kyd, and mesell bakyn, and salt sardyns, which is a lytle fyshe as bydg as a pylcherd,

1 sign. L i. 2 dispoicion A; dispoicion B.
3 merchandise. 4 bydge B.
& they be rosty. al your wyne shalbe kepте and
caryed in gote skyns, & the here syde shalbe inwarde,
and you shall draw your wyne out of one of the legges
of the skyne. when you go to dyner & to supper, you
must fetch your bread in one place, and your wyne in a
nother place, and your meate in a nother place; &
hoggе in many places shalbe vnder your feete at the
table, and lice in your bed. The cheife cities and
townes in Spayne is Burges & Compostel. many of the
people doth go barlegged. the maydens be polyd lyke
freers; the women hane siluer rings on theyr eres, &
coppyd thinges standeth vpon theyr hed, within ther
erchers, lyke a codepece or a gose podynge.³ In Spayne
there money is brasse, siluer, & gold; in brasse they
haue marivades⁴; .xxv. marivades is worth an Eng-
lyshe grote: they haue there styuers. In siluer they
haue ryals & halfe ryalles; a ryal is worth .v.d.ob. in
golde they haue ducates and doble ducates. there
speche is Castylyon.

The .xxxi. chapter tretyth of the kyngdome of Castyle, & of Bys-
cay, and of the natural disposition of the people, and of there money
& of theyr speche.

1 In the kyngdome of Castell borne I was,
And though I be poer, on it I do not passe ;

² wynde A; wyne B,

³ Cp. p. 185, and in chap. xxxiii. p. 207.

⁴ marivades AB.

⁵ B has for this cut, the king's head on p. 175. See too p. 194.

⁶ byscat AB.
Where so euer I do goe or ryde,
My cloke I wyl haue, and my skayne by my syde. 4
And I was borne in the province of Byscay 1;
My countrey is poer; who can say nay?
And though we haue no pastor nor grandge,
Yet our olde fashyon we do not chaunge. 8

2 If Castyle is a kyngdome lyinge bytwyxte Spayne and Byscay; it is a very baron countrey, ful of pouerte.
there be many fayre and proper Castels, plenty of aples & of sider, and there be great water mylles to forge yrone, & theyr be great mountaynes & hilles, and cuill fare, [and] lodgyng; the best fare is in prestes houses, for they do kepe typlynge houses. and loke,
how you be serued in Spayne and Neuer, shal you be serued in Castyle. the chief towne of Castile is called Tolet. Palphans made the tables of astronomyee. In all these countreys, yf any man, or woman, or chylde, do dye; at theyr burying, and many other tymes after that they be buryed, they wyl make an exclamaclyon3 saying, "why dydest thou dye? haddest not thou good freendes? myghtyst not thou haue had gold and syluer, & ryches and good clothynge? for why diddest thou die?" crying and clatryng many suche folysh wordes; and commonly euer day they wyl bryng to church a cloth, or a pilo carpit, and cast ouer the graue, and set ouer it, bread, wyne & candylyght; and than they wyl pray, and make suche a folysh exclamacion, as I sayd afore, that al the churche shall rynge; this wyl they doe although theyr freendes dyed .vii. yere before; & thys folysh vse is vsyd in Bisca, Castyle, Spayne, Aragon & Nauerre. their money is golde and brasse: in golde they haue single and duble duccates; and all good gold goeth there. in brasse they haue marivades,4 and stiuer, & other brasse money of the Emperours

1 vyseca A; byscay B. 2 L xii. not sigued.
3 Compare the Welsh, p. 126.
4 marmades or marinades A; marinades B.
coyne. who so that will learne to speake some Castilian,—Engleshe and Castilion doth folowe.

One. two. thre. foure. fyue. syx. seuen. eyght. nyne.

tene. aleuen. twelue. thertene. fouertene. fyftene.

diece. onze. dose. treerse. quartore. quyne.

vna. dos. tros. quarter. sinco. sisse. saeto. ocho. nowe.
sytene. seuentene. eyghtene. nyntene. twenty.

dezysys. dezisyeto. desyocho. desinoue. eyento.

Syr, God gene you a good day!


trenta. quarenta. cyncuenta. sesenta. sedenta.

eyghte. nynte. a hondred. a thousand.

ochenta. noventa. eyento. mylyes.

I do well, thankes be to God!

I do not vnderstand you, syr!

I do not vnderstand Castylion, but I cannot speke it.

I do thank you! mochos mecedo!

1 L. ii. back.  2 de.—H. H. Gibbs.
3 Dog-Latin, not Spanish.—F. W. Cosens.
4 For Io sto.—H. H. Gibbs.  5 ye B.
5 For Ven or ben conmigo.—F. W. C.
7 For 'habla que tu entiende.'—F. W. C.
We eat Sardines and Bacon.

The people of Navarre are poor and thievish.

St Domingo has a church with a white cock and hen.

The xxxii. chapter treteth of the kingdome of Nauer, and of the naturall disposicyon of the people, and of theyr money and of theyr speche.

2 In the kyn[g]dome of Nauer I was brought vp, Where there is lytle meate to dyne or suppe; Sardyns and bacon shall fynde the Spanyard and me, Wyth suche meate we be conteinte in all our countre: What wolde other men, other meate crane? Such meate as we do eate, such shall they haue. In my apparell I do kepe the olde raate; The Fraunche 3 men with me preforse be at baate, Not now, but in olde tymes past; For now our amyte is full fast.

The kyndome 4 of Nauer is ioynynge 5 to Spayne and to Fraunce, & to Catalony, and to Castyle, for it dothe stand in the midle of these 6 iii. countres. The people be rude and poore, and many theues, and they dothe liue in much pouercte and penury; the countrey is barayn, for it is ful of mountayns And woldernes; yet haue they much corne. The chiefe towne is Pampilona, and there is a nother towne called saynt Domingo, in the whyche towne there is a churche, in the whyche is kept a whit cock and a hene. And evrey pilgreme that goeth or commyth that way to saynct

1 The corner is not broken in A. 2 L .iii. not signed. 3 frenche B. 4 kingdome B. 5 iunyne AB. 6 the B.
The cocke and the hen is kept there for this intent:—

There was a young man hanged in that town that

wolde haue gone to saynet James in Compostell; he was

hanged vnjustly; for ther 2 was a wenche the which

wolde haue had hym to medyll with her carnally; the

yonge man refraynyng from hyr desyre, and the wenche

repletyd with malyce for the sayd cause, of an euyll

pretence conueyed a syluer picee into the bottom of the

yonge mans scrip: he, wyth his father & mother, &

other pylgrems, going forthe in theyr Iurney, the sayde

wenche rayseyd oficers of the town to persew after

3 the pylgryms, 4 and toke them, fyndyng the aforesayd

peace in the yonge mannes scrip: Wherfore they

brought to the town the yong man; and [he] was con-

demned to be hanged, and was hanged vppon a payre of

galowes,—Whosoever that is hanged by-yonde see, shall

never be cutte nor pulled downe, but shall hange styll

on the galowes or Iebet.—the father and the mother of

the yonge manne, with other of the pylgryms, went

forthe in theyr pilgrymage. And when they returned

agayne, they went to the sayd galows to pray for the

yong mans soule. 5 whan they dyd come to the place,

The yonge man did speke, & sayd "I am not ded; God

and his seruaunte saynt James hathe here 5 preserved me

a lyue. Therfore go you to the iustis of the towne, &

byd him come hyther and let me down." vpon the

which wordes they went to the Justice, he syttyng at

supper, hauyng in his dyshe two greate chykenes; the

one was a hen chik, and the other a cock chyk. the

messengers shewyng him this wonder,  & what he

should do, the justice sayd to them, "This tale that you

haue showed me is as treue as these two chekenes before

1 intentent A; intent B. 2 that A; ther B. 3 L.iii. back.
4 A wrongly repeats "goyonge forthe in theyr Iorney, the
sayde Wenche rayseyd oficers of the towne to persue after the
pylgryms." 5 ther A; here B.
chickens will crow,  
On which the chickens did crow; and the hanged pilgrim was taken off the gallows.

This is why the white cock and hen are kept.

I dwelt in Compostella to get at the truth of things;

and there's no hair or bone of St James, in Compostella.

I was shrouned by an old blear-eyed Doctor of Divinity there,

and he told me how the clergy deceived the people, as none of St James's hairs or bones were there.

mee in thyss dysshe doth stonde vp and crowe." & as some as the wordes ware spoken, they stode in the platter, & dyd crowe; wher vpon the Iustyee, wyth processyon, dyd fetche in, a lyue frome the galows, that sayd yong man. & for a remembranonce of this stupendyous thynges, the prestes and other credyble persons shewed me that they do kepe styl in a kaig ¹ in the churche a white cocke and a hen. I did se a cock and a hen ther in the churche, and do tell the fable as it was tolde me, not of three or .iii. parsons, but of many; but for ² all this, take thyss tale folowyng for a suerte. I dyd dwel in Compostell, as I did dwell in many partes of the world, to se & to know the trewth of many thynges, & I assure you that there is not one heare nor one bone of saint Iames in Spayne in Compostell, but only, as they say, his stafe, and the chayne the whyche he was bounde wyth all in prison, and the syckel or hooke, ³ the whyche doth lye vpon the myddell of the hyghe aulter, the whych (they sayd) dyd saw and cutte of the head of saint Iames the more, for whome the confluence of pylgrims resorteth to the said place. I, beynge longe there, and illudyd, was shrouened of an aunycent doctor of dyuynite, the which was blear yed,— and, whether it was to haue my counsell in physycke or no, I passe ouer, but I was shrouned of hym,— and after my absolucion he sayd to me, "I do marauile greatly that our nation, specially our clergy and they, and the cardynalles of Compostell" (they be called 'cardynalles' there, the whyche be head prestes; and there they have a cardynall that is called "cardinal[i]s maior," the great cardynal, and he but a prest, and goeth lyke a prest, and not lyke the cardinallles of Rome,) "doth illude, mocke, and skorne, the people, to do Idolatry, making ygnorant people to worship the thyng that is not here. we haue not one heare nor bone of saynt Iames; for

¹ kaige B. ² L .iii. not signed. ³ booke A; hooke B.
saynct Iames the more, and saynct Iames the lesse, sainct Bartlmew, & sainct Philyp, saynt Symond and Iude, saynt Barnarde & sanct George, with dyiverse other saynctes, Carolus magnum brought theym to Tolose, pretending to have had al the appostels bodies or bones to be congregated & brought together into one place in saynt Seuerins church in Tolose, a citie in Langawdocke." therefor I did go to the citie & vniuersite of Tolose, & there dwelt to knowe the trueth ; & there it is known by olde autentycck wryttinges & scales, the premyses to be of trueth ; but thes words can not be beleued of incipient parsons, specially of some Englyshe men and Skotyshe men ; for whan I dyd dwell in the vniuersite of Orlyance, casually going over the bregde into the towne, I dyd mete with ix. Englyshe and Skotyshe parsons goyng to saynt Compestell, a pylgrymage to saynt Iames. I, knowyng theyr pretence, aduertysed them to returne home to England, saying that "I had rather to goe v. tymes out of England to Rome,—and so I had in dede,—than ons to go from Orlyance to Compestel;" saying also that "if I had byn worthy to be of the kyng of Engiish' vniuersiti, such parsons as wolde take such iornes on them wythout his lycences, I wold set them by the fete." And that I had rather they should dye in England thorowe my industry, than they to kyll them selfe by the way: " wyth other wordes I had to them of exasperacyon. They, not regardyng my wordes nor saynges, sayd that they wolde go forth in theyr iourney, and wolde dye by the way rather than to returne home. I, hauynge pitie they should be cast a way, poynted them to my hostage, and went to dispache my busines in the vniuersyte of Orlyaunce. And after that I went wyth them in theyr iur-

1 to AB.  
2 L iii. back.  
3 insipieck (unwise, foolish) persons B.  
4 then once B.  
5 persons B.  
6 iornes B.  
7 In the stocks or prison?  
8 that thei B.  
9 then thei B.
and, after nearly starving in Biscay, we got to Compostella.

But, in their return, all 9 Pilgrims died.

I'd rather go 5 times to Rome than once to Compostell by land.

I kiss the ground for joy when I got back to Aquitaine.

Money of Navarre.

...ney thorow Fraunce, and so to Burdious & Byron; & than we entred into the baryn countrey of Byskay and Castyie, wher we coulde get no meate for money; yet wyth great honger we dyd come to Compostell, where we had plentye of meate and wyne; but in the retornynge thorow Spayn, for all the crafte of Physycke that I coulde do, they dyed, all by catynge of frutes and drynkynge of water, the whych I dyd euer refrayne my selfe.\(^2\) And I assure all the worlde, that I had rather goe .v. times to Rome oute of 3\(^3\) Englonde, than ons to Compostel: by water it is no pain, but by land it is the greatest iurney that an Englishman may go. and when I returnyd, and did come into Aquitany, I dyd kis the ground for ioy, surrendring thankes to God that I was deliuered out of greate daungers, as well from many theues, as from honger and colde, and that I was come into a plentiful country; for Aquitany hath no felow for good wyne & bred.\(^4\) in Nauerne theyr spech is Castilion: theyr money is gold and brasse; in golde they haue crownes; in brasse they haue Frenche money, and the Emprours money.

\(^1\) The .xxxiii. chapter treateth of Bion, and of Gascony, and of Lytle Briten, and of the natural disposicion of the people,\(^5\) and of theyr money and of theyr speche.

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\(^1\) countres B. See pp. 199, 200, above.

\(^2\) See Boorde's Breuyary, ch. C.xxii., extracted in the Forewords, p. 74, as to his hydrophobia, or dislike of water.

\(^3\) sign. M .i.


\(^5\) treateth of the natural disposicion of the people of Bion and of Gascony, and of lytle briten—B.
I was borne in Bion; ens English I was;  
if I had be so styl, I wold not gretly pas.  
And I was brought vp in gentyl Gascony;  
For my good wyne I get money.  
And I was borne in Little Britten;  
Of al nacions, I [hate] free Englyshe men:  
When they be angry, lyke bees they do swarme;  
I be-shromp them, they haue don me much harme.  
Although I jag my hosen & my garment rounde aboute,  
Yet it is a vantageto pick pendiculus owt.  
I jag my clothes to pick out lice.  

As to chinge Byon, the towne is commodiouse, but  
the country is poer and barin, in the whiche be many  
theues. ther is a place calyd the hyue; it is fyuete or  
.lx. myle ouer; there is nothynge but heth, and there  
is no place to haue succour with-in vii. or eyght myles;  
and than a man shal haue but a typling house. The  
women of Byon be dysgysed as players in enterludes  
be, with long raiment; the sayd clokes hath hodes  
sewed to them, and on the toppe of the hod is a thyng  
like a poding bekyng forward.  

Gascony is a commodiouse country, for ther is plenty  
of wyne, bred, & corne, and other vytells, and good  
lodgyng and good chere, and gentle people. The chefe  
towne of Gascony is Burdiouse, and in the cathedrall  
Churche of saint Andreus is the fairist and the gretest  
payer of Orgyns in al Crystendome, in the whyche  
Orgins be many instrumentes and vyces, as Giants  
heds and sterres, the whych doth mone and wagge with  
their iawes and eyes as fast as the player playeth. Lytle  
Brytane is a proper and a commodiouse countre, of  
Wyne, corne, fysh, fleshe; & the people be hygh  
mynded & stubborne. These .iii. countres speketh  
French, and vseth euery thyng, as wel in ther mony &  

1 once (before 1451-2).  
2 sign. M. i. back.  
3 swed A; sewed B.  
4 Compare the description of the Spanish women's heads in chapter xxx.  
p. 199, and the Venetian Doge's cap, p. 185.  
5 Giants A; Giants B.
fashions, as French men doth. Rochel & Morles is prayed in Briten to be the best townes.

The xxxiii. chapter treateth of Normandy & Picarde, and of the natural disposition of the people, and of theyr spech and mony.

Normandy, Picardy:
we wish we were
further from
English invasions.

Normandy.

Rouen; Caen and Sens, where canvas is made.

All France belongs to England, by rights.

Picardy.

\[1\] B has no wood-cut. The one above is the upper part of the right-hand cut that Wynkyn de Worde uses for Robert the Devil in his Robert the Dewyll, sign. C 4j. back, and D 4v. back.

\[2\] sign. M 4ii.

\[3\] Rome AB, for Rouen; Caen and Sens.

\[4\] tunables B. cunables is cradle, no doubt.
Calys. The countrey is plentyfull of wood, wyne, and corne; how be it naturally they be adversaries to Cales. Bolyn, in my mynde, is the best town of Picardy. Boleyn is now ours by conquest of Ryal. kynge Henry the eyght.¹

Here is to be noted, that in thys matter partrattyng of Europ, I shew at the begynnyng of this boke: If a man wolde go out of England, or other landes anexed to the same, he² should go to Calis;³ and from Calys I haue set the cyrcuyte or the circumferens of Europ, whyche is al Chrystendome, and am come to Calys agayn, wherfore I wyll speke no more of Europe, but only a chapter of Latyne, and than I wyll speke of other countreys of Affryck and Asya.

¹ This passage is omitted in the Lothbury edition of 1562 or 1563, Boulogne having been restored to France by Edward VI in 1550. See Ἰβρενδωρς, p. 18.
² AB have no "he."
³ See the end of Chapter vii, and Chapter viii above, p. 146.
⁴ sign. M .ii. back.

BOORDE.
The xxxv. chapter treateth of the Latyn man and the Englysh man, & where Laten is most vsed.

I can show my face all over Europe.
Italy has corrupted my speech, and I shall leave her.

I am a Latyn man, and do dwel in euery place;
Thorow al Europ I dare shew my face;
Wyth the Romans and Italyon I haue dwelled longe;
I wyl seke other nacions, for they haue done wronge
In corruptyng my tonge and my ryalte,
Wherfore in other nacyons I loue to dwel and be,
And wher I shalbe dayly accept and vsed,
Regarding not them where I am abused.

A responcion of the Englysh man.

To England I am welcome.
They know Latin well.

I am an Englyshman; Latyn, welcome to me!
In thy tounge I am wel sped, & neuer was in thy countre;
For thou arte indyfferent here and in every place,
If a man wyll study, and lerne the bokes a pace;
Wherfore bitwixt thee & me we wyl haue some alteracion,
That vnlerned men may know parte of our intencion.

Englyshe, and some Latyne, doth folowe.

A talk in English and Latin.

Salus tibi, nunc et in euum!
I thanke the hartly, and thou art welcome!
Immortalem habeo tibi gracion, & gratissime aduenisti!
What countrey man art thou? Cuius es?
I was borne in England, and brought vp at Oxforde.
Natus eram in Anglia, et educatus Oxoni.
Doest not thou know me? noscis ne me?
I know thee not Minime te nosco.
What is thy name? Cuius nominis es?
My name is Andrew Borde.
Andreas parforatus est meum nomen.

1 Erop AB. 2 M iii. not signed. 3 A leaves out B's "in." 4 enum A; et enum B. 5 nosca AB.
How haue you fared many a day?

Qua valitudine fuisti longo iam tempore?

I haue faryd very wel, thankes be to God!

Optime me habui; graciarum acciones sunt Deo.

I am very glad of it. Plurimum gaudio inde.

Whyther dost thou go now? Quous tendis modo?

I go toword London. Versus Lordinum lustro.

What hast thou to do ther? Quid illic tibi negoci est?

I shal case my mynd ther?

Animo meo morem gessero illic.¹

Helth be to you al! Salus sit omnibus!

Thou art welcome! Saluut te aduenisse² gaudeo!

I thanke you. Habeo vobis graciam.⁴

Hostes, how do you fare? Hospica, vt tecum est?

I haue fared wel, yf you haue bene well.

Multa melius me habeo si bene vale.

Hostes, haue you good meate?

Hospita, est ne hic cibus tantus?

Ye, I haue many good dyshes of meate.

Etiam, sana ⁵ multa que sunt mihi fercula.

Geue me drynke, and also bread.

Potum da mihi, Insuper et panem.

I drynke to you all! propino vobis omnibus!

Much good do it you! prosit vobis!

Farewel, & God be with you al!

Valeote, et Deus vobiscum!

Go[o]ld night! Optata requies!

Farewel, & let them go that wolde any stryfe be-twyyxt vs!

Vale! et valeant qui inter nos dissidium volunt!

¹ illis AB. ² aduenisse AB. ³ M.iii. back. ⁴ Habio vobis gracia A; Habo vobis gracia B. ⁵ santa AB.
Christian men buy me as a slave.

I gather figs.

White Moors and Black Moors;

some cheaper than others;

are not buried when they die,

unless they are christened,

Am a blake More borne in Barbary;¹

Chrysten men for money oft doth me bye;

Yf I be vnchristend, marchauntes do not care,

They by me in markets, be I neuer so bare.

Yet wyll I be a good dylygent slave,

Although I do stand in sted of a knaue;

I do gather fygges, and with some I whype my tayle:

To be angry wyth me, what shal it a-vayle?

Barbary is a great countrey, and plentyfull of frute, wine, & corne. The inhabytours be Called the Mores: ther be whyte mores and black moors; they be Infydelis and vnchristened. There be manye Moores brought into ²Christendome, in to great cytes & townes, to be sold; and Christenmen do by them, and they wilbe diligent, and wyll do al maner of servise; but thei be set most comonli to vile thynges. they be called slaues; they do gader ³grapes and fygges, and with some of the fygges they wyl wyp ther tayle, & put them in the frayle. they haue gret lyppes, and nottyd ⁴heare, ⁵black and curled; there ⁶skyn is soft; and ther is nothing white but their teth and the white of the eye. When a Marchaunt or anye other man do by them, they be not al of one pryce, for some bee better cheepe then some; they be solde after as they can werke and do there busines. when they do dye, they be caste in to the watter, or on a dounge hyll, that dogges and pyes and crowes may eate them, except some of them that be christened; they be buried. they

¹ Barby A; Barbary B.
² M.iii, not signed.
³ gader do A; do gader B.
⁴ polled, clipt.
⁵ heare is AB.
⁶ the there A; there B.
do kepe muche of Macometes' lawe, as the Turkes do. they hane now a gret captyn called Barbarerouse, which is a great warrier. thei doth hym, diuerce tymes, to the Iannes, & to Pronyce and Langewadocke, and other coutres that do border on them, & for they wyl come over the straytes, & stele pygges, and gese, and other thynes.

Who so wyl speke any Morishe, Englyshe and Morishe doth folow.

One. two. thre. foure. fyue. syx. seuen.

Wada. attenin. talate. arba. camata. sette. saba.
eyght. nyne. tene. alenyn. twelue. thertene.
tamene. tessa. asshera. hadasshe. atanasshe. telatasshe.
fortene. fyuetene. syxtene. seuenten.
arbatasshe. camatatasshe. setatasshe. subatashe.
eyghtene. nyntene. twente. one and twenty, &c.
tematasshe. tyssatasshe. essherte. wahadaessherte, &c.

Good morow! sabalkyr!

Geue me some bread and mylke and chese.

Atteyne gobbis, leben, iuben.

Geue me wyne, water, flesh, fysh, and egges.

Atteyne nebet, moy, laghe, semek, beyet.

Much good do it you! sahagh!

You be welcome! Marrehababack!

I thanke you! Erthar lake heracke!

Good nyght! Mesalkyr!

1 Macoñites A (Mahomet's). See next chapter.
2 Heyradin Barbarossa, a Corsair king of Algiers, born about 1467, died 1547.—Hale. See Forewords, p. 55.
3 A has not B's "&;"
4 This 'Morysh' is undoubted Arabic, but in a very corrupt state, ... For instance, 'one' in Arabic is ahad or wahid: what are we to do with Boorde's wada? 'Five' is khamsa or khament: how correct Boorde's camata? I shall therefore correct only a few glaring errors, where one letter has been mistaken for another, attenin, arba, tamene, hadasshe, sabalkyr, for Boorde's, or his printer's wrong m, o, c, b, s, in these words.—Ch. Rieu.
5 eyghten A.
6 M iiiii. back.
The xxxvii. Chapter tretyth of the natural disposition of the Turkes, and of Turkey, and of their money and their spech.

I keep Mahomet's laws, I am a Turk, and Machamytes law do kepe;
and don't eat pork. I do proll for my pray whan other be a slepe;
My law wyllith me no swynes flesh to eate;
It shal not greatly forse, for I haue other meate.
In vsyng my rayment I am not varyable,
Nor of promis I am not mutable.

In Turky be many regions & prouynces, for the great Turke, whyche is an Emproure, hath, besyd hys owne possessyons, conqueryd the Sarsons londe, and hath obtayned the Sophyes lond, and the ylond of the Roodes, with many other prouynces, hauyng it in pes-

1 On Shrove Sunday in Henry VIII's first year, 1509-10, at his banquet in the Parliament Chamber at Westminster, "his grace, with the Erle of Essex, came in appareled after Turkey fasshion, in long robes of Bawdkin, powdered with gold, hattes on their heddes of Crimosyn Veluet, with greate rolles of Gold, girdelde with two swords called Cimeteries [scimitars], hangyng by greate bawderikes of gold."—Hall's Chronicle, p. 513, ed. 1809.

2 sign. N.i.

3 See Hall's account of its siege and capture in 1522.—Chronicle, ed. 1809, p. 653-5.
able possession. he doth conquere and subdue, as wel by polycye and gentylnes, as by hys fettes of ware. in Turkey is chepppe of vittyls, & plenty of wyne & corne. The Turkes hath a law called Macomites law, and the booke that there lawe is wrytten in, is called the Alkaron. Macomyt, a false felow, made it; he sedused the people vnder thys maner: he dyd bryng vp a doe, and would put ii. or thre pesen in his eare, & she would every day come to his care and eate the peason, and then the people would thynke the holy goost, or an Angell, did come & teache him what the people should do. And then he made hys booke, and vsyd to feede a tame Camel in his lappe; and every daye he wolde feede the Camel, the which he taught to set downe on his knees when he did eate his meate. And whan he had broken the Camel to thys vsage, he monisshed the people, saying, that God wolde sende them a law written in a booke, and to whome soever the booke was brought vnto, he should be the prophet of God, & conductor of the people. Then Macomit did poynct a day, And did conuocate the people together at a place where he was vsyd to feede a camel, by the whych place was a greate wood or wyldernes full of wylde beastes. The aforesayd day appoynted, yerly in the morninge, Macomit sent one of hys seruauztes to the wood with the Camel, binding the booke a-boute the Camelles necke, the whych he had made before, chargyng his seruanta, that when all the people war gathered about him, to heare him make an exortacion, that he should let the Camell go, and that he shoulde prouely thorow the wood get himselfe home. Macomyte & the people beyng gathered together at the aforesayde place appoynted, and makyng an exortacion of the people, had his face to the

1 See Sir John Mandeville's Voiage, ch. xii, on the Saracines and Machometo, p. 131, ed. 1839.
2 which book.
3 sign. N i. back.
Mahomet, seeing the camel, finisht his speech; and spying the camel, he dyd fynysh his exhortacion, and dyd conet of the prayse of the people, [and] stoude before the people, the Camel, seing his myster, did come to him, and knelled downe to haue eaten hys prowender. and Macomet sayd: "this Camell hath brought our law that we must kepe, to me;" and tooke of the booke from the Camels necke, and did reede it to the people; the whiche they did, and dothe, take it for a law. And they do take Macomite for a prophit. by thyss, every man may perceyue many subtyll and crafty castes be played in certeyn regions, long to reherse at this time, as it appered by the mayde of Kent, & other. The money the which is in Turke is Golde and Siluer and Brasse: there be so many coynes, that it war long to reherce. in brasse they haue Torneys. In syluer they haue Aspers and Souldes; & ther be som Souldes that be brasse, that v. is worthe an Englishe peny. In golde they haue saraffes. A saraf is worth an English crowne. In Turky is vsed divers speches and langweges: some dothe speake Greeke, & some doth speake corrupt Caldy, and some dothe speake Moryske speche; wherfore I do now shew but litle of Turkey speche, the whych doth folow.

The Turkish numerals.

One. two. three. foure. fyue. syx. seven. eyght. nyne.

bīr. equi. vg. dōrt. bex. alti. zedi. zuquis. dogus.
tenne. aleuyn. twelue. thirten. fouerten. fytyene.
on. onbīr. on equi. on vg. ondōrt. on bex.
sixtene. syeuyn. tygent. nyntene. twenty.
on alti. onzedi. onzuquis. on dogus. on ygrimi.

One and twenty. two and twenty. thre & twenty. &c.
ygrimi bīr. ygrimi esqui. ygrimi vg. &c.

Bellahay.

1 Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent, executed April 21, 1534. See Hall's Chronicle, p. 814, ed. 1809.
2 Turkye B. 3 bix A. 4 doit A. 5 dogue A.
6 big A. 7 ? meaning. Both A and B have it.
Egipt is a countrey ioyned to Iury; The countrey is plentyfull of wine, corne, and Hony. Ther be many great wyldernes, in the which be many great wylde beastes. In the which wildernes liuid many holy fathers, as it apperyth in vitas patrum. The people of the country be swarte, and doth go dis-gisyd in theyr apparel, contrary to other nacyons: they be lyght fyngerl, and vse pyking; they haue litle maner, and euyl loggyng, & yet they be pleas[a]unt daunsers. Ther be few or none of the Egipciions that doth dwel in Egipt, for Egipt is repleted now with infydele alyons. There mony is brasse and golde. yf there be any man that wyl learne parte of theyr speche, Englyshe and Egipt speche foloweth.

1 sign. N .ii. See this cut before, p. 165, 206.
2 The great meideval storehouse of pious and lying legends.
3 The other two ladies [A.D. 1510] ... Their heads rouled in pleasuntes and typpers, lyke the Egipciions, embrodered with gold. Their faces, neekes, armes & handes, couered with fine pleasaunce blacke: Some call it Lumber-dynes; which is merueyuls thine; so that the same ladies semed to be nygrost or blacke Mores.—Hall's Chronicle, p. 514 (see also p. 597), ed. 1809.
4 cp. 'picking and stealing.'
The xxxix. Chapter treateth of the naturall disposition of the Iues, and of Iury, and of theyr mony and of theyr speche.

I am a Hebrew or Jew,
and don't believe the prophets.

and don't believe the prophets.

Judea is a noble country.

If I am an Hebruyyon; some call me a Jew;
To Iesus Chryst I was neuer trew.
I should kepe Myyses olde lawe;
I feare at length I shall prove a daw;
Many thynges of Myyses lawes do I not keepe;
I beleue not the prophetes; I lye to longe a sleepe.

Iury is called the lande of Iude; it is a noble countrie of ryches, plenty of wine and Corne, Olyues, ponegarnardes, Milke & Hony, Figges and Raysins, and all other fruites: ther be great trees of Cipres, palme

1 sign. N .ii. back. 2 sign. N .iii.
trees, & Ceders. the chief towne of Iury is Jerusalem, which was a noble citie, but now it is destroyed, and there doth neuer a Ine dwell in al Iury; for it was prophised to theym by theyr lawe, that yt they woulde not beleue in Messias, whych is Chryst, they should be expelved out of their countrey; & so they were, and theyr citie destroyed by Vaspacion and Tytus; and the Iewes do dwell amonge Christian people in diuers cities & townes, as in Rome, Naples, Venis, and diuerce other places, and forasmuche as our Lorde did suffer death at Jerusalem, And that there is a great confluence of pylgrims to the holy Sepulcre and to many holy places, I wyl wryte somewhat that I doo know and have sene in that place. Who so euer that doth pretend to go to Jerusalem, let him prepare himselfe to set forth of England after Ester vii. or viii. dayes, and let him take his waye to London, to make his banke, or exchange of his mony, with some marchaunt, to be payd at Venis; and than let him go or ride to Douer or Sandwich, to take shypping to Calys; from Calis let him goe to Grauelynge, to Nuporte, to Burges, to Anwarpe, to Mastryt, to Acon, to During, to Colyn, to Bonge, to Coualence, to Mense, to Wormes, to Spyres, to Gypping, to Geslyng, to Memmyng, to Kempton, to the .vii. Kirkes, to Trent, to Venis. Whan you be there, you must make your bargen wyth the patronne of the Galy that you shall go with-all, for your meate and drinke, & other costes. you must bye a bed, to haue into the galie; you must bye a bygge cheste with a locke and kaye to kepe-in wyne, and water, and spices, and other necessary thynges. one Corp[u]s Christy daye you shal be houselled, and within two or three dayes you shall take your shyppyng, and you shall come to many fayrer portes, as

1 A puts "of" after "is." 2 wyshe A; wish B. 3 sign. N .iii. back. 4 Corpus Christi is a festival of the Church of Rome, kept on the next Thursday after Trinity Sunday [a moveable summer feast-day] in honour of the eucharist.—Webster.
Candy, the Rodes, and dyuers other, longe to wryte; than, when you come to porte Iaffe, you shall go a foote to Jerusalem, except you be sycke, for at port Iaffe you enter in to the Holy Land. when you come to Jerusalem, the friers which be called Cordaline, — they be of saynct Frauces order, — they wyl receaue you with deuocion, & brynge you to the sepulcre. the holy sepulcre is wythin the church, and so is the mount of Caluery, where Iesu Chryst did suffer his passions. The churche is rounde, lyke a temple; it is more larger then anye temple that I have sene amonges the Iues. The sepulcre is grated rounde about wyth yrone, that no man shall graet or pycke out any stones. The sepulcre is lyke a lytle house, the which by masons was dydgyd out of a rocke of stone. There maye stonde wythin the sepulcre a .x. or a .xii. parsons; but few or none dothe go into the sepulcre, except they be singulerly beloved, & than they go in by night, wyth great feare and reuerence. And forasmuch as ther be many that hath wrytten of the Holy Lande, of the stacyons, & of the Iurney or way, I doo passe ouer to speake forther of this matter, wherfore yt any man wyll learne to speake some Hebrew,—Englyshe and Hebrew foloweth.

1 One. two. thre. fouer. fyue. syx.  
Aleph. beth. gymel. daleth. he. vauf.  
seuyn. eyght. nyne. tenne. aleuyne.  
zain. heth. theth. Iod. Iod aleph  
twelue. thertene. fouertene. fyftene. sixtene.  
seuentene. eyghtene. nintene. twenty. thirty.  

1 Cordeliers, from the rope they wore as a girdle.  
2 grate B.  
3 diggyd B.  
4 It is curious how few early writers in English there are on Jerusalem and its Stations, &c. Except Sir John Maundevile (Voyage, ch. 7—11, p. 73—130, ed. 1839), Mr Huth's late MS poem quoted above, p. 182, of which the handwriting is about 1500 A.D., the less complete copy, &c., in Wey's Pilgrimages, the old printed tract reprinted for the Roxburgh Club, and I do not know any.
INTRODUCTION. BAD AND GOOD HEBREW.

forty. fyfty. sixte. seuynte. eyglite. nynte. a hundred. 

mem. vn. sameth. yami. pee. phe. zade.

The Hebrew the whych the Iues doth speak now, these dayes, doth alter from that trew Hebrew tongue, (except the Iues be clerkes,) as barbarouse Latin doth alter from trew Latins, as I haue known the trueth when that I dyd dwel amonges them, as it shall appere to them that doth vnderstande the tounge or speche folowyng.

God speede, god speed, syr! Hosca, hosca, adonai! You be welcome, master! Baroh haba, rabbi!

Thys aforesayde Hebrew is corrupt, and not good Hebrew; but thys Hebrew that foloweth, is perfyt:

You be welcome, syr! Eth borachah, adonai! (Or els you may say) Im borachah, adonai!

A talk in corrupt Hebrew.

Wenche, or gyrl, geue me meate!

Alma, ten lii schaar!

A talk in good Hebrew and English.

Mayde, gene me drynke! Bethela, ten lii mashkeh!

Woman, gene me bread! Nekeua, ten lii hallechem!

Woman, gene me egges! Ischa, ten lii baet sim!

Man, gene me wyne! Isch, ten lii iaiiu!

Master, geue me fleshe! Rauf, ten lii basar!

A talk in corrupt Hebrew.

Geue me fyshe!

Ten lii daga!

Fare wel, wife!

Schasom lecha nekeua!

God nyght, syr!

Iailah tof, adonai!

God be wyth you, master! Leschalom rauf!

Iesus of Nazareth, kyng of Iues! The son of God hane mercy on me! Amen.

Iesuch Natzori, melech Iuedim. Ben Elohim conneci!

Amen!

1 M .iii. not signed.
2 A little bit of the last leaf of A, with i, pee, and part of phe on it, has been torn out.
3 ye B.
4 mo A.
5 Mam A; man B.
6 In B, the colophon follows, and is: "Imprented at London in Lothbury ouer agaynst Sainct Margarytes church, by me Wylyam Copland." Upcott’s reprint was printed by Richard and Arthur Taylor, Shoe Lane.
Imprinted at London in Fleetestrete, at the Signe of the Rose Garland, by me William Copland.
Thereafter folo
with a compendious Regu-
ment or a dyetary of Helth, made
in Mountpyllier, compiled by An-
drew Boorde of Physyeke
doctor, dedicated to
the armypotent
Prynce, and balyaunt Lorde
Thomas Duke of
Northfolche.
[Beside the Preface of the first edition of 1542 is set that of Powell's edition of 1547, in order that readers may see the differences between the two, and judge whether any one but Andrew Boorde himself could have made the alterations.]
[ed. 1542.]

[T]he preface.

To the precellet and armypotent Prynce, lorde Thomas, duke of Northfolke, Andrew Borde, of Physycke doctour, doth surrender humyle commendacyon.

Orasmoch as it pleased your grace to send for me (to syr Robert Drewey, knyght,)—whiche was the yeare in the whiche lorde Thomas, cardynal, bishop of york, was commaundedom to go to his see of york,—to have my counteyll in Physycke, in certayne vrgent causes requyring to the saunte of your body: at that tyme I, beyng but a yonge doctour in my scyence or faculte, durst not

1 Thomas Howard, 8th Duke, inhereted the dukedom on his father's death in 1524, was attainted in 1546, when his honours became forfeited; they were restored in 1553, and the Duke died in 1554. —Nicolas's English Peereage, ii. 473.

2 A.D. 1530.

3 No doubt Sir R. Drury's son-in-law. "Edward Jernegan, Esq., his son and heir, who was afterwards knighted. He had two wifes, first, Margaret, daughter of Sir Edmund Bedingfield, of Oxborahugh, in Norfolk, Knt., by whom he had Sir John Jernegan, of Somerleytown, in Suffolk, Knt., who married, first, Bridget, daughter of Sir Robert Drury, of Hawsted, in Suffolk, Knt., from whom the Jernegans of Somerleytown, in Suffolk, descended." —The English Baronetage, 1741, vol. i, p. 455, "Jernegan or Jerningham, of Cossey, Norfolk." From this house (Drury) branched off the Drurys of Hawsted, Suffolk, who built Drury house in London, temp. Elizabeth, the road leading to which has ever since retained the name of Drury Lane. It stood a little behind the site of the present Olympic Theatre.

BOORDE.

[ed. 1547.]

[T]he preface or the proheme.

To the armypotent Prynce and valyent lorde Thomas Duke of Northfolke Andrew Boorde of physycke doctor: dothe surrender humyle commendacyon with immortall thankes.

As after the tyme that I had travelled for to hawe the notyceyon & practes of Physycke in divers regyons & countres, & returned into Englande, and [was] required to tary and to remayne and to contynue with syr Robert Drewry, knyght, for many vrgent causes, Your grace, heryng of me, dyd sende syr Iohan Garnyngham—nowe beynge knyght—to me, to come to your grace, to hawe my counsell in physycke for your infyrmytcs. The mesage done, I with festynacyon & dylygence dyd nat prolonge the tyme, but dyd come to your grace accordynge to my denty. The whiche was in the tyme whan lorde Thomas Cardynall Archebysshop of Yorke was commaundedom to go to his
to presume to mynystery any medysone to you without the counceyl of mayster doctour Butte, whiche had a longe continuance with you, & a [1 sign. A .ii.] great cognys'cyon, not onely of your infyrmyte, but also of your complexyon & dyet. But he not com-
myng to your grace, thankes be to God, your grace re-
cuperatyng your helth, And connocated thorowe the kynges goodnes to wayte on
his prepotent mageste, I than

dyd passe ouer the sees agayne, And dyd go to all
the vnyuersyties and scoles approbated, and beynge with-
in the precinct of chrystendome. And all was done for
to haue a trewe cognysceyon of the practis of Physycke;
the whiche obtained, I than, cotydyally remembryng your
bountyfull goodnes shewed to me, & also beynge at the
well-hed of Physycke, dyd consult with many egregious
Doctours of Physycke / what
matter I shuld wryte, the
whiche myght be acceptable,
and profitable for the sauyte
of your body. The sayde

see of Yorke. And after my
commynge to you, and felyng
the pulses of your herte, the
pulses of your brayne, and
the pulses of your lyuer, and
that I had sene your vryne &
your egestyon, I durste nat
to enterpryse or medyll with
out the counsell of Mayster
doctor [sign. + il.] Battes, the
which dyd know, nat onely
your complexcion & infyrnite,
but also he dyd know the
vsage of your dyete, And
the imbecyllyte and strength
of your body, with other
qualytes expedyent & neces-
sary to be knowen: but breffly
to conclude, [for] your recu-
peratyng or reconing your
health, And for synguler trust
and hygh fauour, the which
the kyng had to you, [I]
was compocated to be in the
presence of his magesty. I
than dyd passe ouer the sees
agayne, and dyd go to all
the vnyuersyties and great Scoles, the
whiche be approbated
with in the precynct of
Chrystendome, for to haue the
practes of physycke. I seynge
many expedyent thynges in
dyuers regyons, at the last I
dyd staye my selfe at Mount-
p[y]llyoure, which is the hed
vniuersite in al Europe for
the practes of physycke &
surgery or chyrning. I beinge
there, And hauyng a cotydyal
reembrace vpon youre
bountyfull goodnes, dyd con-
sulte with many egregious

3 so in the original.
doctours, knowynge my trewe intencyon, dyd aduertryse me to compyle and make some boke of dyete, the which, not onely shuld do your grace pleasure, but also it shuld

1 [sign. A. i. back] be necessary & profyteable for your noble posteryte, & for many other men the whiche wolde folowe the effycayte of this boke / the whiche is called the Regyment or dietary of helth. And where that I do speake in this boke but of dietes, and other thynges concernyng the same, If any man therfore wolde haue remedy for any syckenes or dyseases, let hym loke in a boke of my makyng, named the Breuyare of helth. But yf it shall please your grace to loke on a boke, the which I dyd make in Mountpyller, named the Introductory of knowlege, there shall yon se many new matters / the whiche I haue no doubte but that your grace wyl accept and lyke the boke, the whiche is a pryntyng be-syde saynt Dunstons churche within Temple barre over agaynst the Temple.2 And where I haue dedycated this

2 There is no early edition of this book in the British Museum. The reprint of 1814 says, 'The rarity of this Tract is such, that Mr West was induced to believe that no other copy existed than the one in his collection; after his death it passed into the hands of Major Pearson; and at the sale of his library, in 1788, Mr Bindley became the possessor.' This is the only copy 'known of the edition printed by Copland in Fleetestrete, at the signe of the Rose Garland. Of the edition printed by him in Lothbury a copy is in the Bodleian Library, among Selden's books, B. 5, 6, [another in the Chetham Library at Manchester,] and from one in the publishers' hands [? now Mr Christie-Miller's copy] the present reprint has been executed,'
boke to your grace, and haue not ornated and florysshed it with eloquent speche and retoricycke termes, the which in all wyrttynges is vsed these modernall dayes, I do submyt me to your bountefull goodnes. And also dyuers tymes in my wyrtynes I do wryte wordes of myrth / truely it is for no other intencyon but to make your grace mery,—for myrth is one of the chefest thynges of Physycke, the which doth aduertysye every man to be mery, and to beware of pena-cyfulnes,—trustynge to your affluencyt goodnesse to take no displeasure with any contentes of this boke, but to accept my good wyl and dylygent labour. And furthermore I do trust to your superabund-ant gracyousnes, that you wyll consyder the loue and zeale, the which I haue to your prosperitye, and that I do it for a common wecle, the whiche I beseche Iesu chryst longe to contynew, to his wyll and pleasure in this lyfe, And after this transytyr lyfe remunereate you with celestyal joye and eternall glorye. From Mountpyllier. The v. day of May. The yere of our Lorde Iesu Chryste. M.v.C.xlij.

to your grace, And haue nat ornated hit with eloquence & retoricycke termes, the whiche in all maner of bokes and wryttynges is vsed these modernall dayes, I do submytte me to your bountefull goodnes. And also dyuers tymes in my wyrtynes I do wryte wordes of myrth: truely it is for no other intencion, but to make your grace mery;—for myrth is one of the chefest thynges of physycke, the which doth aduertysye every man to be mery, and to beware of pena-cyfulnes;—trustynge to your affluencyt goodnes to take no displeasure with any of the contentes of this boke, but to accept my good wyll & dylygent labour. And, furthermore, I do truste to your superabundaunt gracyousnes, that you wyll consyder the loue and zeale, the which I haue to your prosperitye, and that I do it for a common wecle; the which I beseche Iesu chryst longe to contynue, to his wyll and pleasure in this lyfe; And after this transytyr lyfe, to remunereate you with celestyal joye and eternal glorye. 'From Mount-pyllier. The fyft daye of Maye. The yere of our Lorde Iesu Chryste. M. CCCC.CXLVII.3

2 See Forewords, p. 89, and Dyetary, p. 244.
3 Powell's title is: "A com-/pendious Regnum or a Dyetary of healthe made in Mount-pyllyer by Andrew Boorde of phy-/sycke Doctour newly corrected / and imprynted with dyuers ad-/dyceous Dedicated to the / Army- potent Prynce and / valyent Lorde Tho-/mas Duke of / Northfolke. [copied] A B C D E F G H in fours, I in six. For Colophon, see p. 304.
Here followeth the Table of the Chapters.

The fyrste Chapitre doth shewe where a man shuld cytuat or set his mancyon place or howse, for the helth of his body. (p. 232)

The seconde Chapitre doth shewe a man howe he shulde buylde his howse, and that the prospect be good for the conservacion of helth. (p. 234)

The thyrde Chapitre doth shewe a man to buylde his howse in a pure and fresh ayre, for to lengthen his lyfe. (p. 235)

The .iii. Chapitre sheweth under what maner a man shuld buylde his howse or mansyon, in eschewynge thynges that shuld shorten his lyfe. (p. 237)

The .v. Chapitre sheweth howe a man shuld ordre his howse concernyng the implementes to conforte the spyrytes of man. (p. 240)

The .vi. Chapitre doth shewe a man howe he shulde ordre his howse and howsholde, and to lyue in quyetnes. (p. 241)

The .vii. Chapitre doth sheweth howe the hed of a howse, or a howseholder, shulde exercyse hym selfe for the helth of the soule and body. (p. 242)

The .viii. Chapitre doth sheweth howe a man shulde ordre hym selfe in slepyngne, and wat chynge, and in his apparell wear-yngne. (p. 244)

The .ix. Chapitre doth sheweth that replecion or surfetyng doth moche harme to nature, and that abstynence is the chyfest medyson of all medysons. (p. 250)

The .x. Chapitre treateth of all maner of drynkes, as of water, of wyne, of ale, of bere, of cyder, of meade, of metheglyn, & of whay. (p. 252)
The xi. Chapitre treateth of breade. (p. 258)

The xii. Chapitre of potage, of sewe, of stew pottes, of grewell, of fryrmente, of pease potage, of almon1 mylke, of ryce potage, of cawdels, of culleses, of alebrues, of hony soppes, and of all other maner of brothes. (p. 262)

The .xiii. Chapitre treateth of whyt meate, as of egges, butter, cheese, mylke, crayne, posettes; of almon2 butter, and of beane butter. (p. 264)

The .xiii. Chapitre treateth of fysshe. (p. 268)

The .xv. Chapitre treateth of wyld fowle, of2 tame fowle, and of byrdes.3

The .xvi. Chapitre treateth of flesshe, wylde and domestycall. (p. 271)

The .xvii. Chapitre treateth of partycular thynges of fysshe and flesshe. (p. 276)

The .xviii. Chapitre treateth of rost meate, of fryde meate, of soden or boyled meate, of bruled meate, and of baken meate. (p. 277)

The .xix. Chapitre treateth of rootes. (p. 278)

The .xx. Chapitre treateth of certayne vsuall herbes.5 (p. 280)

The .xxi. Chapitre treateth of fruytes. (p. 282)

The .xxii. Chapitre treateth of spyces. (p. 286)

The .xxiii. Chapitre sheweth a dyate for sanguyne men. (p. 287)

The .xxiii. Chapitre sheweth a dyate for fleruatycke men. (p. 288)

The .xxv. Chapitre sheweth a dyate for coloruycce men. (p. 288)

The .xxvi. Chapitre doth shewe a dyate for melancoly men. (p. 289)

The .xxvii. Chapitre treateth of a dyate and of an order to be used in the pestyferous tyme of the pestilence & the swetyng syckenes. (p. 289)

The .xxviii. Chapitre treateth of a dyate for them the whiche be in an agew or a feuer. (p. 291)

The .xxix. Chapitre treateth of a dyate for them the whiche haue the Illyacke, or the colycke, and the stone. (p. 292)

1 almonde AB. 2 and AB. 3 and byrdes AB. 4 A 4, back. 5 of herbs P.
The .xxx. Chapitre treateth of a dyate for theym the whiche haue any of the kyndes of the gowtes. (p. 293)

The .xxxii. Chapitre trateth of a dyate for them the which haue any kyndes of lepored. (p. 293)

The .xxxii. Chapitre treateth of a dyate for them the which haue any of the kyndes of the fallynge syckenes. (p. 294)

The .xxxiii. Chapitre treateth of a dyate for them the whiche haue any payne in theyr lied. (p. 295)

The .xxxv. Chapitre treateth of a dyate for them the whiche he in a consumpcyon. (p. 296)

The .xxxvi. Chapitre doth shewe a dyate for them the whiche hath the palsy. (p. 297)

The .xxxvii. Chapitre doth shew an order & a dyate for them that be mad & out of their wyt. (p. 298)

The .xxxviii. Chapitre treateth of a dyate for them which haue any kynde of the dropsy. (p. 299)

The .xxxix. Chapitre treateth of a general dyate for all maner of men or women beynge sycke or whole. (p. 300)

The .xl. Chapitre doth shew an order or a fasshyon, howe a sycke man shall be ordered in his syckenes. And how a sycke man shuld be vsed that is lykly to dye. (p. 301)

Here endeth the Table.

Here foloweth the dyetary or the regiment of helth.

[In the Text, the small initials of some proper names have been made Capitals; and the stops have been often altered.

In the Notes, "A" stands for Wyer's undated edition (Forewords, p. 13); B for Calvell's edition with the Dedication dated 5 May, 1562; and P for Powell's edition, dated 5 May, 1547, in the Dedication, and 1567 in the Colophon. Powell prints nat for not. Differences of spelling, and printers' mistakes, are seldom noted.

In Wyer's original of 1542, the Galien cut on the next page stands by itself, and the first Chapitre begins on the page after.]
1. Galien
2. The first Chapter doth shew where a man shulde cytuate or sette his manecyon place or howse for the health of his body.

Hat man of honour or worship, or other estate, the whiche doth pretend to buyle a howse or any manecyon place to inhabyte hym selfe, Or elles doth pretend to alter his howse, or to

Whoever means to build

or alter a house,
alter olde buyldyng in-to commodyous and pleasaunt buyldyng, not onely for his owne proper commodite, welth, & helth, but also for other men the whiche wyll resort to hym, hauyng also a respect to his posterite,—

Fyrste, it is necessarype and expedyent for hym to take hede what counceyll God dyd gyue to Abraham; and after that to take hede what counceyll God dyd gyue to Moyses, and to the chyldren of Israel, as it appereth in the .xiii. chaptyre of Exodi, and the .xx. chaptyre of Numeri, & the .vi. chaptyre of Deutronomii1; and also in the boke of Leuites, saying fyrste to Abraham: "Go thou forth of 2thy countre, & from thy cognacion or kynred, And come thou in to the countrey the whiche I wyll shew to the, a countrey abundyng, or plentyfull, of mylke and hunny."  

Here is to be noted, that where there is plenty of mylke there is plenty of pasture, and no skarsyte of water; & where there is plenty of hunny there is no skarsyte, but plentyfulnesse, of woddes, for there be mo bees in woddes (and so consequently abundance of hunny,) than there be bees, or hunny, or waxe, in the hynes in gardyns or orchardes; wherfore it appereth that whosoever3 wyl buylde a mancyon place or a house, he must cytuat and set it there where he must be sure to hauw both water and woode, except for pleasure he wyll buylde a howse in or by some cytie or great towne, the whiche be not destitude of such commodytes. But he the whiche wyll dwell at pleasure, and for proffyte and helth of his body, he must dwell at elbowe-rome, hauyng water and woode anexed to his place or howse; for yf he be destytut of any of the pryncypalles, that is to say, fyrst, of water for to wasshe and to wrynge, to bake and to brewe, and dyuers other causes, specyally for parrell4, the whiche myghte fall by fyre,[it]5

1 Deutro. P. 2 sign. B .ii. back. 3 euer that AB. 4 peryll AB. 5 it AB.
were a great dyscommodous thyng. And better it were to lacke woode than to lacke water, the premysses consideryed, although that woode is a necessarye thyng, not onely for fewell, but also for other vrgeent causes, specyally conccernynge buyldyng and reperacyons.

¶ The seconde Chapytre doth shewe a man howe he shuld buylde his house or mansyon, that the prospect be fayre & good for the conseruacon of helth.²

After that a man haue chosen a conuenycnt soyle and place accordyng to his mynde and purpose to buylde his howse or mansyon on, he must haue afore cast in his mynde, that the prospect to and fro the place be pleasant, fayre, and good to the eye, to beholde the woodes, the waters, the feldes, the vales, the hylles, & the playne grounde, And that every thyng be desent and fayre to the eye, not onely within the precyncte of the place appoynted to buylde a mansyon or a howse, to se the commodyties aboute it, but also [that] it may be placable to the eyes of all men to ³se & to beholde when they be a good dystaunce of ⁴from the place, that it do ⁵stande commodyously. For the commodyous buylde of a place doth not onely satysfye the mynde of the inhabytour, but also it doth conforte and rejoyseth a mannes herte to se it, specyally the pulcruse prospect. For my consayte is such, that I had rather not to buyld a mansyon or a howse, than to buylde one

¹ sign, B.iii.
² As to the building and pitching of houses, see Burton's Anatomy, Part ii., sect 2.—W. C. H.
³ B .iii. back. ⁴ of = off. ⁵ doth A; doeth B.
without a good respecte\textsuperscript{1} in it, to it, & from it. For
and the eye be not satysfyed, the mynde can not be
contented. And the mynde can not be contented, the
herte can not be\textsuperscript{2} pleased: yf the herte & mynde be
not pleased, nature doth abhorre. And yf nature do
abhorre, mortyfycacyon of the vytall, and anymall, and
spyrytuall powers, do consequently folowe.

\textbf{The thyrde Chapytre doth shewe a}
\textbf{man to buylde his howse in a pure &}
\textbf{a fresshe ayre, to lengthen his lyfe.}

Here is nothynge, except poyson, that
doth putryfye or doth corrupt the blode
of man, and also doth mortyfye the
spyrytes of man, as doth a corrupt and a
conta\textsuperscript{3}gyous ayre. For Calyen, terapentico\textsuperscript{4} nono, sayeth,
"whyther we wyll or wyll not, we must graunt vnto
every man ayre; for without the ayre, no man can lyue."
The ayre can not be to clene and pure: consyderynge
it doth\textsuperscript{5} compasse vs rounde aboute, and we do receyue
it in to vs, we can not be without it, for we lyue by it
as the fysshe lyueth by the water. Good ayre, ther-
fore, is to be praysed. For yf the ayre be fryske,\textsuperscript{6}
pure, and clene, about the mansyon or howse, it doth
conserue the lyfe of man, it doth comfort the brayne,
And the powers naturall, anymall, and spyrytuall, in-
gendrynge and makynge good blode, in the whiche
consysteth the lyfe of man. And contrarily, eyyl and
corrupt ayres doth infecte the blode, and doth ingendre
many corrupte humours, and doth putryfye the brayne,
and doth corrupte the herte; & therfore it doth brede
many dyseases & infyrmytyes, thorowe the which, mans

\textsuperscript{1} prospecté AP; prospect B.
\textsuperscript{2} A omits "be."
\textsuperscript{3} B .iv. not signed.
\textsuperscript{4} terapentico AB.
\textsuperscript{5} close and doth AB.
\textsuperscript{6} fresshe AB.
shortens man's life.

As standing waters, &c., putrefy the air,

take care that you don't build your house near stinking ponds, &c.; or near any stinking ditches, channels, or sinks,

or where flax is steep;

and don't have a urinal or privy near your house.

lyfe is abreuyated and shortned. Many thynges doth infect, putryfy, and corrupteth the ayre, as\textsuperscript{1} the influence of sondry sterres, and standyng waters, stynkyng mystes, and marshes, caryn lyinge longe aboue the grounde, moche people in a smal rome lying vnclenly, and beyng fylthy and sluttyshe; wherfore he\textsuperscript{2} that doth pretende to buylde his mansyon or house, he must prouyde that he do nat cytuat hys howse nyghe to any marsshe or marysshe grownde; that\textsuperscript{3} there be nat, nygh to the place, stynkyng and putryfyed standyng waters, pooles, pondes, nor myers,\textsuperscript{4} but at lestwyse that such waters do stande vpon a stony or a grauayle grownde myxt with claye, and that some fresshe spryng be had a recourse to nourysshe and to refresshe the sayd standyng waters. Also there must be circumspeccion had that there be not aboute the howse or mansyon no stynkynga dyches, gutters, nor canelles, nor corrupt dunghylles, nor synkes, excepte they be oft and dyuers tymes muadyfied and made clene. Swepyng of howses and chambres ought nat to be done as long as any honest man is within the precynct of the howse, for the dust doth putryfy the ayre, makynge it dence. Also, nygh to the place let nother\textsuperscript{5} flaxe nor hempe\textsuperscript{6} be watered; & beware of the snoiffe of candelles, and of the saunour of apples, for these thynges be contagious and infectyue. Also, mysty & clowdy dayes, impetous and vehement wyndes, troublous and vaporous wether is nat good to labour in it, to open the pores\textsuperscript{7} to let in infectious ayre. Furthermore,\textsuperscript{8} beware of pyssyng in drawghtes; & permyt no common pyssyng place be aboute the howse or mansyon; & let the common howse of easement be ouer some water, or elles elongated from the howse. And beware of emptynye of pysse-pottes,

\textsuperscript{1} The fyrst is AB. \textsuperscript{2} B. 4, back. \textsuperscript{3} And that AB. \textsuperscript{4} meeres AB. \textsuperscript{5} nat her P. \textsuperscript{6} hempe nor flaxe AB. \textsuperscript{7} powers AB. \textsuperscript{8} sign. C.
and pyssing in chymnes, so that all euyll and contagyous ayres may be expelled, and clene ayre kept vnputryfyed. And of all thynges let the buttery, the celler, the kyitchen, the larder-howse, with all other howses of offyces, be kept clene, that there be no fylth in them, but good & odyferous sauours: and, to expell & expulse all corrupt & contagyous ayre, loke in the xxvii. Chapytre of this boke. [p. 289.]

The .iiij. Chapytre doth shew vnder what maner & fasshyon a man shuld buylde his howse or mansyon, in exchewynege thynges that shortneth mans lyfe.1

Han a man doth begyn to bylde his hous or mansyon place, he must prouyde (sayth Jesus Chryst), before that he begyn to buylde, for all thynges necessary for the performacyon of it, lest that whan he 2hath made his foundacion, & can not fynysshe his worke that he hath begun, euery man wyly deryde hym, saying: "This man dyd begyn to buylde, but he can not fynysshe or make an end of his purpose:" for a man must conseyder the exspence before he do begynne to buylde; for there goeth to buyldynge, many a mayle, many pynnes, many lathes, and many tyles, or slates, or strawes, besyde other greater charges, as tymber, bordes, lyme, sand, stones, or brycke, besyde the workmanshyp and the implementes. But a man the whiche haue puruyd,3 or hath in store, to accomplyshe his purpose, and hath chosen a good soyle and place to cytuat

1 thynges the whiche shulde shortene the lyfe of man AB.
2 C .I. back.  
3 prouyded AB.
hys howse or mansyon, and that the prospecte be good, and that the ayre be pure, fryske, and clene. Then he that wyll buylde, let hym make his fundacyon vpon a grately grownde myxt with clay, or els let hym buylde vpon a roche of stone, or els vpon an hyll or a hyllles syde, And ordre & edyfy the howse so that the pryncypall and chefe prospectes may be Eest and weest, specyally North-eest, Sowth-eest, and South-west, for the merydyal wynde, of al wyndes is the moste worst, for the South wynde doth corrupt and doth make euyl vapours. The Eest wynde is temperate, fryske, and fragraunt. The weest wynde is mutable. The North wynde purgeth yll vapours; wherfore, better it is, of the two worst, that the wyndowes do open playne North than playne Sowth, although that Jeremy sayth, "from the North dependeth all euyl;" and also it is wryten in Cantica cant[ic]orum: "Ryse vp, North wynde, and come, thou Sowth wynde, and parfyat my gardayne." Make the hall vnder such a fasshyon, that the parlyer be anexed to the heade of the hall. And the buttyre and pantry be at the lower ende of the hall, the seller vnder the pantry, sette somewhat abase; the kychen set somewhat a base from the buttry and pantry, commyng with an entry by the wall of the buttry, the pastrylhowse & the larder-howse anexed to the kychen. Than deuyde the lodgynges by the cyrenyte of the quadryyall courte, and let the gate-howse be opposyt or agaynst the hall-dore (not dyrectly) but the hall-dore standyng a base, and the gate-howse in the mydle of the front entrynge in to the place: let the pryue chambr be anaxed to the chambr of astate, with other chambrs necessarie for the buyldyng, so that many of the chambrs maye haue a prospecte in to the Chapell. If

1 sign. C ,ii. 2 Compare Charles Kingsley's poem on the East Wind. 3 AB omit "is." 4 euyll AB. 5 cantieorum AB. 6 perfecte A; perfect B. 7 AB omit "somewhat." 8 the great AB.
there be an outer courte made, make it quadrangular, with
howses of easementes, and but one stable for horses of
pleasure; & se no fylth nor dong be within the courte,
nor cast at the backe-syde, but se the donge to be caryed
farre from the mansyon. Also, the stables and the
slaughter-howse, [and] a dyery\(^2\) (yf any be kept) shulde
be elongated the space of a quarter of a myle from the
place. And also the backe-howse and brew-howse
shuld be a dystaunce from the place and from other
byldynge. whan all the mansyon is edfyed and buylde,
yf there be a moote made aboute it, there shulde some
fresshe sprynge come to it; and dyuers tymes the moote
ought to be skowered, and kept cleane from mudde and
wodes. And in no wyse let not the fylth of the kychen
descende in to the moote. Furthermore, it is a com-
modyous and a pleasaunt thyng to a mansyon to have
an orchell of sondry froytes; but it is more commo-
diouse\(^3\) to have a fayre gardain replented wyth herbes of
aromatyck & redolent saours. In the gardayne maye
be a poole or two for fysshe, yf the pooles be clene kept.
Also, a parke replented with dere & conyes is a necessarye
and a pleasaunt thyng to be anexed to a mansyon. A
done howse also is a necessary thyng aboute a mansyon-
place. And amonge other \(^4\)thynge, a payre of buttes
is a decent thyng aboute a mansyon; & other whyle, for
a great man, necessary it is for\(^5\) to passe his tyme with
bowles in an aly: whan all this is fynysshed, and the
mansyon replenysshed with Implementes. There must
be a fyre kept contynually for a space to drye vp the
contagyous moysters of the walles, & the saour of the
lyme and sande. And after that a man may ly and
dwell in the sayd mansyon without takyng any incon-
venenye of syckenes.

\(^1\) sign. C.l.i. back. \(^2\) dayery A; dayere B; dery P.
\(^3\) more commodyouser AB. \(^4\) sign. C.l.iii. \(^5\) AB omit “for,”
The v. Chapytre doth shewe howe a man shulde orde his howse conser-nynge the Implementes to conforte the spyrytes of man. 

When you'vo built your house,

If you can't furnish it,

but must borrow salt here, a sheep's head there,

you'll be put to a shift, and never be at peace,

and men'll call you a fool.

Look ere you leap!

When you've built your house, 

If you can't furnish it, 

but must borrow salt here, a sheep's head there, 

you'll be put to a shift, and never be at peace, 

and men'll call you a fool. 

Look ere you leap!

Hen a man hath buylt¹ his man- 
syon, and hath his howses ne-
cessary aboute his place, yf he 
hauë not howsholde stuffe or im-
plementes the whiche be need-
full, but muste borowe of his 
nayghbours, he than is put to a shefte ²and to a great 
after deale; for 'these men the which do brew in a botyl 
and bake in a walet, it wyll be long or he can by Jacke 
a³ salet'; yet every thynge must haue a begynnynge, and 
every man must do after his possessyons or abylyte: 
this notwithstanding, better it is not to set vp a howse-
holde or hospytałyte, than to set vp housholde, lackynge 
the performacyon of⁴ it, as nowe to ron⁵ for malt, and 
by-and-by for salt; nowe to sende for brede, and by-
and-by to sende for a shephes-heade; and nowe to sende 
for this, & nowe to sende for that; and by-&-by he doth 
send he can not tell for what: such thynges is no pro-
uyssion, but it is a great abusyon. Thus a man shall 
lese his thryfte, and be put to a shefte; his goodes shall 
neuer increase, and he shall not be in rest nor peace, 
but euer in carecke and care, for his purse wyll euer be 
bare; wherfore I do councellyll every man to prouyde 
for hym selfe as soone as he can; for yf of implementes 
he be destytuted, men wyll call hym lyght-wytytted, to 
set vp a great howse, and⁶ is not able to kepe man nor 
mowse: wherfore, let every man loke or he lepe, for 
many cornes maketh a great hepe.

¹ buylded AB. ² C .iii. back. ³ & A; and B. ⁴ on B. ⁵ come AB. The rest of this chapter runs into rude rimes. ⁶ & he P.
1 The .vi. Chapytre doth shewe howe a man shuld ordre his howse and householde, and to lyue quyetly.

Who soeuer he be that wyll kepe an howse, he must ordre the expenses of his howse according to the rent of his landes. And yf he haue no landes, he must ordre his howse after his lucre wynnynge or gaynes. For he that wyll spende more in his howse than the rentes of his landes, or his gaynes, doth attayn to, he shal fal to pouerte, and necessite wyl vrge, cause, and compel hym to sel his lande, or to waste his stocke; as it is dayly sene by experyeunce of many men; wherfore they the whiche wyll excewe such prodigylyte and inconuenyence, must deuyde his rentes, porcyon, & expences, wherby that he doth lyue, in to .iii. equal porcyons or partes. ¶ The fyrst parte must serue to prouyde for meate and drynke, & all other necessary thynges for the sustencyon of the householde. ¶ The seconde porcyon or parte must be reserved for apparell, not onely for a mannes owne selfe, but for all his householde, & for his seruauntes wages, deductyne somwhat of this porcyon in aymes dede to pore neyghbours and pore people, fulfyllynge [one or] other of the .vii. werkes of mercy. ¶ The .iii. porcyon or parte must be reserved for vrge causes in tyyme of nede, as in syckenesse, reparacyon of howses, with many other cotydyall expences, besyde rewardes, & the charges of a mans last end. If a man do exsyde this

Order your house according to your rents.
Divide your income into 3 parts:

1 for food, &c.:
1 for dress, huerles, wages, alms;
1 for urgent cases, as sickness, repairs, your funeral, &c.

1 C .iv. not signed. 2 rent A; rente B. 3 the three AB. 4 also AB. 5 sustentacion A; sustentation B. 6 C .iv. back. 7 AB omit "his." 8 P omits "other of." 9 seuen AB. 10 thyrde AB. 11 of mans B. 12 excede AB.
ordre, he may soone fall in det, the whiche is a daun-
gerous thynge many wayes, besyde the bryngynge a man
to trouble. And he that is ones belhynde hande and in
trouble, he can not be in quyetnesse of mynde, the
whiche doth perturbe the herte, & so consequently
doeth shorten a mannes lyfe; wherfore there is no wyse
man but he wyll eschewe this unconuenyence, & wyll
caste before what shal folowe after. And in no wyse to
sette vp a howseholde, before he hath made prouysyon
to kepe a howse. For yf a man shall bye euery thynge
that belongeth to the keping of his howse with his
peny, it wyl be longe or he be ryche, and longe or that
he can kepe a good howse. But he is wyse, in my con-
ceyte, that wyll haue, or he do sett vp his howseholde,
.i. or .iii. yeares rent in his cofer. And yf he haue
no landes, than he must prouyde for necessarie thynes
or that he begyn howseholde, leest that he repent hym-
selwe after, through the whiche he do fall in to pen-
cyfulnes, and after that in to syckenes & dyseases,
lyuyng not quyetly, wherby he shal abreyuyate his
lyfe.

¶ The .vii. Chapytre doth shewe howe
the hed of a howse, or a howseholder
shulde exerçye hym selfe, for the
helth of the soule & body.

After that a man hath prouyded all
thynges necessary for his howse and
for his howseholde, expedyent it is
for hym to knowe howe he shuld
exerçye hym selfe both bodely and
ghostly. For there is no catholycke

1 eschewe AB. 2 a AB. 3 sign. D.i.
4 two or thre B. 5 doth AB. 6 his AB.
or chrystyn man lyuing, but he is bounde in cons- 
scyence to be more circumspecte aboute the welth 
of his soule then the helth of his body. Our Sauyour 
Iesus Chryst sayth, "what shall it profyte vnto 1 man yt 
he geat all the worlde, and lese hym selfe, and bryng 
hym 2selfe to a detryment?" wherfore it appereth that a 
man ought to be circumspecte for the helth and welth 
of his soule; For he is bounde so to lyue, that nyght 
and day, and at all houres, he shulde be redy; than 3 
whan he is called for to departe out of this worlde, he 
shuld nat feare to dye, saying these wordes with saynt 
Ambrose: "I feare not to dye, because we haue a good 
God." whan a man hath prepared 4 for his soule, and 
hath subdued sensualyte, and that he hath brought 
hym selfe in a trade, or a vsage of a ghostly or a 
catholycke lyuyng in obseryuyng the commaundeme- 
tes of God, than he must study to rule and to 
gouern them the whiche be in his howseholde, 5 or vnder 
his custody or domynyon, to se that they be not ydle; 
for kynge Henry the eyght sayd, when he was yong, 
"ydeues is chefe maistres 6 of vycs all." And also the 
heade of a howse must ouer-se that they the which be 
vnder his tuyssyon servy God the holy dayes as dyly-
gently, yee, and more dylygently 7 than to do theyr 
worke the feryall dayes, refraynyng them from vycse 
and synne, compellyng them to obserue the commaundeme- 
tes of God, specyally to punysshe swearers, 
for in all the worlde there is not suche odyble swary- 
yng as is vsed in Englende, 8 specyally amonche youth & 
chylldren, which is a detesteable thyng to here it, and no 
man doth go aboute to punysshe it. Suche thynges 
reformed, than may an howseholde be glad, not cess- 
yng to instruct them the whiche be ygnorant; but 

1 to AB. 2 sign. D.i. 3 and P. 4 prouyed AB. 
5 Compare Hugh Rhodes in The Babees Book, p. 64. 
6 maistres P. 7 diligently A; dylygentlyer B. 
8 sign. D ii. 9 See Forewords, p. 82.

Care more for the well-being of your 
soul than the health of your 
body.

Be always ready 
to die.

And when you've 
trained yourself 
to godliness,

make them serve 
God on Holy-

Days, keep them 
from vice, and 
punish swearers,

for there's more 
swearing in 
England than 
anywhere else in 
the world.

To AB.
Set your people a good example; and then be merry.

also he must contynewe in shewynge good example of lyuyen; than may he reioyse in God, and be mery, the whiche myrth & reioysynge doth lengthen a mans lyfe, and doth expell syckenes.\(^1\)

\(\text{The viij. Chapytre doth shewe howe a man shulde ordre hym selfe in slee-pynge and watchynge,}\(^3\) and in weryng his apparell.\)

Han a man hath exerciseyd hym selfe in the daye tyme as is rehersed, he may slepe soundly and surely in God, what chaunce so ever do fortune in the nyght. Moderate slepe is moste praysed, for it doth make parfyte\(^4\) degestyon; it doth nouryssh the blode, and doth qualyfy the heate of the lyuer; it doth acuate, quycken, \& refressheth the memory; it doth restore nature, and doth quyet all the humours \& pulses in man, and doth anymate and doth confort all the naturall, and anymall, and spyrtytual powers of man. And suche moderate slepe is acceptable in the syght of God, the premyses in the aforesayd Chapytre observed and kept. And contrarily, immoderate slepe and sluggysynes doth humente and maketh lyght the brayne; it doth ingendre rewme and impostumes; it is enyll for the palsy, whymere it be vnyuersall or partyculer; it is enyll for the fallynnge syckenes\(^6\) called Epilencia, Analecicia, \& Cathalencia, Appolpesia, Soda, with all other infyrmynyes in the heade; for it induceth and causeth oblynyousnes; for it doth obsuske and doth obnebulate the memrye and the quykenes of wyt.

\(^1\) do A; doe B. \(^2\) See Forewords, p. 88-9; and p. 228. \(^3\) slepe and watche AB; P leaves out "and watchynge." \(^4\) perfecte AB. \(^5\) D ii. back. \(^6\) syckenesses B.
And shortly, to conclude, it doth perturbe the naturall, and anymall, and spyrtyuall powers of man. And specially it doth instygate and lede a man to synne, and doth induce and infer breuyte of lyfe, & detestably it displeaseth God. Oure lorde Iesu Chryste dyd not onely byd or commaunde his dysciples to watche, but dyd anymat them and al other so to do, saying: "I say not onely to you, watche, but to all men I say, watche." And to Peter he said, "myghtest not thou one houre wat'che with me:" although these holy scryptures, with many other mo, the whiche I myght allygate for me, although they be not greatly referred to this sence, yet it may stande here with my purpose & matter without reprehensyon. These matters here nede not to be rehearsed; wherfore I do returne to my purpose, and do say that the moderacyon of slepe shulde be mesured accordyng to the natural complexyon of man, and in any wyse to haue a respect to the strength and the debylyte, to age & youth, and to syckenes & helth of man.  

Fyrste, as concernynge the naturall complexyon of man, as sanguyne and colorycke men, .vii. hours is suffycyent for them. And nowe, consyderynge the imbceyllyte and wekenes of nature, a flamytycke man may slepe .ix. hours or more. Melancoly men may take theyr pleasure, for they be [the] receptacle and the dragges of all the other humoures.  

Secondaryly, youth and age wolde haue temporaunce in slepynge.  

Thyrdly, strength maye suffre a brount in Avatche, the whiche debylytye and wekenes can not. As I wyl shew by a famlyyer example. There were two men set at the dyce togither a day and a nyght, & more; the weke man said to hym, "I can playe no longer." The stronge man sayde to hym, "fye on thè, benche-

Excessive sleep leads a man to sin, and is detestable to God.

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DAT-SLEEP, A>GOING TO BED. [CHAP. VIII.

A sick man may sleep whenever he can, though night is best.

Healthy men shouldn't sleep in the day.

If they must, they should do it standing against a cupboard, or in a chair.

No venery early at night or on a full stomach.

Before bed time be merry,

and have a fire in your room,

but don't stand or sit by the fire.

whystler! wylt thou sterte away nowe?" The weke man, to satysfy the stronge mannnes mynde, appetyte, & desyre, playeth with hys fellow; throughe the which he doth kyl hym selfe. The stronge man doth hym selfe lytel pleasure, all thynges consydered; the whiche I do passe ouer. wherfore I wyll retourne to the sycke man, whiche maye slepe at all tymes whan that he maye get it; but yf he maye slepe at any tyme, best it is for hym to refrayn from slepe in the day, & to take his naturall rest at nyght, whan all thynges is, or shulde be, at rest and peace; but he must do as his infyrmyte wyll permyt and suffre. whole men, of what age or complexyon soeuer they be of, shuld take theyr natural rest and slepe in the nyght, & to exchew merydyall slepe. But, an 2 nede shall compell a man to slepe after his meate, let hym make a pause, and than let hym stand, and leane and slepe agaynst a cupborde, or els let hym sytte vpryght in a chayre, & slepe. Slepynge after a full stomacke doth ingendre dyuerse infyrmyties; it doth hurte the splen, it relaxeth the synewes, it doth make a man loke euyll coloured. Beware of Veneryous actes before 3 the fyrste slepe, and specyally beware of such thynges after dyner, or after a full stomacke, for it doth ingendre the crampe, the 4 gowte, and other displeasures. To bedwarde be you mery, or haue mery company aboute you, so that, to bedwarde, no anger nor heuynes, sorowe nor pencyfulnes, do trouble or disquyet you. To bedwarde, and also in the mornyng, vse to haue a fyre in your chambre, to wast and consume the euyll vapours within the chambre, for the breath of man maye putryfye the ayre within the chambre. I do aduertyse you not to stande nor to syt by the fyre, but stand or syt a good waye of from the fyre, takynge the

1 appyted, orig. 2 and AB (if). 3 D.iv. not signed. 4 and the AB.
flavour of it; for fyre doth aryfye & doth drye vp a mannes blode, and doth make sterke the synewes & ioyntes of man. In the nyght, let the wyndowes of youre howse, specially of your chambre, be closed; whan you be in your bed, lye a lytel whyle on your left syde, & slepe on your ryght syde. And whan you do wake of your fyrste slepe, make water yf you fele your bladder charged, and than slepe on the lefte syde; and boke, as ofte as you do wake, so ofte tourne yourselfe in the bed from the one syde to the other. To slepe grouselynge vpon the stomacke and belly is not good, oneles the stomacke be slow and tarde of digestyon; but better it is to lay your hande, or your bed-felowes hande, ouer your stomacke, than to lye grouselyng. To slepe on the backe vpriyght is utterly to be abhorred, or flat on your back. Cover up all your body.

Don't sleep on your belly,
or flat on your back.

Lie with your head high.

Have a scarlet nightcap,
a good thick quilt, covered with fustian, and a feather bed.

Shut your bedroom windows at night.

Sleep on your right side.

Don't sleep on your belly,
that slepe ought to be taken as the complexyon of man is. when you do ryse in the morenynge, ryse with myrth, and remembre God. Let your hosen be brusshed within and without, and flauour the insyde of them agaynst the fyre; vse lynnen sockes or lynnen hosen next your legges. when you be out of your bedde, stretche forth your legges and armes, and your body; coughe and spyt, and than go to your stole to make your egestyon; and exonerate your selfe at all tymes that nature wold expell. For yf you do make any restryction in kepyng your egestion, or your vryne or ventosyte, it maye put you to dyspleasure in bredyng dyuers infyrmyties. After you haue evacuated your body, & trussed your poyntes, kayme your heade oft; and so do dyuerse tymes in the daye. And waske your handes and wrestes, your face and eyes, and your tethe, with colde water. & after that you be apparelled, walke in your gardayne or parke a thousande pace or two; & than great and noble men doth vse to here masse, & other men that can not do so, but must applye theyr busynes, doth serve God with some prayers, surrendrynge thankes to hym for his manyfold goodnes, with askyng mercye for theyr offences. & before you go to your refection, moderatly exeryse your body with some labour, or playing at the tennys, or castyng a bowle, or paysyng wayghtes or plomettes of ledde in your handes, or some other thynge, to open your poore, and to augment naturall hete. At dyner & supper vse not to drynke of sondry drynkes; & cate not of dyuers meates, but fede of two or thre dysshes at the moste. After that you haue dyned & supped, laboure not by-and-by after, but make a pause, syttynge or standingy vpright the space of an houre or more, with some pastyme; drynke not moch after dyner. At

1 sign. E.i. 2 E.i. back. 3 AB omit "of." 4 .ij. or .iiij. A. 5 and supte.
your supper, vse light meates of digestyon, & refrayne from grosse meates; go not vnto bedde 1 with a ful nor 2 emptye stomacke. And after your supper, make a pause or you go to bedde; and go to bed, as I sayde, with myrth. Furthermore, as concernyng your apparell: in wynter, next your sherte vse 3 to were a petycote of skarlet; your doublet vse at plesure; but I do aduertysye you to lyne your Iacket vnder this fasshyon or maner: by you fyne skynnes of whyte lambe & blacke lambe, and let your skynner cut both the sortes of the skynnes in smale peces tryangle wyse, lyke halfe a quarel of a glasse wyndow. And than sewe togyther a whyte pece and a blacke, lyke a whole quarel of a glasse wyndowe; & so sewe vp togyther quarel-wyse as moche as wyll 4lyne your Iacket; this fur, for holsonsnes, is praysed abone sables or any other furre: your exteryall apparell vse accordyng to your honour. In sommer, vse to were a skarlet petycote made of stamele or lynes 5-wolsye. In wynter and sommer, kepe not 5 your hed to hote, nor bynde it to strayte; kepe ener youre necke warme. In sommer, kepe your necke and face from the somne; vse to were gloues made of goote-skynnes, 7 perfumed with amber-degrece. And beware in standyng or lyying on the grownde in the reflexyon of the somne, but be mouable. If you 8 shall common or talke with any man, stonde not styll in one place yf it be on 9 the bare grownde, or grasse, or stones, but be mouable in such places: stonde nor syt vpon no stone nor 10 stones; stonde nor syt long bareheed vnder a vawte of stone. Also beware that you do not lye in olde chambres whiche be not occupyed, specially such chambres as myse, rattes, and snayles resorteth vnto. Lye not in suche chambres the whiche be depryued elene from the

1 to bed AB. 2 nor an AB. 3 vse you AB. 4 sign. E ii. 5 lynsyn P. 6 not AB; nor oryg. 7 skyn AB. 8 thou AB. 9 vpon A; vpon B. 10 or AB.
AGAINST REPLETION.  

Don't take cold in your feet.

somne & open ayre; nor lye in no lowe chambre except it be borld.  Beware that you take no colde on your feete and legges; and of all wether, beware that you do not ryde nor go in great and impyteous wyndes.

1¶ The .ix. Chaptyre doth shewe that replecyon2 or surfetynge doth moche harme to nature / and that abstynence is the chefyest medyson of all medysons.

...
CHAP. IX. [DYETARY. AVOID SURFEITS: EAT TWO MEALS A DAY. 251

wholes; then both the pryncepall membres & the offy-
cyall membres doth fayle of theyr strength, yet the
pulsys be full of agylyte. Such replecyon,1 specially
suche gurgytacyons, doth ingender dyuers infyrmytes,
thoraue the whiche, breuite and shortnes of lyfe doth
folowe. For the wyse man sayth, that "surfetes do kyll
many men, and temporaunce doth prolonge the lyfe." And also it is wrytten, Eccle. xxxvii.;? That "there doth
dye many mo by surfette, than there doth by the
sworde;" for, as I sayde, surfetynghe ingendreth many
infyrmytes, as the Idropyses,3 the gowtes, lepored, saws-
flene & pymphles in the face, vehement impressyons, vndy-
gyst humours, opylacyons, feuers, and putryfacy-
yons. And also it doth perturbate the heade, the
eyes, the tounge, and the stomacke, with many other
infyrmyties. For, as4 Galen sayth, "ouer moche re-
plecyon 1 or surfeting causeth strangulacion and soden
death;" for, as I sayde, the stomacke is so inferred,5, 6and
the lyuer is so sore oppressed,7 that naturall heate and
the poores8 be extyncted; wherfore abstynence for this
matter is the moste best and the parfytest medysone
that can be. And in no wyse eate no meate vnto the
tyme the stomacke be euacuated of all yll9 humours by
vomet or other conuenyent wayes; for els, crude and
rawe humours vndygested wyll multiply in the body to
the detrayment of man. Two meales a daye is suffyc-
yent for a rest man; and a labourer maye eate thre
tymes a day; & he that doth eate ofter, lyueth a
beestly lyfe. And he that doth eate more than ones in
a day, I aduertyse hym that the fyrste refeccyon or
meale be dygested or that he do eate the seconde re-
feccyon or meale. For there is nothynge more hurtfull
for mans body than to eate meate vpon meate vndy-

Repletion shortens a man's life,
and breeds dropys, sawsflene
(p. 101-2), gout, and fevers.

Abstinen e is the best medicine for it.

Two meals a day are enough
for a resting man; 3 for a
labouring one.

replexion AB.  2 37 A.  3 dropses AB.  4 AB omit "as;"
enforced AB.  5 sign. E .iii. back.  6 oppressed AB.
powers AB.  8 oppressed AB.  9 euyll AB
Don’t eat several meats at a meal.

Sit only an hour at dinner.

Englishmen sit too long at it, and stupidly eat gross meat first, leaving the best for the servants.

Men are so greedy.

Don’t eat several meats at a meal. For the last refecceyon or meale wyll let the dygestyon of the fyreste refecceyon or meale. Also sondry meates of dyuers operacyons eaten at one refecceion or meale, is not laudable; nor it is not good to syt longe at dyner and supper. An houre is suffycyent to syt at dynner; and not so longe at supper. Englande hath an euyll vse in syttyng longe at dyner and at supper. And Englysshe men hath an euyll ¹vse; for, at the begynnynge at dyner and supper he wyll fede on grosse meates, and the best meates which ²be holsome and nutratyue, and lyeth ³of dygestion, is kept for seruauntes; for whan the good meate doth come to the table, thorowe fedynge vpon grosse meate, the appetyde is extynct when the good meet doth come to the table; but mawnes mynde is so auydous, althoughhe he hate cate ynoughe, whan he seth ⁴better meate come before hym, agaynst his appetyde he wyll eate; wherupon doth ⁵come replescyon ⁶and surfetes.

The .x. Chapytre treateth of al ma­ner of drynkes, as of water, of wyne, of ale, of bere, of cyder, of meade, of metheglyn, and of whay. Ater is one of the foure Elementes, of the whiche dyuers lycours or drynkes for mawnes sustynaunce be made of, takyng theyr orygynall and substaunce of it, as ale, bere, meade, and metheglyn. Water is not holsome,⁷ sole by it selfe, for an Englysshe man, consyde⁸rynyge the contrarye vsage, whiche is not concurraunt with nature: water is

1 E .iv. not signed. ²the whiche AB; meate which P. ³lyght BP. ⁴Lyeth is A.Sax. lie§, mild. ⁵seeth AB. ⁶do AB. ⁷replexion AB. ⁸See Forewords, p. 74.

Water is not wholesome by itself. Water is bad for an Englishman.
CHAP. X. | DIETARY. WATER SHOULD NOT BE DRUNK ALONE. 253

Cold, slowe, and slacke of dygestyon. The best water is rayne-water, so be it that it be clene and purely taken. Nexte to it is runnyng water, the whiche doth swyftly runne from the East in to the west vpon stones or pybles. The thyrdye water to be praysed, is ryuer or broke water, the which is clere, runnyng on pibles and grauayl. Standynge waters, the whiche be refresshed with a fresshe spryng, is commendable; but standyng waters, and well-waters, to the whiche the soune hath no reflyxyon, althoughe they be lyghter than other runnyng waters be, yet they be not so commendable. And let enery man be ware of all waters the whiche be standing water is bad. Standynge, and be purfyfyed with froth, duckemet, and mudde; for yf they bake, or brewe, or dresse meate with it, it shall ingender many infyrmytes. The water the which euery man ought to dresse his meate with all, or shall vse bakynge or bruyng, let it be runnyng; and put it in vessels that it may stande there .ii. or .iii.3 hours or it be occupied; than strayne the upper parte 4 thoroughe a thycye lynnyn cloth, and cast the inferyall parte awaye. If any man do vse to drynke water with wyne, let it be purely 5 strayne; and than seth it, and after it be cold, let hym put it to his wyne: but better it is to drynke with wyne, stylled waters, speccyally the water of strawberes, or the water of buglos, [or the water of borage,] 6 or the water of endyue, or the water of cycory, or the waters of southystell and daunderlyon. And yf any man be combred with the stone, or doth burne in the pudibunde 7 places, vse to drynke with whyte wyne the water of hawes and the water of mylke: loke for this water in a boke of my makynge, named "the breuyary of health".8

1 AB omit "so," 2 docknet AB; duckement P. 3 two or three B. 4 parte that B. 5 sign. F. i. 6 AB put in "or the water of borage" (not P). 7 pubibnude, orig. 8 Chapter 207, Fol. lxxii ; p. 80, above.
DRINK WINE MODERATELY.

Of 1 wyne.

All maner of wynes be made of grapes, excepte respyse, the which is made of a bery. Chose your wyne after this sorte: it muste be fyne, fayre, & cleere to the eye; it must be fragrant and redolent, hauynge a good odour and flauour in the nose; it must spryncle in the cup when it is drawne or put out of the pot in to the cup; it must be colde & pleasant in the mouth; and it must be strong and subtyll of substaunce: And than, moderatly dronken, it doth acuate and doth quycken a mans wyttes, it doth comfort the hert, it doth scowre the lyuer; specyally, yf it be whyte wyn, it doth reioyce all the powers of man, and doth now rysshe them; it doth ingender good blode, it doth comforte and doth nourysshe the brayne and all the body, and it resolueth fieume; it ingendreth heate, and it is good agaynst heuynes and pencyfulnes; it is ful of agylyte; wherfore whyte wyne, for it doth mundyfye and elense woundes & sores. Furthermore, the better the wyne is, the better humours it doth ingender. wyne must not be to newe nor to olde; but hyghe wynes, as malmyse, maye be kep[t]e longe. And bycause wyne is full of fumosyte, it is good, therfore, to alayf it with water. wynes hyghe and hote of operacyon doth comfort olde men and women, but there is no wyne good for chyldren & maydens; for in hyghe Almayne, there is no mayde shall drynke no wyne, but styl she shal drynke water vnto she be maried. the vsuall drynke, there & in other hyghe countres, for youth, is fountayn water; for in euery towne is a fountayne or a shallowe wel, to the which all people

1 AB omit "Of."

2 See Babees Book, 125/118; p. 204; 267/21.

3 sign. F .i. back.

4 kep[te] ABP.

5 hyghe and hote. Wynes AB.

6 vnto the time AB: vnto = until. See ch. xiv, p. 159, on Hyghe Almayne, in the Introduction.
that be yonge, and seruauntes, hath a confluence and a recourse to drynke. Meane wynes, as wynes of Gascony, Frenche wynes, & specyally Raynysshe wyne that is fyned, is good with meate, specyally claret wyne. It is not good to drynke nother wyne nor ale before a man doth eate somwhat, althoughhe there be olde fantasycall sayings to the contrarye. Also these hote wynes, as malmesye, wyne course, wyne greke, romanysk, romny, seeke, alygaunt, basterde, tyre, osay, Muscadell, caprycke, tynt, roberdany, with other hote wynes, be not good to drynke with meate; but after mete, & with oysters, with saledes, with fruyte, a draught or two may be suffered. Olde men maye drynke, as I sayde, hyghe wynes at theyr pleasure. Furthermore, all swete wynes and grosse wynes doth make a man fatte.

1 sign. F .ii.
2 See The Babees Book, p. 202-7, with extracts from Henderson's History of Ancient and Modern Wines, 1824, p. 75, above, and Notes. Of the wines mentioned above, but not in B. B.,

Course is the Italian 'Corso, wine of Corsica.' (Florio.)

Alygaunt is 'Alicant, a Spanish wine . . . said to be made near Alicant, and of mulberries.' (Nares.)

Tynt is the modern Tent used in the Sacrament, 'a kind of wine of a deep red colour, chiefly from Galicia or Malaga in Spain.' (Webster.)

At Alicant, in the province of Valencia, a vino tinto is procured from the tintilla grape, which resembles the Rota wine, and contains a large quantity of tannin, holding in solution the colouring matter, and precipitating animal gelatin. It is sweet and spirituous, having a reddish orange colour, and a bitter and somewhat rough after-taste. Like the Rota, it is chiefly used for medicinal purposes.—Henderson, p. 103-4; and see p. 251.

Neither Roberdany nor Romanyske is mentioned by Henderson.

Sack. See Henderson, p. 298-309, and his quotation, p. 315, of Markham, "Your best Sacks are of Xeres in Spain; your smaller, of Gallicia and Portagall; your strong Sacks are of the islands of the Canaries and of Malligo . . ." Also from the Discovery of a London Monster called the Black Dog of Newgate, printed in 1612, "There wanted neither Sherry Sack, nor Charnceco, Maligo, nor amber-coloured Candy, nor liquorish Ipoceras, brown beloved Bastard, fat Aligant, nor any quick-spirited liquor."
\section*{Of \textit{ale}}

\textit{Ale} is made of malte and water; and they the which do put any other thynge to ale then\textsuperscript{2} is reshered, except yest, barme, or godesgood, doth sofystical\textsuperscript{3} theyr ale. Ale for an Englysshe man is a naturall drynke. Ale must hau these propertyes: it must be fresshe and cleare, it muste not be ropy nor smoky, nor it muste haue no weft nor tayle. Ale shuld not be dronke under .v. dayes olde. Newe ale is vnhusome for all men. And sowre ale, and deade ale\textsuperscript{4} the which doth stande a tylt, is good for no man. Barly malte maketh better ale then oten malte or any other corne doth: it doth engendre\textsuperscript{5} froze humoires; but yette\textsuperscript{6} it maketh a man stronge.

\section*{Of \textit{beer}}

\textit{Beer} is a Dutch drink, but has lately come into England. It blows out the belly.

\section*{Of \textit{cyder}}

\textit{Cyder} is made of the iuce of peeres, or of\textsuperscript{1} the iuce of aples; \& other whylle cyder is made of both; but the best cyder is made of cleane peeres, the which be dulcet; but the beest\textsuperscript{10} is not prophesed in physycke, for

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item AB omit "Of."
\item \textsuperscript{2} than AB.
\item sophysticat P.
\item AB insert "and ale."
\item sign. F .ii. back.
\item AB omit "yette;" P has "yet."
\item strayne coylyon AB.
\item be wel brude and fyned P
\item newi, t orig.
\item best AP; beste B.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Cider is colde of operacyon, and is full of ventosyte, wherfore it doth ingendre euyll humours, and doth swage to moche the naturall heate of man, & doth let dygestyon, and doth hurte the stomacke; but they the which be vsed to it, yf it be dronken in haruyst, it doth lytell harme.

If Of meade.

2 If Meade is made of homny and water boyled both togyther; yf it be fyned and pure, it preserueth helth; but it is not good for them the whiche haue the Ilyacke or the colycke.

If Of metheglyn.

Metheglyn is made of homny & water, and herbes, boyled and soden togyther; yf it be fyned & stale, it is better in the regyment of helth than meade.

If Of whay.

Whay, yf it be wel ordered, specyally that whay the which doth come of butter, is a temporate drynke, and is moyst; and it doth nourysshe, it doth clense the brest, and doth purge redde colour, and [is] good for sausfleme faces.

If Of poset ale.

Poset ale is made with hote mylke & colde ale; it is a temporate drynke, and is good for a hote lyuer, and for hote feuers, specyally yf colde herbes be soden in it.

1 AB omit "Of."

3 Pover cilly shepperdes they gett/
Wheme into their farmes they sett/
Lyvynge on mylke / whyg / and whey [whyg = butter-milk, or sour whey].—Roy’s Satire, Pt II, p. 111, of Pickering’s reprint, p. 17 of my Ballads from MSS, 1868.

We tourmoyle oursefes nyght and daye,
And are fayne to dryncke whygge and whey,
For to maynteyne the elurgyes facciones.

1530, A Proper Dyaloge, fol. 6; Ballads from MSS, p. 22.
Of coyte.

Coyte is a drynke made of water, in the whiche is layde a sowre and a salt leuyn. If it is dronke, it is a usual drynke in Pycardy, in Flaundres, in Holande, in Brabant, and Selande; hit dothe but quench the thyrste.

To speake of a ptysan, or of oxymel, or of aquavit, or of Ipocras, I do passe oner at this tyme; for I do make mensyon of it in the Breuyary of health.

The .xi. Chapytre treateth of breade.

Wheat bread makes a man fat.

Unleavened bread is better than leavened.

In Rome, loaves are only as big as a walnut, and are saffron'd.

Manchet, with no bran, I like.

Vycen sayth, that breed made of whete maketh a man fatte, speyally when the breade is made of newe whete; and it doth set a man in temporaunce. Breade made of fyne flower without leuyn is slowe of dygestyon, but it doth nourysshe moche yf it be truely orderd and well baken. when the breade is leuened, it is soone dygested, as some olde Auethours sayth; but these dayes is proued the contrary by the stomacke of men, for leuyn is heuy and ponderous. Breade haunyge to moche brande in it is not laudable. In Rome, and other hyghe countres, theyr loues of breade be lytell bygger then a walnut, and many lytell loues be ioyned togyther, the whiche doth serue for great men, and it is saffironde. I prayse it not. I do lune manchet breade, and great loues the whiche be well mowlded and thorowe baken, the brende abstracted and abicted; and that is good for all ages. Mostlyng breade is

1 AB omit "Of." 2 than AB. 3-2 put in from P. 4 sign. F .iii. back. 5 chapter 358, leaf 106, &c. 6 See p. 261, l. 13. 7 F. iv. not signed. 8 aches AB; and AB insert a fresh chapter, headed Bread made of Mostlyng or of Rye.
made, halfe of whete and halfe of Rye. And there is also mestlyng made, halfe of rye and halfe of barley. And yll  
people wyll put whete and barley togetherr. breade made of these aforesayde grayne or cornes, thus poched togetherr, maye fyll the gutte, but it shall neuer do good to man, no more than horse breade, or breade made of beans and peason shall do  
; howbeit this matter doth go moche by the educacyon or the bryng- 
yng vp of the people, the which haue ben nourished or nutryfyde with suche breade. I do speake nowe in barleyes or maltes, parte to be eaten and also dronken. I suppose it is to moche for one grayne, for barley doth ingender colde humours; and peason and beans, and the substaunce communyng from theym, replethyth a man with ventosyte; but and  
yf a man haue a lust or a sensuall appetyd to cate and drynke of a grayne bysyde malte or barley, let hym cate and drynke of it the whiche maye be made of otes; for hauer cakes in Scotlande is many a good lorde and lordes dysshe.  

1 enyll AB.

2 "I haue" . . quod Peres . . .
A fewe cruudes and crem . . and an hauer cake,
And two loues of bene and bran . . ybake for my fauntis.
As to horsebread, ep.
For hat was bake for Bayarde [the horse . . was bote for many hungry,  
And many a beggere for bene . . buxome was to swynke,
And eche a pore man wel apayed . . to haue pesen for his hyure.
ib. p. 103.
Rolde beggeres and bigge . . hat move her bred biswynke,
With houndes bred and hors bred . . holde vp her hertis ;
Abate hem with bene . . for bollyng of her wombe.

3 AB omit "and,"

4 The Scotch lords had a different character from Holinshed (1585 A.D.), or Hector Bocce (died 1536) if Holinshed follows him here: — "But how far we in these present daies are swaurned from the vertues and temperance of our elders, I beleue there is no man so eloquent, nor indued with such viterance, as that he is able sufficiencilie to expresse. For whereas they gane their minds to dowghtinesse, we applic our selues to droonkennes: they had plentie with sufficiencie, we haue inordinate exesse with superfluitie: they were temperate,
And yt it wyll make good hauer cakes, consequently it wyll do\(^1\) make good drynke or euyl; euer thyng as it is handled. \(^2\) For it is a common proverbe, "God may sende a man good meate, but the denuyll may sende an euyl coke\(^3\) to dystrue\(^4\) it;" \(^5\) wherfore, gentyll bakers, sophystycate not your breade made of pure whete; yt you do, where euyl ale-brewers and ale-wyues, for thyer euyl brewyng & euyl measure, shuld clacke and ryng theyr tankardes at dym myls dale, I wold you shuld we effeminate; and so is the case now altered with vs, that he which can deouere and drinke most, is the noblest man and most honest companion; and thereto hath no peere, if he can once find the veine (though with his great travell), to purvey himself of the plentifullest number of new, fine, and delicate dishes, and best provoke his stomach to receive the greatest quantitie of them, though he never make due digestion of it. Being thus drowned in our delicate gluttonie, it is a world to see, how we stuffe our selves both daie and night, neuer ceasing to ingorke & powre in, till our bellies be so full that we must needs depart. Certes it is not supposed meet that we should now content our selves with breakefast and supper onelie, as our elders haue doone before vs, nor inough that we haue added our dinners vnto their aforsaid meales, but we must haue thereto our beuerages and reare suppers, so that small time is spared wherein to occupie our selves in any godlie exercise; sith almost the whole daie and night doo scarselie suffice for the filling of our panches. We haue also our merchantes, whose charge is not to looke out, and bring home such things as necessarie perteine to the maintenance of our liues, but vnto the furniture of our kitchen; and these search all the secret corners of our forrests for venesen, of the aire for foules, and of the sea for fish; for wine also they travell, not only into France, whose wines doo now grow into contempt, but also into Spaine, Italie, and Greece; nay, Affrike is not void of our factors, no, nor Asia, and onelie for fine and delicate wines, if they might be had for monie."—P. 22, Harrison's *Description of Scotland*, prefixed to Holinshed's *Historie*, edit. 1586.

\(^1\) ABP omit "do" (= cause to). 
\(^2\) F. iv. back.
\(^3\) sende euyl cokes P. 
\(^4\) dystrey A; destroye B.
\(^5\) P has for the next two paragraphs: "But wyues, & maydes, & other bruers, the whiche dothe dystrue malte the whiche shulde make good ale, And they [D. iv. back] the which that doth nat fyll their potes, geuynge false measure,—I woulde they were clackynge theyr potes and tancardes at dymnynges dale. And euyl bakers the whiche doth nat make good breade of whete, but wyl myngle other corne with whete, or do nat order and seson hit, gyynge good weight, I wold they myght play bo pepe thorowe a pyllery."
shake out the remnaunt of your sackes, stamlyngge in the Tempes vp to the harde chynne, and .iii. ynces aboue, that when you do come out of the water you myght shake your cares as a spanyell that veryly commeth out of the water. Gentyll bakers, make good brende for good brende doth comforte, confyrme, and doth stablyssh a mans herte, besyde the propertyes rehersed. Hote brende is vnholosome for any man, for it doth lye in the stomatke lyke a sponge, haustying vndecoot humours; yet the smel of newe brende is comfortable to the heade and to the herte. Sodden brende, as symnels and cracknels, and brede baken vnpon a stone, or vnpon yron, and breade that saffron is in, is not laudable. Burnt brede, and harde crustes, & pasty crustes, doth ingen dre color, adjuste, and melancoly humours; wherfore chyp the vpper crust of your brede. And who so doth use to eate the seconde cruste after meate, it maketh a man leane. And so doth wheten brede, the which is ful of brande. Brede, the whiche is nutrytyue, & praysed in physyecke, shuld haue these propertes. Fyrste, it must [not] be newe, but a daye & a nyght olde, nor it is not good when it is

1 B omits "of."
2 Sir H. Ellis (Brand, iii. 53, ed. 1843) says of the Cucking-Stool, "It was a punishment inflicted also anciently upon brewers and bakers transgressing the laws... In 'The Regiam Majestatem,' by Sir John Skene, this punishment occurs as having been used anciently in Scotland: under 'Burrow Lawes,' chap. lxix., speaking of Browsters, i.e. 'Women quha breves aill to be said; it is said—'gif she makes gude ail, that is sufficient. But gif she makes evill ail, contrair to the use and consenctue of the burgh, and is convict thereof, she sall pay une unaue of ancht shillinges, or sal suffer the justice of the burgh, that is, she sall be put upon the Cock-stule, and the ail sall be distributed to the pure folk.' Lysons cites an instance of an alewife at Kingston-on-Thames, being ducked in the river for scolding, under Kingston Bridge, in April 1745, in the presence of 2000 or 3000 people." (Ellis's Brand, iii. 52.)

3 See p. 258, l. 4 from foot.
4 See The Babees Book, p. 200, 266/4.
5 sign. G .i.
6 not AB.
not mouldy,  
well-baked,  
slightly salt.

Stale bread is slow of digestion.

Stale bread or stale brede doth drye vp the blode or natural moyster of man, & it doth ingender euyll humours, and is euyll and tarde of dygestyon; wherfore there is no surfet so euyll as the surfet of catynge of euyll breade.

¶ The .xii. Chapyter treateth of potage, of sewe, of stewpottes, of grewell, of fyrmente, of pease potage, of almon mylke, of ryce potage, of cawdels, of culleses, and of other brothes.

Potage and Broth fill a man with wind.

Potage is more used in England than anywhere else.

Herbs for potage must be good.

In pestilence time

L maner of lyquyd thynges, as potage, sewe, & all other brothes, doth replete a man that eateth theym, with ventosyte. Potage is not so mach vsed in al Crystendom as it is vsed in Englande. Potage is made of the lyquor in the which fisshhe is soden in, with puttyng-to chopped herbes, and otemel and salt. The herbes with the whiche potage is made with all, yf they be pure, good, and clene, not worme-eaten, nor infected with the corrupte ayre descendynge vpon them, doth comforte many men, the ventosyte notwithstanding. But for asmoch as dyuers tymes, many partes of Englande is infected with the pestylence, thorow the corrupcyon of the

1 moulded AB; mylded P.  
2 moyst AB.  
3 sign. G .i. back.  
4 sod AB.  
5 warne, orig.; wann P.
ayre, the which doth infecte the herbes, In such tymes it is not good to make any potage, nor to eate no potage. In certayn plac[es] beyonde see where as I haue traueyled in, in the pestylence tyme a general com-
maundment hath ben sent from the superyoryte to the commonalte, that no man shuld eate herbes in suche in-
feceous tymes.

2 Of sewe and stewpottes.

Sewe and stewpottes, and grewell made with otnell, in all the which no herbes be put in, can do 
lytel displeasure, except that it doth replete a man with ventosyte; but it relaxeth the belly.

3 Of fyrmente.

Fyrmente is made of whete and mylke, in the whiche, yf flesshe be soden, to eate it is not commend-
able, for it is harde of dygestyon; but whan it is dy-
gested it doth nourysshe, and it doth strength a man.

3 Of pease potage & beane potage.

Pease potage and beane potage doth replete a man with ventosyte. Pease potage is better than beane potage, for it is sooner dygested, & lesser of ventosyte: they both be abstereyue, and do clense the body. They be compytent of nutrynient; but beane potage doth increase grosse humours.

3 Of almon mylke & of ryce potage.

Almon mylke and ryce potage: Almons be hote and moyste; it doth comforte the brest, and it doth mollyfye the bely, and prouoketh vryne. Ryce potage made with almon mylke doth restore and doth conforte nature.

1 AB omit "any." 2 sign. G .ii. 3 AB omit "Of." 4 in the P. 5 AB omit "that." 6-6 P omits this, but adds at the end, after man, "but flesshe soden in mylke is nat commendable." 7 it, it AB. 8 strengthen AB. 9 abstereyue, orig.
OF HENS' EGGS. [CHAP. XII, XIII.

† Of 1 ale-brues, caudelles, & colesses.

2† Ale-brues, caudelles, and colesses, for weke men and feble 3 stomaches, the whiche can not eate solydate meate, is suffered. 4 But caudels made with hempesede, and collesses made of shrrymes, doth conforte blode and nature.

† Of 1 honny soppes, and other brothes.

† Honny soppes & other brothes, of what kynde or substaunce socuer they be made of, they doth 5 ingender ventosyte; wherfore they be not good nor holsome for the colyke nor the Illycke, 6 nor other inflatyue impediments or syckenesses, specyally yf honny be in it, the sayinges of Plyne, Galene, Auycene, with other Aucthours, notwithstandinge; for in these dayes experience teacheth vs contrary to theyr sayinges & wrytynges; 7 for althoughe the nature of man be not altered, yet it is weker, and nothynge so stronge nowe as whan they lyued, a &c. [a & dyd practes & makyng the bokes.—P.]

† The .xiiij. Chapitre treateth of whyt meate, as of egges, butter, chese, mylke, crayme, 8 &c.

N England there is no egges vse of hen-egges; wherfore I wyl fyrst wryte & prartect of hen-egges, The yolkes of 9 hen-egges be cordyalles, for it is temporatyly hote. The whyte of an egge is vicsns & colde, and slace of digestyon, and doth not ingender good blode; wherfore, whosoeuer that wyl eate an egge, 10 let the egge be newe, and roste hym reare, and

1 AB omit “Of,” 2 sign. G. ii. back. 3 fell AB. 4 sustered, orig. 5 do AB. 6 nor Ilyacke AB. 7 wrytyngue AB. 8 and crayme P. 9 sign. G. iii. 10 Henne egge AB.
cate hym; or els poche hym, for poched eggs be best at nyght, & newe reare rosted eggs be good in the mornynge, so be it they be tyred with a lytell salte and suger; than they be nutry[ty]ue. In Turkey, and other hyghe chrystyan landes anexed to it, they vse to seth two or thre bussheles of eggs togither harde, and pull of the shells, & sowse them, and kepe them to eate at all tymes; but hard eggs be slowe and slacke of dygestyon, and doth nutryfyte the body grosly. Rosted eggs be better than sodden; fryed eggs be nought; Duck-egges & geese-egges I do not prayse; but fesaunt-egges and partreges eggs, physecke syngulerly doth prayse.

II Of butter.

Butter is made of crayme, and is moyste of ope-racion; it is good to eate in the mornynge before other meates. Frenche men wyll eate it after meate. But, eaten with other meates, it doth not onely nowrysshe, but it is good for the breste and lunges, and also it doth relaxe and mollyfye the bely. Douche men doth eate it at all tymes in the daye, the whiche I dyd not prayse when I dyd dwell amonge them / consyderyng that butter is vnctyous, and euery thyng that is vnctyous is noy-some to the stomacke, for as moche as it maketh lubry-factyon. And also euery thyng that is vnctious, That is to say, butterysshe,—oyle, grese, or fat,—dothswymme aboue in the brynkes of the stomacke: as the fatnes doth swymme aboue in a boylynge potte, the excesse of suche nawtacyon or superfyce wyll ascende to the oryse of the stomacke, and doth make eructuasyons / wherfore, catyngne of moche butter at one refection is not commesable, nor it is not good for theym the

1 that AB. 2 nutritive P; nutryue AB. 3 AB omit "they." 4 AB omit "&." 5 AB omit "Of." 6 is AB. 7 Butter made of crayme P. 8 doth AB. 9 and doth P; sign. G .iii. hack. 10 vneryous B. 11 oryfe AB; orifice P.
whiche be in any ague or feuer, for the vnctuosyte\(^1\) of it dothe auge and\(^2\) augment the heate of the lyuer: a lytell porcyon is good for every man in the morenynge, yf it be newe made.

\( \text{T Of}^3 \text{ Chese.} \)

\( \text{T Chese is made of mylke ; yet there is}^4 \text{ .iii. sortes of chese, whiche is to say, grene chese, softe chese, harde chese, and}^5 \text{ spermyse} \) Grene chese is not called grene by the reason of colour, but for the newnes of it / for the whey is not halfe pressed out of it; and in operacy\(^6\)on it is colde and moyste. Softe chese, not to new nor to olde, is best, for in operacyon it is hote and moyste. Harde chese is hote and dry, and euyll to dygest. Spermyse is a chese the which is made with curdes and with the iuce of herbes: to tell the nature of it, I can not / consyderynge that euery mylke-wyfe maye put many iuces of herbes of sondry operacyon & vertue, one not agreynge with another. But and yf they dyd knowe what they dyd gomble togyther without trewe compoundynge, and I knowynge the herbes, then I coulde tell the operacyon of spermyse chese. Yet besyde these .iii. natures of chese, there is a chese called a rewene\(^7\) chese, the whiche, yf it be well orderyd, doth passe all other cheses, none excesse taken. But take the best chese of all these rehersyd, yf a latel\(^8\) do good and pleasur, The ouerplus doth ingendre grosse humours; for it is harde of dygestyon; it maketh a man costyfe, and it is not good for the stone. Chese that is good, oughte not be to harde nor to softe, but betwyxt both; it shuld not be towgh nor bruttell; it ought not to be swete nor sowre, nor tarte, nor to salt, nor to fresshe; it must be of good saunour & taledge,

1. **Green Cheese**;
2. **Soft Cheese**;
3. **Hard Cheese**;
4. **Spermyse**
   - Chees, made of curdes and the juice of herbes.
5. **Rewene Cheese**, the best of all.

The qualities of good Cheese.

\(1\) ventuosyte \textit{orig.}, and P; vnetuosyte AB.
\(2\) AB omit "auge and."
\(3\) AB omit "Of."
\(4\) mylke there be P.
\(5\) or AB.
\(6\) G .iv. not signed.
\(7\) Irweue AB.
\(8\) lytell AB; lytel P.
nor full of iyes, nor mytes, nor magottes / yet in Hygh Almen\(^1\) the chese the whiche is full of magotes is called there the best chese, and they wyll eate the great magotes as fast as we do eate comfetes.

\[\text{Of}^3 \text{ Mylke.}\]

Mylke of a woman, and the mylke of a gote, is a good restoratyue; wherfore these mylkes be good for them that be in a consumpeyon, and for the great temperaunce the whiche is in them: it doth nowrysshe moche.

\[\text{Of}^4 \text{ Cowes mylke and ewes mylke, so be it the}^4 \text{ beestes be yonge, and do go in good pasture, the mylke is nutryntyne, and doth humect and moysteth the membres, and doth mundyfye and clense the entrayles, and doth alleuyat & mytygat the payne of the lunges & the brest; but it is not good for them the whiche haue gurgulations in the bely, nor it is not al the best for sanguynye men / but it is very good for melancoly men, & for olde men and chyldren, speccyally yt it be soddyn, addyne to it a lytell sugre.}\]

\[\text{Of}^3 \text{ Crayme.}\]

Craymente the which dothe not stande longe on the mylke, & soddyn with a lytell suger, is nowrysshyng. Clowtyd crayme and rawe crayme put togyther, is eaten more for a sensuall appetyde than for any good nowrysshement. Rawe crayme vndecoceded, eaten with strawberyes or hurtes, is a rurall mannes banket. I haue knowen such bankettes hath put men in iecoperdy\(^6\) of theyr lyues.

\[\text{Almon-butter.}\]

\[\text{Almon-butter made with fyne suger and good rose-water, and eaten with the flowers of many}\]

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1. Almayne AB. See p. 159, above.
2. G .iv. back.
3. AB omit "Of."
4. that the P.
5. sign. H .i.
SALT AND FRESH-WATER FISH.  [CHAP. XIV.

vyolettes, is a commendable dyssh, specyallye in Lent, when the vyolettes be fragrant; it reioyseth the herte, it doth comforte the brayne, & doth qualyfye the heate of the lyuen.

¶ Beene-butter.

¶ Beene-butter is vsed moche in Lent in dyuers countres. it is good for plowmen to fyl the panche; it doth ingender grosse humours; it doth replete a man with ventosyte.

¶ The .xiii. Chapytre treatyth of FYsshe.

If all nacyons and countres, England is beste seruyd of FYsshe, not onely of al maner of see-fysshe, but also of fresshe-water fysshe, and of all maner of sortes of salte-fysshe.

¶ Of See-fysshe.

§ FYsshes of the see, the which hane skales or many fynnes, be more holsomer than the fresshe-water fysshe, the whiche be in standynge waters. The elder a fysshe is, so much he is the better, so be it that the fysshe be softe and not solydat. yf the fysshe be faste and solydat, the yonger the fysshe is, the better it is to dygest; but this is to vnderstande, that yf the fysshe be neuer so solydat, it muste haue age / but not over-growen, except it be a yonge porpesse, the which kynde of fysshe is noster praysed in the olde testament nor in physycke.

¶ Fresshe-water fysshe.

¶ The fysshe the whiche is in ruyers and brokes be more holsomer than they the whiche be in pooles,
pondes, or mootes, or any other standynge waters; for they doth labour, and doth skower them selfe. Fyshe
the whiche lyueth & doth feede on the moude, or els do feede in the fen or morysshe grounde, doth sauer of the
moude, whiche is not so good as the fysshe that fedyth and doth skowre them self on the stones, or grauell, or
sand.

¶ Of Salte fysshe.¹

¶ Salte fysshe,² the whiche be powdery³ and salted with salte, be not greatly to be prayed, specyally yf a man do make his hoole refecty⁴ on with it; the qualyte doth not hurté, but the quantyte, specyally suche salte fysshes as wyll cleue to the fyngers when a man doth eate it. And the skyn of fysshes be vitterly to be ab-horryd,⁵ for it doth ingender viscus fleume and color adust. Al maner of fysshe is colde of nature, and doth ingender fleume; it doth lytell nowrysshe / Fysshe and flesshe oughte not to be eaten togyther at one meale.

¶ The .xv. Chapitre treateth of wylde fowle, and tame fowle [and]⁶ byrdes.

F all wylde foule, the Fesaunt is most beste,⁷ Although that a partrecle of all fowles is soonest dygested; wherfore it is a restoratyue meate, and dothe confortede the brayne and the stomacke, & doth augment carnall lust. A wood-cocke is a meate of Woodcock.

¹ Salte fysshes AB. ⁴ fysshes AB.
² fysshes AB. ⁵ sign. H .ii.
³ sprinkled.— F. ⁶ and AB.
⁵ See Babees Book, p. 154/553 ; 140/367, &c. ⁷ See Babees Book, p. 217, &c.; also p. 218-20, 143-4, &c., for the other wild birds.
good temperance. Quayles & plouers and lapwynges doth nowrysshe but lytel, for they doth ingender melancholy humours. yonge turtyll-doues dothe ingender good blode. 1A crane is harde of dygestyon, and doth ingender euyll blode. A yonge herensew is lyghter of dygestyon than a crane. A bustarde well kylled and orderyd is a nutrytyue meate. A byttoure is not so harde of dygestyon as is an herensew. A shoueler is lyghter of dygestyon than a byttoure: all these be noyfull except they be well orderyd and dressyd. A fesaunt-henne. A more-cocke and a more-henne, except they be sutt 2 abrode, they be nutrytyue. All maner of wylde fowle the whiche lyueth by the water, they be of dyscommendable nowrysshement.

¶ Of tame or domestycall fowle.

¶ Of all tame fowle a capon is moste beste,3 For it is nutrytyue, and is soone dygestyd. A henne in wynter is good and nutrytyue. And so is a chyken 4 in somer, specyallye cockrellys and polettes, the whiche be vntroden. The fleshe of a cocke is harde of dygestyon, but the broth or gely 5 made of a cocke is restoratyue. pygyons be good for coloryke & melancoly 6 men. gose-flesshe and ducke-flesshe is not praysed, except it be a yonge grene goose. yonge peechyken of halfe a yere of age be praysed. olde pecockes be harde of dygestyon.

¶ Of Byrdes.

¶ All maner of smale Byrdes be good and lyght of dygestyon, excepte sparowes, whiche be harde of dygestyon. Tytmoses, colmoses, and wrens, the whiche doth cate spyders and poyson, be not commendable.8

1 sign. H .ii. back. 2 do syt AB; they sute P. 3 See Babees Book, p. 222, &c. 4 be chycken A; be chyckens B. 5 a gely AB. 6 melancolyceke AB. 7 sign. H .iii. 8 commestyble AB.
of all smale byrdes the larke is beste: than is prayed Lark.
the blacke byrde & the thrusshe. Rasis and Isaac prayseth yonge staares; but I do thinke, bycause they be bytter in etyn, they shuld ingender colour.

¶ The xvi. Chapytre treatyth of flesshe, of wylde and tame beestes.

Eefe is a good meate for an Englysshe man, so be it the beest be yonge, & that it be not kowe-flesshe; For olde beefe and kowe-flesshe doth ingender melancolye and leporous humoure. yt it be moderatly powderyd, that the groose blode by salte may be exhaustyd, it doth make an Englysshe man stronge, the educacion of hym with it consynderyd. Martylmas beehe, which is called "hanged beehe" in the rofe of the smoky howse, is not laudable; it maye fyll the bely, and cause a man to drynke, but it is euyl for the stone, and euyl of dygestyon, and maketh no good iuce. If a man haue a peace hangyne by his syde, and another in his bely, that the whiche doth hange by the syde shall do hym more good, yt a showre of rayne do chaunse, than that the which is in his bely, the appetyde of mans sensualyte notwithstandyngy.

¶ Of Veale.

Veale is [a] nutrytyue meate, and doth nowrysshe moche a man, for it is soone dygestyd; wherupon many men doth holde oppynyon that it is the beste flesshe,
and the moste nutrytyue meate, that can be for mans sustenauncce.

¶ Of 1 Mutton and lambe.

¶ Mutton, of Rasis and Aueroyes is praysed for a good meate, but Galen dothe not laude it; and sewrly I do not loue it, consyderynge that there is no beest that is so soone infectyd, nor there doth happen so great murren and syckenes to any quadrypedyd 2 bee at as doth fall to the sheepe. This notwithstandinge, yf the sheepe be brought vp in a good pasture and fatte, and do not flanoure of the wolfe, it is good for sycke persons, for it doth ingender good blode.

¶ Lambes flessh is moyste and flumatycke, 3 wherefore it is not all the best for olde men, excepte they be melancolye of complexyon: it 4 is not good for flumatyke men to feade; to moche of it doth hurte. 5

¶ Of 1 Porke, brawne, 6 bakon, & pygge.

¶ where-as Galen, with other auncyent and approbat doctours, doth praye porke, I dare not say the contrarye agaynst them; but this I am sure of, I dyd neuer loue it: And in holy scrypture it is not praysed: for a swyne is an vnclene beeest, and dothe lye vpon 7 fylthy & stynkyngye soyles; and with stercorus matter dyuers tymes doth 8 fede in 9 Englande; yet in 10 Hygh-almen 11 and other hygh countres, (except Spayne & other countres anexed to Spayne),[men] doth kepe theyr swyne clene, and dothe cause them ones or twyse a daye to swymme in great ryuers, lyke the water of Ryne, whiche

1 AB omit "Of.", On lamb, see Babees Book, p. 222.
2 quatryped AB; quadryped P.
3 H i.v. not signed.
4 nor hit P.
5 ABP omit "doth hurte."—P adds "for the fleshe is waterysshe."
6 browne, orig.
7 vpon, in AB.
8 it doth AB.
9 specyallye in AB.
10 AB omit "in."
11 hyghe Almayne AB.
is above Coleyne; but Spaynyrdles, with the other regions annexed to them, kepe the swyne more fylthyer than Englysshe persons doth. Further-more, the Iune, the Sarason, the Turkes, conserynyge their polytycke wyt and lerenyng in Physycke, hath as moche wyt, wysdom, reason, and knowledge, for the sauyte of theyry body, as any Chrysten man hath;—and noble physycyonys I haue knowne amonges them; yet they all lacked grace, for as moche as they do not knowe or knowledge Iesu Chryste, as the holy scryptrye tellyth vs and them.—They louyth not porke nor swynes flesshe, but doth vituperat & abhorre it; yet for all this they wyll eate adders, whiche is a kynde of serpentes, as well as any other Crysten man dwellynge in Rome, & other hyghe countres; for adders flesshe there is called "fysshe of the mountayn." This notwithstandyng, physycke doth approbat adders flesshe good to be eaten, sayinge it doth make an olde man yonge, as it apperyth, by a harte eatyng an adder, maketh hym yonge agayne. But porke doth not so; for yf it be of an olde hogge not clene kepte, it doth ingender grosse blode, & doth humeet to moche the stomacke; yet yf the porke be yonge, it is nutrytyue.

Bacon is good for carters and plowmen, the whiche be euer labourynge in the earth or dunge; but & yf they haue the stone, and vse to eate it, they shall synge, "wo be the pye!" wherfore I do say that coloppes and egges is as holsome for them, as a talowe candell is good for a horse mouth, or a peese of powddred beef is good for a blereyed mare; yet sensuall appetyde muste haue a swyngge, all these things not withstandyng. Porke is conuertyble to mans flesshe.  

1 See Introduction, p. 156.  2 englysshe, orig.  3 H.iv. back.  4 Ione AB.  5 flesse, orig.  6 See Introduction, p. 177.  7 be to AB.  8 salt.  9 at all AB.  10 sign. I.i.  11—11 P leaves out these words.
Brawn is a usual English winter meat. Keep clear of it.

Pigs in jelly are good. A young fat pig is good. But mind; no crackling!

Kid's flesh is the best tame animal flesh.

Nowhere in Christendom are deer so loved as in England.

Give me Venison, though Physic says it's bad.

Give me Venison, the flesh be dispraysed in physycke / I pray God to sende me parte of the flesh to eate, physycke not-withstandyng. The opynyon of all olde physycyons was & is, that venyson is not good to eate, pryncipaylly for two cause[s]; the fyrrst cause is, that the beest doth lyue in fere; for yf he be a good wood-man, he shall neuer

1 AB omit "Of." 3 fled AB. 4 sign. I. i. back. 5 causes ABP. 6 that he AB. 7 feare AB.
se no kynde of deere, but at the .x. byt on the grasse, or brosyng on the tree, but he wyll lyfte vp his hed & loke aboute hym, the whiche commeth of tymorynes; and tymorosyte doth brynge in melancoly humours. wherfore all Physycyons ¹ sayth that venyson, which is the seconde cause, doth ingender colorke humours; & of trueth it doth so: wherfore let them take the skyn, and let me haue the fleshe. I am sure it is a lordes dysshe, and I am sure it is good for an Englysshe mans, for it doth anymate hym to be as he is, whiche is, stronge and hardy / but I do aduertyse every man, for all my wordes, not to kyll, and so to eate of it, excepte it be lefully, ² for it is a meate for great men. And great men do not set so moch by the meate, as they do by the pastyme of kyllyng of it.

4 ¶ Of ⁵ Hares fleshe.

¶ A hare doth no harime nor ⁶ dyspleasure to no man: yf the fleshe be not eaten, it maketh a gentylman good pastyme. And better is for the houndes or dogges to eate the hare after they haue kyld it, as I sayd, than man shuld eate it; for it is not praysed, nother in the olde Testament, nother in physycke; for the byble sayth the hare is an vnclene beeste, And physycke sayeth hares fleshe is drye, and doth ingender melancoly humors.

¶ Of ⁵ Conys fleshe.

¶ Conys fleshe is good, but rabettes ⁷ fleshe is best of all wylde beestes / for it is temperat, and doth nowrysshe, and [is] syngulerly praysed in physycke; for all thynges the whiche dothe sucke, is nutrytyue.

¹ Phyon suchons, orig. and AB. Physycyons P.
² lawfully AB. ³ do AB. ⁴ sign, I.ii.
⁵ AB omit "Of." ⁶ nor no AB.
⁷ Rabbit, the young cony while a sucker. Babees Book.
The heads and the fat of fish are bad.

Don’t eat the skin of fish and flesh.

Brains (except a 'ld's, and some birds); hurt the stomach.

Fore parts better than hind parts.

Marrow is nourishing when eaten with pepper.

Blood, inwards, and entrails, are indigestible.

Fat nourishes less than lean.

The seventeenth chapter treats of particular things of fish and flesh.

He heddes of fysshè, and the fatnes of fysshè, specyally of Samon and Conger, is not good for them the whiche be dysposed to haue rewmatycke heddes. And the heddes of lamprys 1 & lamprons, 2 & the stryynge the whiche is within theyn, is not good to eate. refrayne from etynge of the skynnes 3 of fysshè and flesshe, 4 & bornet 5 meate, and browne meate, for it doth ingender viscus humours, and color, & melancoly, And doth make opylacions. The braynes of any beest is not laudable, excepte the brayne of a kydde; for it is euyl of digestyon, and doth hurte a mans appetyde and the stomache, for it is colde, and moyste, and viscus. a hote stomache may cate it, but it doth ingewder grosse humours. The brayne of a wood-cocke, and of a snype, and suche lyke, is commestyble. The foreparte of all maner of beestes & fowles be more hotter, and lyghter of digestyon, than the hynder partes be. The marye of all beestes is hote and moyste; it is nutrityue yf it be wel dygestyd, yet it doth mollyfy the stomache, and doth take away a mans appetyde; wherfore let a man eate peper with it. The blode of all beestes & fowles is not praysed, for it is hard of digestyon. Al the inwarde of beestes and of fowles, as the herte, the lyuer, the lunges, and trypes, and trylybubbes, wyth all the intrayles, is harde of dygestyon, and doth increase grosse humours. The fatnes of flesshe is not so moche nutrytyue as 6 the leenes of flesshe; it is best whan leene and fat is

1 sign. I .ii. back. 2 See Babees Book, p. 215, 166, 174, 235.
3 kynnes, orig.; skynnes AB. 4 flesshe and fysshè AB.
5 burned AB; borned P. 6 sign. I .iii.
myxte one with another. The tunges of beestes be Tongues, harde of dygestyon, and of lytell nowryssshement. The stones of a cockrell, & the stones of other beestes that Testicles hath not done theyr kynde, be nutrytyue.

¶ The xviij. Chapitre treatyth of roste meate, of fryed meate, [of soden or boyled meate, of bruled meate,] \(^1\) and of bake meate.

With vs at Mountpylour, and other vnyuersyties, is vsed boyled meate at dyner, and roste meate to supper: why they shulde do so, I cannot tell, onlesse it be for a consuetude. For boyled meate is lyghter of digestyon than rosted meate is. Bruled meate is harde of digestyon, & eyyll for the stone. Fryed meate is harder of dygest[y]on\(^2\) than brulyd meate is, and it doth ingender color and melancoly. Bake meate, which is called flesshe that is beryd,\(^3\) — for it is buryd in past, — is not prayed in physyeke. All maner of flesshe the whiche is inclyned to humydyte, shulde be rostyd. And all flesshe the whiche is \(^4\) inclyned to drynes shulde be sodde or boyled.

¶ Fysshe may be sod, rostyd, brulyd, & baken, every one after theyr kynde, and vs, & fasshyon of the countree, as the coke and the physyecon wyll agre and deuyse. For a good coke is halfe a physyecon. For the chefe physyeke (the councyell of a physyecon ex- cepte) dothe come from the kytchyn; wherfore the physyecon and the coke for sycke men muste consult togyther for the preparacion of meate\(^5\) for sycke men.

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\(^1\) Put in from AB.  
\(^2\) dygestyon ABP.  
\(^3\) buryd AB.  
\(^4\) sign. I .iii. back.  
\(^5\) meates AB.
Physicians are bad cooks.

For ye the physeyon, without the coke, prepare any meate, excepte he be very experte, he wyll make a werysshe\(^1\) dysshe of meate, the whiche the sycke can not take.

¶ The ixix. Chapitre treateth of Rootes, and fyrste of the rootes [of]\(^2\) borage and of buglosse.

Borage; Bugloss (see p. 260).

The rootes of Borage and Buglosse soden tender, and made in a succade, doth ingender good blode, and doth set a man in a temporaunce.

¶ The rootes of Alysaunder\(^3\) and Enulacampana.\(^4\)

Alysannder\(^3\) and Enulacampana.\(^4\)

H The rootes of Alysaunder soden tender and made in [a]\(^5\) succade, is good for to dystroye the stone in the Raynes of the backe & blader. \(^6\) The rootes of Enulacampana\(^4\) soden tender, and made in a succade, is good for the breste, and for the lungs, and for all the interyall membres of man.

¶ The rootes of percelly & of fenell.

Parsley (p. 281).

¶ The Rootes of percelly soden tender, and made in a succade, is good for the stone, and doth make a man to pysse. The rootes of Fenell soden tender, & made in a succade, is good for the lunges and for the syght.

¶ The rootes of turnepes & persnepes.\(^7\)

Turnepes & Persnepes.

¶ Turnepes boyled and eaten with fleshe, augmentyth the seede of man. ye they be eaten rawe moderatly, it doth prouoke a good apetyde. Persnepes\(^7\) soden & eaten doth increase nature\(^8\); they be nutrityue, & doth expell vryne.

\(^1\) verysshe AB; werysshe P. 
\(^2\) of AB. 
\(^3\) Fr. Alexandre, the hearb, great Parsley, Alexanders or Alisaunders.—Cotgrave. 
\(^4\) Elenacampane B. 
\(^5\) in a AB; in succade P. 
\(^6\) I.iv. not signed. 
\(^7\) Parsneppes AB. 
\(^8\) Semen, generative fluid.
CHAP. XIX. \[
\text{DYETARY. RAPES, ONIONS, LEEKS, GARLICK.} \quad 279
\]

\[\text{I} \]

\[\text{Radysshe rootes, and Caretes.}\]

\[\text{II} \]

\[\text{Radysshe rootes doth breke wynde, & dothe pro-}\]

\[\text{uoke a man to make water, but they be not good for}\]

\[\text{them the whiche hath the gowte. Caretes soden and}\]

\[\text{eaten doth auge & increase nature, & doth cause a man}\]

\[\text{to make water.}\]

\[\text{III} \]

\[\text{The rootes of Rapes.}\]

\[\text{I} \]

\[\text{Rape rootes, yf they be well boyled, they do }^1\]

\[\text{Rapes.}\]

\[\text{nowrysshe, yf they be moderatly eaten: } ^{\text{immoderately}}\]

\[\text{eaten, they doth }^2\]

\[\text{ingender ventosyte, and doth anoye the stomache.}\]

\[\text{IV} \]

\[\text{Of }^3\]

\[\text{Onyons.}\]

\[\text{I} \]

\[\text{Onyons doth prouoke a man to veneryous actes,}\]

\[\text{and to sompnolence; & yf a man drynke sondry drynkes}\]

\[\text{it doth rectyfy and reforme the varyete of the opera-}\]

\[\text{cyon of them: they maketh a mans apetyde good, and}\]

\[\text{putteth away fastydyousnes.}\]

\[\text{V} \]

\[\text{Of }^4\]

\[\text{Leekes.}\]

\[\text{I} \]

\[\text{Leekes doth open the breste, and doth prouoke a}\]

\[\text{Leeks.}\]

\[\text{man to make water; but they doth make and increase}\]

\[\text{euyll blode.}\]

\[\text{VI} \]

\[\text{Of }^4\]

\[\text{Garlyke.}\]

\[\text{I} \]

\[\text{Garlyke, of all rootes is vsed & most praysed in}\]

\[\text{Garlic}\]

\[\text{Lombardy, and other countres anexed to it; for it doth}\]

\[\text{open the breste, & it doth kyll all maner of wormes in}\]

\[\text{a mans bely, whiche be to say, lumbrici, ascarides, and}\]

\[\text{cucurbitini, whiche is to saye, longe wormes, small lytell}\]

\[\text{longe wormes which wyll tykle in the foundement, and}\]

\[\text{square wormes; it also hetyth } \text{the body, and desoluyth}\]

\[\text{grose wyndes.}\]

\[1 \text{ doth AB.}\]

\[2 \text{ I .iv. back.}\]

\[3 \text{ AB omit "Of."}\]

\[4 \text{ AB omit "Of."}\]
The xx. Chapitre treateth of usuall Herbes. And fyrste of Borage and Buglosse.

Borage doth conforte the herte, and doth ingender good blode, and causeth a man to be mery, & doth set a man in temporaunce. And so doth buglosse, for he is taken of more vygor, & strength, & efficacye.

Of Artochockes, and Rokat.

There is nothynge vsed to be eaten of Artochockes but the heed of them. when they be almost rype, they must be soden tender in the broth of beef; & after, eate them at dyner: they doth increase nature, and dothe prouoke a man to veneryous actes. Rokat doth increase the seede of man, and doth stumulat the fleshe, and doth helpe to dygestyon.

Of Cykory, and Endyue.

Cykory doth kepe the stomacke and the heed in temporaunce, and doth qualify color. Endyue is good for them the whiche haue hoote stomackes and drye.

Of whyte Beetes, and Purslane.

whyte Beetes be good for the lyuer & for the splene, and be abstersyue. Purslane dothe extynct the ardoe of lassyuyousnes, and doth mytygate great heate in all the inwarde partes of man.

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1 of certayne A; of certaine B.  
2 sign. K. i.  
3 in a A.  
4 efficacyme AB.  
5 Garden Rocket (Brassica ruca or Rucca sativa) is an annual, of which, when young, the leaves are used as a salad abroad, and were formerly so in Britain. The wild Rocket (Sisymbrium officinale or Erysimum officinale) is common here, and is sometimes sown and used as a spring pot-herb.  
6 AB add “or with beefe.”  
7 beeten P.
The Qualities of Certain Herbs

1 Of Tyme and Parsley.

Tyme brekyth the stone; it dothe desolue wyndes, Thyme. And causeth a man to make water. Parsley is good to breke the stone, and causeth a man to pysse; it is good for the stomacke, & doth cause a man to haue a swete breth.

2 Of Lettyse, and Sorell.

Lettyse doth extynct veneryous actes, yet it doth increase mylke in a womans breste; it is good for a hote stomacke, and doth prouoke slepe, and doth increase blod, and doth set the blode in a temporaunce. Sorell is good for a hote lyuer, and good for the sorrel stomacke.

3 Of Penyryall and Isole.

Penyryall doth purge melawcoly, and doth comforte the stomacke & the spyrites of man. Isole clenseth viscus fleume, & is good for the breste and for the lunge.

4 Of Roosmary, and Roses.

Roosmary is good for palaces, and for the fallynge syckenes, and for the cowgh, and good agaynst colde. Roses bea cordyall, and doth conforte the herte & the brayne.

5 Of Fenell, and Anys.

These herbes be seldome vsed, but theyr seedes be greatly occupyde. Fenell-seed is vsed to breke wynde, and good agaynst poyson. Anys-seed is good to clense the bladder, and the raynes of the backe, & doth prouoke vryne, and maketh one to haue a soote breth.

6 Of Sawge, and Mandragor.

Sawge is good to helpe a woman to conceyue, Sage, and doth prouoke vryne. Mandragor doth helpe a woman to concepcion, and doth prouoke a man to slepe.

1 sign. K.i. back. 2 the palsey P. 3 vryde AB. (cp. Glutton going to the ale-house in Vis. of Piers Plowman.) 4 swete AB. 5 Mandragod, orig. and P; Mandragor AB. 6 sign. K.ii.
Of all herbes in generall.

There is no Herbe, nor weede, but God haueth gyuen vertue to them, to helpe man. But for as moche as Plyne, Macer, and Dioscorides, with many other olde aunceycnent and approbat Doctours, hath wryten and pertracted of theyr vertues, I therfore nowe wyll wryte no further of herbes, but wyll speke of other matters that shalbe more necessarype.

The .xxi. Chapitre treatyth of Fruytes, and fyrste of Fygges.

Uicen sayth that Fygges doth nowrysshe more than any other Fruyte: they doth nowrysshe meruelously when they be eaten with blanched Almons. They be also good, rosted, & stued. They do clense the brest & the lunges, & they do open the opylacyons of the lyuer & the splene. They doth stere a man to veneryous actes, for they doth auge and increase the sede of generacyon. And also they doth provoke a man to sweate; wherfore they doth ingender lyee.

Of great Raysyns.

Great Raysyns be nutrytyne, specyally yf the stones be pullyd out. And they doth make the stomacke fyrme & stable. And they doth provoke a man to have a good appetyde, yf a fewe of them be eaten before meate.

Of smale Raysyns of Corans.

Smale raysyns of Corans be good for the raynes of the backe; and they dothe provoke vryne. Howbeit

1 hath AB. 2 sign. K.ii. back.
they be not all the best for the splene, for they maketh opylacyon.

¶ Of Grapes.

¶ Grapes, swete and newe, be nutrytyue, & doth stumulat the flesshe; And they doth comforte the stomacke and the lyuer, and doth anoyde opylacyons. Howbeit, it doth replete the stomacke with ventosyte.

¶ Of Peches, of Medlers, & Ceruyces.

¶ Peches doeth mollyfy the bely, and be colde. Medlers, taken superfluous, doth ingender melancolye. And Ceruyces\(^1\) be in maner of lyke operacyon.

¶ Of Strawburyes,\(^2\) Cherys, & Hurties.

¶ Strawburyes be praysed aboue all buryes, for they do, qualyfy the heate of the lyuer, & dothe in-gender good blode, eaten with suger. Cherys doth mollyfy the bely, and be colde. Hurties be of a groser subsance; wherfore they be not for them the whiche be of a clene dyete.

¶ Of Nuttes, great and smale.

¶ The walnut & the banocke\(^4\) be of one operacyon. They be tarde and slowe of digestyon, yet they doth conforte the brayne if the pyth or skyn be palled of, and than they be nutrytyue. Fylberdes be better than hasell Nuttes: yf they be newe, and taken from the tree, and the skyn or the pyth pullyd of, they be

\(^{1}\) *Pyrus Sorbus*, the True Service. A tree very like the mountain-ash, but bigger, and bearing larger fruit, which, when beginning to decay, is brought to table in France; though it is oftener eaten by the poor than the rich. See *Londow's Enc. of Trees and Shrubs*, 1842, p. 442-3.

\(^{2}\) Strawberyes B.

\(^{3}\) sign. K.iii.

\(^{4}\) and banocke, AB. *Banunt*, a walnut, *West. [Wilts and Somerset: Stratmann.]* The growing tree is called a *ban-nut* tree, but the converted timber *walnut*. The term occurs as early as 1697 in MS. Lansd, 1063, fol. 2.—*Halliwell's Gloss.*
Old nuts breed palsy in the tongue.

Peas.

Beans are strong food.

Mellow Pears make men fat.

Roast Wardens comfort the stomach.

Apples should be eaten with comfits or fennel-seed.

Pomegranates.

Baked Quinces soften the belly.

nutrytyue, & doth increase fatnes; yf they be olde, they shuld be eaten with great raysens. But new nuttes be farre better than olde nuttes, for olde nuttes be color-yeke, and they be euyll for the hed, and euyll for olde men. And they dothe ingender the palsey to the toung, (yet they be good agaynst venym,) And, immoderatly taken or eaten, doth ingender corrupcyons, as byles, blaynes, & suche putryfaction.

Of Peason and Beanes.

Peason the whiche be yonge, be nutrytyue; Howbeit, they doth replete a man with vento'syte. Beanes be not so moche to be praysed as peason, for they be full of ventosyte, although the skynnes or huskes be ablatyd or cast away; yet they be a stronge meate, and doth prouoke veneryous actes.

Of Peares, and Appulles.

Peares the whiche be melow and doulce, & not stony, doth increase fatnes, ingenderyng waterysshe blod. And they be full of ventosyte. But wardens rosted, stued, or baken, be nutrytyue, and doth conforte the stomacke, specyally yf they be eaten with confettes. Apples be good, after a frost haue taken them, or whan they be olde, specyally red apples, and they the whiche be of good odor, & melow; they shuld be eaten with suger or comfettes, or with fenell-sede, or anys-sede, bycause of theyr ventosyte; they doth conforte than the stomacke, and doth make good dy-gestyon, specyally yf they be rostyd or baken.

Of Pomegranates, & Quynees.

Pomegranates be nutrytyue, and good for the stomacke. Quincees baken, the core pulled out, doth mollyfy the bely, and doth helpe dygestyon, and dothe preserue a man from dronkenshype.

1 sign. K.iii. back. 2-2 P omits this. 3 gore P.
CHAP. XXI. DYTARIY. THE QUALITIES OF GOURDS, ETC. 285

¶ Of Daates, and Mylons.

Daates, moderately eaten, be nutrityue; but they doth cause opylacyons of the lyner and of the splene. Mylons doth ingender enyul humoure.

¶ Of gourdes, of Cucumbres, & pepones.

Gourdes be enyul of nowrysshement. Cucumbers restrayneth veneryousnes, or lassyuyousnes, or luxuryousnes. Pepones be in maner of lyke operacion, but the pepones ingenderyng enyul humours.

¶ Of Almondes and Chesteyns.

Almondes causeth a man to pysse; they do mollyfy the bely, and doth purge the lunges. And .vi. or .vii. cate before meate, preserueth a man from dronkenshyp. Chesteynes doth nowrysshe the body strongly, & doth make a man fat, yf they be thorowe rooted, and the huskes abicted; yet they doth replete a man with ventosyte or wynde.

¶ Of Prunes, and Damysens.

Prunes be nat greatly prayed, but in the way of medysyne, for they be cold & moyste. And Damysens be of the sayd nature; for the one is olde and dryed, and the other be taken from the tre. .vi. or .vii. damysens eaten before dyner, be good to prouoke a mans appetyde; they doth mollyfy the bely, and be abstersyue; the skyn and the stones must be ablatyd and caste awaye, and not vsed.

¶ Of Olyues, and Capers.

Olyues condyted, and eaten at the begynnynge of [a] refectyon, doth corroborate the stomache, and prouoketh appetyde. Capers doth purge fleume, and doth make a man to haue an appetyde.

1 K .iv. not signed.
2 Fr. Pepon: m. A Pompion or Melon.—Cotgrave.
3 ingenderythhe P. 4 doth AB. 5 Syxe or seuen AB.
6 K .iv. back. 7 a AB
OF SPICES. [CHAP. XXII.

§ Of Oranges.

Oranges doth make a man to have a good appetyle, and so doth the ryndes, yf they be in succade, & they doth comforte the stomacke; the Iuce is a good sauce, and doth prouoke an appetyle.

§ The .xxii. Chapitre treateth of spyces, and fyrste of Gynger

Gynger doth hete the stomacke, and helpyth dygestyon: grene gynger eaten in the moreninge, fastynge, doth acuat and quycken the remembrance.

§ Of Peper.

There be .iii. sondry kyndes of peper, which be to say, whyte Peper, blacke Peper, & long Peper. All kyndes of pepers doth heate the body, and doth desolue fleume & wynde, & dothe helpe dygestyon, and maketh a man to make water. Blacke peper doth make a man leane.

§ Of Cloues, and Mace.

Cloues doth conforte the senewes, & doth desolue and doth consume superfluous humours, [and] sequentially storyth nature. Maces is a cordyall, and doth helpe the colycke, & is good agaynst the blody flyxe and laxes.

§ Of Graynes, and Safferon.

Graynes be good for the stomake and the head; And be good for women to drynke. Safferon doth conforte the herte & the stomacke, but he is to hote for the lyuer.

1 to orig.; doth AB. 2 sign. L.i. 3 and AB.
Of Nutmeges, & Cynomome.

Nutmegs be good for them the whiche have Nutmegs, colde in theyr hed, and dothe confort the syght and the brayne, & the mouthe of the stomacke, & is good for the spleene. Cynomome is a cordyall, wherfore the Cinnamon. Hebrecyon doth say, "why doth a man dye, and can gette Cynomome to eate?" yet it doth stop, & is good to restrayne, fluxes or laxes.

Of Lyqueryce.

Lyqueryce is good to clense and to open the Liquorice, lunges & the brest, & doth loose fleume.

The .xxij. Chapytre sheweth a dyete for Sanguyne men.

Anguyne men be hoote and moyste Sanguyne men of complexion, wherfor they must be cyreumspect in catyng of theyr meate, consyderynge that the purer the complex[i]on is, the soner it may be coruptyd, & the blode maye be the sooner infectyd / wherfore they must abstayne to eate inordynatly fruytes and herbes and rotes, as garlyke, onyons, and leekes; they must re-frayne from catyng of olde flesh, and exchew the old flesh, vsage of catynge of the braynes of beestes, & from catyng the vdders of keyn. They muste vse moderat cows' udders, slepe and moderat dyet, or els they wyl be to fat and grose. Fysshe of muddy waters be not good for them. And yf blode do abounde, clense it with stufes, or by fleubo homye.

1 Cynamon B (ed. 1562); Cynamone P. 2 Hebricion ABP. 3 sign. L . i. back.
The xxiiiij. Chaptyer sheweth a dyete for Fleumatycke men.

Leumaticke men be colde and moyste, wherfore they must abstayne from metes the whiche is cold. And also they must refrayne from catyng viscous meate, specially from all metes the whiche doth ingender fleumatycke humours, as fysshe, fruyte, and whyte meate. Also to excheewe the vsage of catyng of cruide herbes; specyall[y] to refrayne from meate the whiche is harde and slowe of dygestyon, as it appereth in the propertes of metes abone rehersyd. And to beware not to dwell nyghe to waternyshe and morysse gronde. These thynges be good for fleumatycke persons, moderatly taken: onyons, garlycke, peper, gynger; And all metes the whiche be hote and drye; And sauces the whiche be sourwe. These thynges folowyng doth purge fleume: polypody, netyll, elder, agarycke, yreos, mayden-heere, and styxados.

The xxv. Chapitre sheweth a dyete for Colorycke men.

Olor is hote and dry; wherfore Colorycke men muste abstayne from catyng hote spyces, and to refrayne from drynkynge of wyne, and catyng of Colorycke meate: howbeit, Colorycke men may eate grosre meate than any other of complexions, except theyr educacion hane ben to the contrary. Colorycke men shulde not be longe fastyng. These thynges folowyng do purge color: Fumytory, Centory, wormewod, wyld hoppes,

1 sign. L. ii. 2 AB omit "to." 3 sign. L. ii. back. 4 doth AB.
vyoletes, Mercury, Manna, Reuberbe, Eupatory, Tamarindes, & the whay of butter.

¶ The .xxvi. Chapitre treateth of a dyetarye for Melancoly men.

Elancoly is colde & drye; wherfore Melancoly men must refrayne from fryed meate, and meate the whiche is ouer salt, And from meate that is sowre & harde of dygestyon, and from all meate the whiche is burnet and drye. They must abstayne from immoderat thurste, and from drinkyng of hote wynes, and grosse wyne, as red wyne. And vse these thynges, Cowe mylke, Almon mylke, yolkes of rere egges. Boyled meate is better for Melancoly men than rosted meate. All meate the whiche wylbe soone dygestyd, & all meates the which doth ingender good blode, And meates the whiche be temperatly hote, be good for Melancoly men. And so be all herbes the whiche be hote and moyste. These thynges folowyng doth purge Melancoly: quyckbeme, Scene, sticados, hartystounge, mayden heere, pulyall mountane, borage, organum, suger, and whyte wyne.

¶ The .xxvii. Chapiter treatyth of a dyete and of an ordre to be vsed in the Pestyferous tyme of the pestylence & swetyng sycknes.

Han the Plages of the Pestylence or the swetynge syckenes is in a towne or countree, with vs at Mountpylour, and al other hygh Regyons and countrees that I haue dwelt in, the people doth sce from

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1 burned AB. 2 of B.

Boorde.
people flee from the city.

In low countries, infected houses are shut up, with the men in them.

Infection hangs in clothes,

straw, and rushes.

Burn scented herbs or gums;

or fumigate with Boorde's powder,

or make a Pomander

of spices, &c.,

Into a ball.

the contagious and infectious ayre; preseruatyues,1 with other coungeyyl2 of Physyke, notwithstandyng. In lower and other baase countres, howses, the which be infectyd in towne or cytie, be closyd vp, both doores & wyn-dowes; & the inhabytours shall not come a brode, nother to churche, nor to market, nor to any howse or company, for3 infectyng other, the whiche be clene without infection. A man cannot be to ware, nor can not kepe hym selfe to well from this syckenes, for it is so vehe4 ment and so parlouse,5 that the syckenes is taken with the saour of a mans clothes the whiche hath vysyted the infectious howse, for the infection wyl lye and hange longe in clothes. And I haue known that whan the strawe & russhes hath ben cast out of a howse infectyd, the hogges the whiche dyd lye in it, dyed of the pestylence; wherfore in such infectious tyme it is good for every man that wyl not flye6 from the contagious ayre, to vse dayly—speccially in the mornynge and evenyng—to burne Iuneper, or Rosemary, or Rysshes, or Baye leues, or Maierome, or Franken[se]nce, [or]7 bengauyn. Or els make this powder: Take of storax calamyte half an vnce,8 of frankensence an vnce,8 of the wodde of Aloes the weyghte of .vi. b.9; myxe al these togyther; Than cast half a sponefull of this in a chaffyng-dysshe of coles, And set it to fume abrode in the chambers, & the hall, and other howses. And10 you wyll put to this powder a lytell Lapdanum, it is so moche the better. Or els make a pomemaunder11 vnder this maner. Take of Lapdanum .iii. drammes, of the wodde of Aloes one drame, of amber of grece .ii. drames and a half; of nutmegges, of storax calamite, of eche a drame and a half; confect12 all these13

1 preseruatyues B. 2 coungeyyl B. 3 against, for fear of, to prevent. 4 sign. L .iii. back. 5 peryllous AB. 6 flee AB; fly P. 7 frankensence or AB. 8 ounce AB. 9 drachms. 10 if. 11 pomemaunder AB. 12 conferre B. 13 this B.
together with Rose-water, & make a ball. And this aforesaid Pomemaunder doth not only expell contagious ayre, but also it doth comforte the brayne, as Barthelmew of Montagnae sayth, & other modernall doctors doth affirm the same: whosoever that is infectyd with the pestylence, let hym loke in my 'breuyary of helth' for a remedy. But let hym vs this dyete: let the Chamber be kept close, And kepe a contynuall fyre in the Chamber, of clere burnynge wodde or charcole without smoke; beware of takynge any colde, vse temporat meates and drynke, and beware of wyne, bere, & eyder; vse to eate stued or baken wardens, yf they can be goten; yf not, eate stued or baken peers, with comfettes; vse no grosse meates, but those the whiche be lyght of dygestyon.

¶ The .xxviii. Chapitre sheweth of a dyete [for them] the whiche be in any Feuer or agew.

Do aduertyse every man that hath a Feuer or an Agewe, not to eate no meate .vi. howres before his course doth take hym. And in no wyse, as longe as the Agew doth indure, to put of9 shertte nor dowblet, nor to ryse out of the bedde but whan nede shall requyre; and in any wyse not to go, nor to take any open ayer. For suche prouysyon may be had that at vttermost at the thyrde course he shalbe deluyere of the Feuer, vsynge the medsynes the whiche be in the Breuyary of helthe.11

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1 L .iv. not signed. 2 Pomemaunder AB. ayres AB. 4 Chap. 121, fol. xlv. back, ed. 1552. 5 Chambers AB. 6 AB omit "charcole." 7 for them AB. 8 L .iv. back. 9 of the AB. 10 the AB. 11 Chap. 135—150, fol. xlix. back, to fol. iv., ed. 1552.
And let every man beware of castynge theyr handes & armes at any tyme out of the bed, in or out of theyr agony, or to spraule with the legges out of the bed: good it is for the space of .iii. courses to weare contynewelly gloues, and not to wasshe the handes, And to vse suche a dyet in meate & drynke as is rehersyd in the pestylence. [See above; p. 291, lines 11—15.]

¶ The .xxix. Chapitre treatyth of a dyete for them the whiche haue the Iliacke, or the colyck, & the stone.

He Iliacke and the Colyecke be ingen-dered of ventosyte, the whiche is intrusyd or inclosed in two guttes; the one is called Ilia, And the other is called Colon. For these two infyrmytes a man muste beware of colde. And good it is not to be longe fastynge. And necessary it is to be laxatyue, and not in no wyse to be constupat. And these thynges folowyng be not good for them the which haue these aforesaid infyrmytes: new bred, stale bred, nor new ale. They must abstayne also from drynkyng of beere, of cyder, and red wyne, and cynamom. Also refrayne from al meates that honny is in; exchew catyng of cold herbes; vse not to cate beans, peson, nor potage; beware of the vsage of fruytes, And of all thynges the whiche doth ingender wynde. For the stone, abstayn from drynkyng of new ale; beware of beere, and of red wyne and hote wynes; refrayne from catyng of red herynge, ma[r]tyllmas beef and bakon, and salte fysshe, and salt meates. And beware of goynge colde aboute the mydell, specyally aboute the raynes of the backe. And make no restryctyon of wynde and water, nor seege that nature wolle expelle.

1 sign. M.i. 2—2 hote bred P. 3 and of AB. 4 egestyon P. 5 water AB.
The XXX. Chapitre treatyth of a dyete for them the whiche haue any kyndes of the gowte.¹

Hey the whiche be infectyd with the gowte, or any kynde of it, I do aduertysyze them not to syt long³ bollynge and byblynge, dysyng and cardyng, in forgettyng them selfe to exonerat the blader and the bely whan nede shall requyre; and also to beware that⁵ the legges hange not without some stay, nor that the bootes or shoes be not ouer strayte. who soeuer hath the gowte, muste refrayne from drynkying of newe ale; and let hym abstayne from drynkying of beere and red wyne. Also, he must not eate new brede, egges, fresshe samon, eles, fresshe heryng, pylcherdes, oysters, and all shell-fysshe. Also,⁶ he muste excythe the eatynge of fresshe beef, of goose, of duches, & of pygyons. Beware of takyng⁷ or ducks; or go wynes, or goynege wetshed. Beware of veneryous actes after refection, or after or vpon a full stomacke. And refrayne from all thinges that doth ingender euyll humours, and be inflatyue.

The XXXI. Chapytre treatyth of a dyete for them the whiche haue any of the kyndes of lypored.

E that is infectyd wyth any of the .iii.¹⁰ kyndes of the lepored must refrayne from al maner of wynes, & from new drynkes, and stronge ale; than let hym beware of ryot and

¹ gowtes AB. ² sign. M. i. back. ³ to longe AB. ⁴ bowlynge AB. ⁵ AB omit "that." ⁶ And AB. ⁷ takyng of A; takyng of B. ⁸ legge AB. ⁹ sign. M. ii. ¹⁰ foure AB.
Lepers mustn’t eat spices, tripe, surfetynge. And let hym abstayne from etyng of spyces, and daates, and from trypes & podynges, and all inwarde of beestes. Fysshe, and egges, & mylke, is not good for leperous persons: and they must abstayne from eating of fresshe beef, and from catynge of gosse [&] duche, and from water-fowle and pygions; And in no wyse eate no veneson, nor hare-flesshe, and suche lyke.

¶ The xxxii. Chapytre treatyth of a dyete for them the whiche haue any of the kyndes of the falllyng syckenes.

Epilepsy.
(See Breugary, ch. 122, fol. xlvi.) Folk with Falling Sickness

mustn’t drink milk or strong ale,
or eat fish-fat,
viscous fish,
garleke, leeks,
venison, &c.;
or go to meetings of men,
or sit too near the fire,

1 for AB.  
2 AB omit "the."  
3 sign. M .ii. back.  
4 these AB.  
5 in the AB.  
6 infecte AB.
wyll induce the sycknes. They must beware of lyeng hote\(^1\) in theyr bed, or to laboure extremely; for suche or work too hard. thynges causyth the grefe to come the ofter.

The .xxxiii. Chapytre treatyth of a dyete [for them]\(^2\) the whiche haue any payne in the\(^3\) hed.

Any sycknes, or infyrmytes, and impeedymentes, may be in a mans hed, wherfore, who so euer haue any impeedyment in the hed, must not kepe the hed to hote nor to colde, but in a temperaunce. And to beware of ingendryng of rewme, whiche is the cause of many infyrmytes. There is no-thynge that doth ingender rewme so moche as doth the fatnes of fysshe, and the heddes of fysshe, and sur-fettes,\(^5\) & takynge colde in the feete, and takynge colde in the nape of the necke or hed. Also, they the whiche haue any infyrmyte in the hed must refrayne of immoderat slepe, specyally after meate. Also, they must abstayne from drynkyng of wyne; and vse not to drynke ale and beere the whiche is ouer stronge. voeyferacyon, halowyng, cryeng, and hygh synging, is not good for the hed. All thynges the whiche is vaporous or dothe fume, is not good for the hed. And all thynges the which is of euyll sauour, as caryn, synkes, wyddrawghtes,\(^6\) pisse-bolles, snoffe of candellys, dunghylles, stynkyng canellys, and stynkyng stand-yng waters, & stynkyng marshes, with suche conta-gyous\(^7\) eyres, doth hurte the hed, and the brayne, and the memory. All odyferous sauours be good for the hed, and the brayne, and the memory.

\(^1\) to hote AB.  \(^2\) for them ABP.  \(^3\) theyr AB.  
\(^4\) sign. M .iii. \(^5\) surfestes, orig. \(^6\) wynkraughtes. \(^7\) sign. M .iii. back.
The .xxxiii. Chapitre treateth of a dyete for them the whiche be in a consumpceyon.

Ho soeuer he be that is in a consumpceyon muste abstayne from all sowre and tarte thynges, as venegre & aleger,¹ & suche lyke. And also he must abstayne from eatynge of grose meates, the whiche be harde and slowe of dygestyon, And vse cordyallys and restoratyues, and nutrytyue meates. All meates and drinkes the which is swete, & that suger is in, be nutrytyue; wherfore swete wynes be good for them the whiche be in consumpceion,² moderatly taken. And sowre wyne, sowre ale, and sowre brede,³ is good for no man; For it doth freate away nature. and let them beware, that be in⁴ consumpceion, of fryde meate, of bruled meate, and bronte⁵ meate, the whiche is ouer rostyld. And in any wyse let them beware, of anger & pencyfulues. These thynges folowyng be good for them the whiche ⁶be in consumpceions⁷: a pygge or a cocke stewed and made in a gely, cockrellys stewed, gootes mylke and suger, almon mylke in the whiche ryce is soden, and rabettes stewed,⁶ &c. [⁶ & newe layd egges, & rere yolkes of egges, & ryce soden in almon mylke. P.]

The .xxxv. Chapitre treateth of a dyete for them the whiche be as-matyke men, beyng short wyn-dyd, or lackynge breth.

¹ aleger AB; alegar P. ² consumpceions AB. ³ beere AB. ⁴ in a AB. ⁵ of burned AB. ⁶ M .iv. not signed. ⁷ consumpeion AB.
Hortnes of wynde commeth dunders tymes of impedimentes in the lunges, and straytynes of the brest, oplyated thorow viscus fleume; and other whyl whan the hed is stuffyd with rewme, called the pose, lettyth the breth of his naturall course, wherfore he that hath shortnes of breth muste abstayne from eatyng of nuttes, specyally yf they be olde: chese and mylke is not good for them; no more is fysshe and fruyte, and rawe or crude herbes. Also all maner of meate the whiche is harde of dygestion, is not good for them. They muste refrayne from eatyng of fysshe, specially from eatyng fysshe the whiche wyll cleue to the fyngers, & be viscus & slyme; & in any wyse beware of the skyns of fysshe, & of all maner of meate the which e doth ingender fleume. Also they muste beware of colde. And whan any howse is a swepynge, to go out of the howse for a space in to a clene eyre. The dust also that ryseth in the strete thorow the vehemens of the wynde or other wyse, is not good for theym. And smoke is euyl for them; and so is all thynge that is stoppynge: wherfore necessary it is for them to be laxatyue, [& to be in a clene & pure eyre. P.]

The xxxvi. Chapitre treatyth of a dyete for them the whiche haue the palsy.

Hey the whiche haue the Palsy, vnyersall or pertyculer, must beware of anger, hastynes, and testynes, & must beware of feare, for thorow anger or feare dyners tymes the Palsy do come

1 in AB. 2 and chese P. 3 M .iv. back. 4 clere P.
Don't get drunk, or eat nuts, or lie on the ground.

Fox-stink is good for palsy.

Madmen must be kept in safe guard.

Mychell, a lunatic, killed 2 people and himself.

Keep lunatics in a close dark room, with a keeper whom they fear.

Don't put pictures in their rooms.

Shave their heads once a month.

to a man. Also they must beware of drunkenness, and eating of nuttes, whiche thynges be euyll for the palsye of the tonge. coldnes, and contagious and styankyng & fylthy ayres be euyll for the palsye. And lette euery man beware on lyeng vpon the bare grounde, or vpon the bare stones; for it is euyll for the Palsye. the sauour of Castory, & the sauour of a fox, is good agaynst the palsye.

The .xxxvii. Chapitre doth shew an order and a dyete for them the whiche be madde, and out of theyr wytte.

Here is no man the whiche haue any of the kyndes of madnes but they ought to be kepte in sauegarde, for dyuers inconuenyence that may fall, as it apperyd of late dayes of a lunatycke man named Mychell, the whiche went many yeres at lyberte, & at last hedyd kylle his wyfe, and his wyfes suster, & his owne selfe. wherfore I do aduertyse euery man the whiche is madde, or lunatycke, or frantycke, or demonyacke, to be kepte in saue garde in some close howse or chamber, where there is lytell lyght. And that he haue a keper, the whiche the madde man do feare. And se that the madde man haue no kynf, nor sheers, nor other edge toule, nor that he haue no gyrdyll, except it be a week lyste of clothe, for hurtynge or kyllyng hym selfe. Also the chamber or the howse that the madde man is in, let there be no paynted clothes, nor paynted wallys, nor pycyures of man nor woman, or fowle, or beest; for suche thynges maketh them ful of fantasyes. lette the madde persons hed be shauen ones a moneth: let them

1 sign. N.i. 2 of AB. 3 Michel P. 4 sign. N.i. back. 5 against, to prevent.
drinke no wyne, nor stronge ale, nor stronge beere, but moderat drynke; and let them haue .iii. tymes in a daye warme suppynges, and [a]1 lytell warme meat. And vse few wordes to them, excepte it be for reprehensyon, or gentyll reformacyon, yf they haue any wytte or perseueraunce to ynderstande [what reprehensyon or reformacyon is.  P.]

The .xxxviii. Chaptyre treatyth of a dyete for them the whiche haue any of the kyndes of the Idropyses.

Aynt Beede sayeth 'the more a man doth drynke that hath the Idropise, the more he is a thurst;' for although the syckenes doth come by superabundance of water, yet the lyuer is drye, whether it be alchytes, Iposarca, Lencoslegmancia, or the tympany. They that hath any of the .iii. kyndes of the Idropyses must refrayne from al thynges the whiche be constupat and costyue, and vse all thynges the whiche be laxatyue / nuttes, and dry almondes, and harde chese, is5 poyson to them; 6A ptsane and posset ale made with colde herbes doth conforte them, who so euer he be, the whiche wyll haue a remedy for any of these foure kyndes of the Idropyses, and wyll knowe a declaracyon of these infyrmytes, and all other syckneses, let hym loke in a boke of my makyng, named the Breuyary of helth. For in this boke I do speke but of dyetes, and how a man shuld order his mansyon place, And hym self & his howsholde, with suche lyke thynges, for the conseruacion of helth.6

1 a AB. 2 Idropsye AB; I dropyse P. 3 sign, N.jii. 4 Idropsyes AB. 5 AB omit "is." 6–6 Not in AB. 7 See Boorde's Breuary, chap. 179, 38, 17, 345.
Every one knows best what helps and what hurts him.

Don't be anxious.

Sleep at night.

A merry heart makes a man live, and look young.

Care brings age and death.

Wash your hands often, and comb your head.

Keep your chest and stomach warm, your feet dry, and your head cool.

Avoid venery;

Here is no man nor woman the which haue any respect to them selfe, that can be a better Phesycion for theyr owne sauegarde, than theyr owne self can be, to consider what theynge the whiche deth them good, And to refrayne from suche thynge that deth them hurte or harme. And let every man beware of care, sorowe, thought, pencyfulnes, and of inwarde anger. Beware of surfettes, and vse not to moche veneryouse actes. Breke not the vsuall custome of slepe in the nyght. A mery herte and mynde, the whiche is in reste and quyetnes, although he be agyd. Care and sorowe bryngeth in age and deth, where[fore] let euery man be mery; and yf he can not, let hym re-sorte to mery company to breke of his perplexatyues.

Furthermore, I do aduertyse euery man to wasshe theyr handes ofte euery daye; And dyuers tymes to keyme theyr hed euery daye, And to plounge the eyes in colde water in the morynyng. Moreover, I do coun-cell euery man to kepe the brete and the stomache warne, And to kepe the feete from wet, and other whyle to wasshe them, and that they be not kept to hote nor to colde, but indyfferently. Also to kepe the hed and the nekke in a moderat temporaunce, not to hote nor to colde; and in any wyse to beware not to medle to moche with veneryous actes; for that wyll cause a man to loke agedly, & also causeth a man to haue a
breef or a shorte lyfe. All other matters pertaynyng to any pertyculer dyete, you shall hawe in the dyetes aboue in this boke rehersyd.

The Chapytre doth shewe an order, or a fasshyon, how a sycke man shulde be ordered, And how a sycke man shuld be vsyd that is lykely to dye. 

Hoo so euer that is sore sycke, it is vncerteyne to man whether he shall lyue or dye; wherfore it is necessarye for hym that is sycke to haue two or .iii. good kepers, the whiche at all tymes must be dylygent, and not slepysshe, sloudgysshe, sluttysshe. And not to wepe and wayle aboute a sycke man, nor to vse many wordes / nor that there be no greate resort to common and talke, For it is a busynes a whole man to answere many men, specyally women, that shall come to hym. They the which commeth to any sycke person, ought to haue few wordes or none, except certayne persons the whiche be of counseyll of the Testament makynge, the whiche wyse men be not to seke of such matters in theyr syckenes; for wysdom wolde that euery man shulde prepare for suche thynges in helth. And yf any man for charyte wyll vyset any person, lette hym aduertysye the sycke to make euery thyng euyn bytwext God, and the worlde, & his conseyence; And to re-cuye the ryghtes of holy churche, lyke a catholycke

1 Also AB; All, ed. 1517.  
2 haue it AB.  
3 thre AB.  
4 ABP insert "nor."  
5 sign. N .iii. back.  
6 for AB and ed. 1517.
THE SICK MAN'S DEATH. [CHAP. XL.

man; And to folowe the counseyl of both Physyc-yons, which is to say, the physycyon of the soule, & the physycyon of the body, that is to saye, the spyrituall counseyl of his ghostly father, and the bodely coun-seyll of his physycyon concernyng the receytes of his medsons to recouer helth. For saynt Augustyn saith, "he that doth not the 1 commaundement of his physycyon, doth kyll hym self." Furthermore, about a sycke persone shuld be redolent sauour[s], and the chamber shuld be replenysshed with herbes & flowers of odysferouse sauour.2 & certayne tymes it is good, to be vsed a lytell of some perfume3 to stande in the mydle of the chamber. And in any wyse lette not many men, and specyally women, be togyther at one tyme in the chamber, not onely for bablynge, but specially for theyr brethes.5 And the kepers shulde se at all tymes that the sycke persons drynke be pure, fresshe, & stale, and that it be a lytell warmed, turned out of the colde. Yf the sycke man wex sycker and sycker, that there is lykle6 hope of amendment, but sygnes of deth, than no man oughte to moue to hym any worldly matters or busynes; but to speke of ghostly and godly matters, And to rede the passyon of Cryste, & to say the psalmes of the passyon, and to holde a crosse or a pyctour of the passyon of Cryste before the eyes of the sycke person. And let not the kepers forget to gyue the sycke man that is in suche agony, warme drynke with a spone, and a sponefull of a cawdell or a colesse. And than lette every man do7 indeuer hym selfe to prayer, that the sycke person may fynysshe his lyfe Catholyckely in the fayth of Iesu Cryste, And so 8

1 not obserue the commaundementes AB.
2 flaours AB.
3 good to vse some perfumes P.
4 N .iv. not signed.
5 hote breathes AB.
6 likely AB; lytle P.
7 P leaves out "do."
8 so to AB.
departe out of this myserable world. I do beseeche the Father, and the sone, and the holy ghost, thorow the meryte of Iesu Crystes passyon, that I and all Creatures lyuynge may do [so].

1 so P.
DYETARY. COLOPHONS OF 4 EDITIONS.

1. Imprinted by me Robert Wyer / dwellynge in seynt 
Martyns parysshe besyde charynge 
Crosse, at the sygne of seynt 
John Euangelyste.

For John Gowghe, Cum privilegio regali.
Ad imprimendum solum.

[? Out of St John writing his Revelations in the Isle of Patmos.]

1 N.iv. back.

Thomas Colwel’s Colophon to the edition of 1562 is: ¶ Imprinted by me Thomas Colwel. Dwellynge in the house of Robert Wyer, at the Signe of S. Johã Euangelyst, besyde Charynge Crosse.

Wyllyam Powell’s Colophon to the edition of 1547 is: ¶ Imprinted at London in Fletestrete at the sygne of the George neste to saynte Dunstones churche by Wyllyam Powell. In the yere of our Lorde god M. CCCCC. LXVII. (☞ : ☞)
The treatyle answe-rynge the boke of Berdes,

Compiled by Collyn cloote, dedycatyd to Barnarde barber
dwellyng in Banbery.
1 To drynke with me, be not a ferde
For here ye se groweth never a berde.

[Coarse woodcut of a man stooping down and exposing himself, with the legend *Testiculus Habet.*
Any member wanting the cut must apply to
Mr Furnivall.]

1 I am a Foole of Cocke lorellys bote
Callyng al knaues, to pull therin a rope.

1 A.i. back.
The preface, or the pystle.

O the ryght worshypfulle (Barnarde Barber), dwell-ynge in Banberye, Collyn Clowte surrenderth gre-ynge, with immortall thankes.

IT was so, worshipful syr, that at my last beynge in Mount-pyllour, I chauned to be asoevbat with a doctor of Physyke/ which at his retourne had set forth iij. Bokes to be prynted in Fleetstrete, within Temple barre, the whiche Bokes were compyled togyther in one volume named the Introductorie of knowledge / wherupon, there dyd not resort only vnto hym marchauntes, gentylmen, and wymen / but also knyghtes, and other great men, whiche were desyrous to knowe the effycacyte, and the effecte of his afore-sayd bokes ; and so, amoung many thynges, they desyred to knowe his fansye consernynge the werynge of Berdes / He answeryd by great experyence: "Some wyl weer berdes bycause theyr faces be pocky, maunyg, sausflewme, lyporous, & dysfygured / by the whiche many clene men were infected." So, this done, he desyred euery man to be contentyd: Vvherfore I desyre no man to be dyspleasyd with me. And where-as he was anymatyd to wryte his boke to thende, that great men may laugh therat I haue denysed this answere, to the entent, that in the redyng they myght laughe vs bothe to scorne / And for that cause I wrote this boke, as god knoweth my pretence / who euer keape youre maystershyp in helthe.


4 Speaking of matters triflyng, Wilson, in his Art of Rhetorique, 1553 (edit. 1584, p. 8), says: "Suche are triflyng causes when there is no weight in them, as if one should phantasie to praise a Goose before any other Beast liyng (as I knowe who did) or of fruite to commend Nuttes cheedly, as Ouid did, or the Feuer quartaine as Phaciosinus did, or the Gnat, as Virgill did, or the battale of Frogges, as Homer did, or dispraise bearde, or commend e shauen hiddes."—W. C. Hazlitt.

5 See the Preface to the Dyetary, p. 228 above.
Here foloweth a treatyse, made Answeringe the treatyse of doctor Borde vpon Berdes.

Allynge to remembraunce your notable reproche gyuen vnto berdes, I was constryaned to render the occasion therof; wherupon, I founde by longe surmyse and studye that ye had red the storye of Hellogobalus, & founde therin greate and stronge auctorties / which by lykelyhode mounyd you to this Reformacyon of berdes. For ye knowe that Hellogobalus, beynge gyuen moche to the desyre of the body, & that by moche superfluyte, he thought it requysyght to commyt the fylthy synne of leche[r]y, vpon the receyptes of delycate meates. For he caused his cokes to make &

\[\text{\footnotesize 1 Mr Hazlitt says, 'See Grapaldus de Partibus Oeivm, and Collier's Extr. Reg. Stat. Co. ii. 97.' At the latter reference, 22 Sept. 1579, is, 'H. Denham, Lyeened unto him &c, A paradox, provinge by Reason and example that Baldnes is much better then bushie heare . . . vj.' (Written by Syneisius, englished by Abraham Fleming.) After this, Mr Collier prints, from a MS of his own, he says, an amusing dialogue between B[aldness] and H[air], entiteld the 'Defence of a Bald Head.' B. argues that baldness is no sign of old age, as many young men are bald from too much wenching;\]

\begin{quote}
Then, thinke also of this:
if you no haire have gott,
How pleasantly your haire you misse,
when weather it is hot,
Let ruffins weare a bushe,
and sweat till well nigh dead,
In that Ime bald, I care no rush,
but onely wipe my head.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Hair ends with

Thy reasons may be good,
that baldnes is no ill;
But ladies will love lustic blood
and haire, say what you will.
\end{quote}

\[\text{\footnotesize 2 A .iij. not signed.}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize 3 orig. ye}\]
ordeyne suche hote meates that maye prouoke or stere hym the rather therunto. And in ther so doyng, he made them, some of his preuye chambre, some of his hed lordes of his counsell. But yet the chefe and pryneypall preseptes that he gaue vnto his cokes, was this, that they shulde not only polle theyr hedes, but also shawe theyr berdes. For this entente, that when he were dronkyn, or vometynge rype by takyng excesse, that he myghte be well assuryd, that it came not by no heer of from his cokes heddles. For his delyght was not onely in the feminyne kynde / but also delyghted in womenly men / yet he and his fyne vnberdyd faces ledde not onely a vycyous lyfe, but also made a shameful ende. Notwithstandynge other, that, or this storye folowyng, was and is the occasyon why ye 1abore berdes, and that was this: at your laste beynge in Mownt-pyllyer, Martyn the surgyen beyng there with you, & dyd accompany dayly with none so moch as with you: yf ye be remembred, he brought you to dyner vpon a daye to one Hans Smormowthes house, a Duche man, in whiche house you were cupshote 2, otherwyse called dronkyn, at whiche tyme your berde was longe / so then your assocyat Martyn brought you to bed / and with the remouyng, your stomake tornyd, & so ye vometyd in his bosome; howbeit, as moche as your berde myghte holde, vpon youre berde remayned tyll the next daye in the morenyng. And when ye waked, & smelt your owne berde, ye fel to it a fresshe ; and callynge for your frende Martyn, shewynge 3 the cause of this laste myschaunce. Wherupon ye desyred to shawe you. And so, when ye sawe your berde, ye sayd that it was a shamfull thynge on any mans face. And so it is in suche cases, I not denye / yet shall ye consyder, that our Englysshe men, beynge in Englande, dothe vse to kepe theyr berdes moche more clen

1 A .iii. back. 2 See p. 156, note. 3 ? shewed hym.
As longe as any berdes be worn,  
Mockynge shall not be forborne;  
But yet at length, his is the scorne.  
I fere it not.  

Andrew Boorde hates bearded men  
because he once made his own beard stink.

Boorde lookt like a fool when he got drunk.

Boorde says a beard will breed care.

He's a spiteful shrew.

If that he with his mayster compare.  
Here may ye proue a wyt full bare  
That iudgeth so a man to fare.

What man lyuyng, I wold fayne knowe,  
That for comparason letes his berde growe?  
But yet, though that a spyghtfull shrow  
His spyghtfull wordes abrode doth blow,  
I fere it not, &c.
BARNES IN THE DEFENCE OF THE BERDE.

If of berdes, he sayth, ther commes no gaynes, & berdes quycknyth not the braynes.
Lo, how in Physyke he taketh paynes!
He merytes a busshele of brwers' graynes!
He warneth also every estate
To auoyde berdes, for fere of debate.
If men, lyke hym, shuld vse to prate,
His warnyng then shuld come to late,
I fere it not.

If berdes, also, a purse doth pycke,
As ye compare them to be lyke,
yet ye haue gotte more in one wycke,
Then berdes in x. togyther may stryke.
For by castyng of a pyspotte,
ye haue pollyd many a grote;
yea, and moche more, God wotte,
By falsheye ye haue gotte.
I fere it not.

Yet one thynge more, I wyll assayle:
The daunger of drynkynge ye do bewayle.
Beleue ye me, yf all do fayle,
In stede of a cup, ye shall haue a payle;
For you haue gyuen warnynge playne,
That berlyd men shall be full fayne
To brynge a cup, for theyr owne gayne,—
The more fole you, so to dysdayne!
I fere it not.

Note me well, for it is trewe,
Thoughe berlyd men ye wyll eschewe,
There be moche honyster men than you,
That wyl drynke long, or they do spewe

1 so.  2 See Boorde on Drunkenness, p. 90, above.
As you haue done, I knowe, or this.
wherfore I say, though so it is,
I wyll not tell that is amys;
yet wyll I tell some trewyth yewys¹.

I fere it not.

Boorde, you say
that a Beard
heats a man.

But your honour
is stained.

You tell men not
to drink when
their nooses run.

sign. B .ii. back]

You've lost wit
through gluttony.

1 *gensis*, certainly.
2 See l. 156.
The seconde parte

of that songe.

Lytell thought, ye were so wyse,
Berdes to deuyse of the new guyse;
But truely, for your enterpryse,
ye may go cast your wyt at dyse.
At syncke or syse, whiche so doth fall,
Fere ye not to cast at all;
For yf you lose, your lostes be small:
It is to dere, a tenys ball;
I fere it not.

Boorde, with your new-fashioned beards,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool.

A berde vpon his ouer lyppe,
ye saye wyll be a proper tryppe,
Wherby ye shall the better skyppe.
Go your wayes, I dare let you slyppe,
Where as be many more,
I thynke, by .xx. score,
In cocke lorelles bote, before
ye maye take an ore.
I fere it not.

Boorde, with your new-fashioned beards,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool,
Boorde, begone, you poor fool.

Yet though that ye one thing do craue,
Which is, a muster deuyles berde to haue,
ye make me study, so God me saue!
If this petition came not of a knaue,
Perhaps some other man dyd make it,
And so ye dyd vp take it;
But best ye were forsake it,
For fere of Pears go nakyt.
Nowe fere you that!

You want a kind of Devil's beard, do you?
Beware of Piers Go-naked.
WHO SHAVED ADAM?

You say beards hide little brains, and want magpies to pull our hairs out.

You tell crafty lies.

Pray, Andrew, didn’t God make Adam a beard?

If He did, who shaved him?

Didn’t Christ and His Apostles have beards?

And we ought to follow them.

Sampson, and thousands of old philosophers, wouldn’t be shaved.

We should imitate them.

You say some berdes be lyke lambes woll, With lytell wyt within theyr skull:

‘Who goth a myle to sucke a bull,’ 1

Comes home a fole, and yet not full.’

And where ye wyshe them pekt with pyes, That weres a berde, vnto theyr iyes:

Be wyse, take hede! suche homely spyes

Oftymes can spye your crafty lyes.

I fere it not.

But, syr, I praye you, yf you tell can,

Declare to me, when God made man,

(I meane by our forefather Adam)

Whyther that he had a berde than;

And yf he had, who dyd hym shaue,

Syth that a barber he coulde not haue.

Well, then, ye proue hym there a knaue,

Bycause his berde he dyd so saue.

I fere it not.

Christ & his apostles, ye haue declaryd,

That theyr berdes myght not be sparyd,

Nor to theyr berdes no berdes comparyd:

Tewe it is, yet we repayryd

By his vocacion, to folowe in generall

His disciples, both great and small;

And folowyng ther vse, we shuld not fal,

Nothynge exceptynge our berdes at all.

I fere it not.

Sampson, with many thousandes more

Of auncient phylosophers, full great store,

Wolde not be shauen, to dye therfore;

Why shulde you, then, repyne so sore?

A[d]myt that men doth Imyte

Thynges of antyquite, and noble state,

1 Waltom’s calf, says the proverb, did this.
Such counterfeit things oftymes do mytygate
Moche earnest yre and debate.
I fere it not.

¶ Therfore, to cease, I thynke be best;
For berdyd men wolde lyue in rest.
you prone yourselfe a homly gest,
So folysshely to rayle and iest;
For if I wolde go make in ryme,
Howe new shanyd men loke lyke scraped swyne,
& so rayle forth, from tyme to tyme,
A knauyshe launde then shulde be myne:
I fere it not.

¶ What shulde auayle me to do so,
yf I shulde teache howe men shulde go,
Thynkynge my wyt moche better, lo,
Then any other, frende or fo?
I myght be imputed trewly
For a foole, that doth gloryfye
In my nowne selfe onelye;
I thynke you wyll it veryfye:
I fere it not.

And thus farewell, though I do wryght
To answere for berdes, by reason ryght;
yet vnberdyd men I do not spyght,
Though ye on berdes therin delaught.
And in concludyng of this thynges,
I praye God saue our noble kynges!
Berdes & vnberdyd, to heuen vs brynge,
Where as is Ioye everlastynge!
I fere it not, &c.

¶ Finis.
Barnes in the defence of the Verde.

Barnes, I say, yf thou be shent,
Bycause thou wantyst eloquence,
Desyre them, that thynentent
May stonde all tymes for thy defence,
Consyderynge that thy hole pretence
Was more desyrous of vnyte
Then to enuent curyosyte.

Ad imprimendum solum.
HINDWORDS.

This term *Hindwords* is Mr David Laing's; and I gladly adopt it, as it's so much better than the *Post-Prefatio* of Mr W. C. Hazlitt in his Handbook, and of divers other folk.

After the extracts in the Forewords, p. 74—104, from Boorde's *Brewary*, showing his opinions there, it seems to me now that I ought to have stated some of his opinions in his *Introduction* and *Dyetary* before summing up his character on p. 105. I therefore do this here; better late than never.

Boorde believes in 'the noble realme of England' (p. 116, 144), and, though he reproaches his countrymen for their absurd love of new fashions in dress, and for the treason among them (p. 119), he yet holds that 'the people of England be as good as any people in any other lande and nacion that ever I haue trauayled in, yea, and much more better in many thynges, specially in maners & manhod. As for the noble fartyle countrey of England, hath no regyon lyke it.' So also London is the noblest city in any region, and has the fairest bridge: 'in al the worlde there is none lyke' (p. 119). But Cornish ale Boorde thinks very bad (p. 123). In Wales he notices the people's love of toasted cheese, and that their voices and harps are like the buzzing of a bumble-bee (p. 126), the people very rude and beastly, very fond of the devil in their speech, of selling their produce a year before it comes (p. 127), and of lechery (p. 128). The custom of 'bundling' probably prevailed there; and the priests also increased the population.
The wild Irish, Boorde describes as very rude and wrathful, men and women lying together in mantles and straw (p. 132-3); but among those in the English Pale, which is a good country, Boorde found as faithful and good men as ever he knew (p. 133). The Scotch, among whom Boorde had lived, he didn't much like: they bragged and lied; and either naturally, or from a devilish disposition, didn't love Englishmen, though they resembled the latter in being hardy and strong, well-favoured, and good musicians (p. 137). With Boorde's description of Iceland (p. 141) my friend, Mr Guðbrandr Vigfusson, is much amused, but does not believe in it. Boorde liked Calais, and Flanders (p. 147), though the Flemings were—like the Dutch (p. 149)—great drinkers, and also eat frogs' loins, and toadstools (p. 147), and sold brood mares to England. The churchespire and meat-shambles of Antwerp he thought fine (p. 151); and the Julich (or Juliers) custom of plucking their geese yearly, curious (p. 154). Cologne he calls a noble city, the Rhine a fair water, and its wine good; but the people he found very drunken (p. 156), though many were virtuous and full of alms-deeds (p. 157). The Germans were rude and rustical, eat cheese-maggots, gave their maidens only water to drink (p. 160), and had snow on their mountains in summer (p. 161). Denmark, Boorde found such a poor country, that he couldn't make out how it (and little Saxony, p. 164) came to win England (p. 163). The Bohemians he thought heretics, and they didn't eat ducks (p. 167). The Poles were poor, eat honey, and didn't like wax (p. 168). Hungary was partly in the hands of the Turks, and was full of aliens (p. 170). Greece was Turkish; its capital, Constantinople, and its St Sophia's the fairest cathedral in the world, with a wonderful sight† of priests (p. 172). Of Sicily, the biting flies (or mosquitoes) Boorde noticed (p. 176); of Naples, the laziness and the hot wells (p. 177); of Italy, the fertility, the noble river Tiber, the fallen St Peter's at Rome, and the abominable vices in the city (p. 178). Venice, Boorde thought the beauty of the world; and he saw no poverty there, but all riches (p. 181-5). The Lombards he found crafty, eaters of adders and frogs, and having spiteful cur-dogs that would bite your legs.

† The phrase wasn't slang then.
The Lombards also ploughed with only two oxen, which they covered with canvas, against the flies (p. 187). Genoa was a noble city in a fertile land (p. 189). France a noble country, with Paris and four other universities; but the French had no fancy for Englishmen; they set the fashion to all nations (p. 190-1). They alone, and the English, to Boorde's great disgust, were always changing their dress; every other nation kept to its old apparel. Aquitaine was the cheapest country in the world, and Montpellier the noblest medical university (p. 193-4). The Portuguese were seafarers, and their girls cropt their polls (like the Spanish women), but left a rim of it like a barefoot friar's (p. 197). Spain was a sadly poor place; no good food, wine in goat-skins, hogs under your feet at table, and lice in your bed (p. 198-9). In Castille, &c., the people stupidly called on their dead friends to come to life again (p. 200). Boorde's pilgrimage to, and abode in, Compostella we have noticed above (p. 51); thieves, hunger, and cold, were his foes on it (p. 206). At Bordeaux was the greatest pair of organs in the world, with Vices, giants' heads, &c., that wagged their jaws and eyes as the player played (p. 207). Normandy was a pleasant country, and its people gentle; it and all France really belonged to England (p. 208). Latin was spoken over all Europe (p. 210).

From Barbary, slaves were sold to Europe, and left to die unburied (p. 212). Turkey was a cheap and plentiful country, under the law of Mahomet, whose tricks Boorde shows-up (p. 214-16). Judæa is a fertile land; and Boorde gives full instructions to persons intending to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and describes shortly the Holy Sepulchre (p. 219-20).

In his Dyetary, Boorde tells his contemporaries how to choose sites for their houses, how to arrange their buildings, spend their incomes, govern their households, manage their bodies; and what flesh, fish, vegetables, and fruits, are good to eat. The two passages that I specially call attention to are those on the site and plan of a Tudor mansion, p. 238-9, and on what a man should do before going to bed and on rising, p. 246-8. They enable you to realize well the surroundings and life of an English gentleman of Henry VIII's time. The bits on Ale and Beer (p. 256); on bad cooks and brewers,
and rascally bakers (p. 260-1); and on Venison (p. 274-5), are also very characteristic.

Our good friend at Manchester, Mr John Leigh, Officer of Health to the Corporation of the town, has been kind enough to read through the Forewords and Boorde's Dyetary, and to send me some notes on the former, which will be found further on, and the following high opinion of Boorde and his Dyetary, which will, I hope, give the reader as much pleasure as it has given me:—

"Either the man was far beyond his time, or the men of the time were better informed than we have given them credit for. How a man who wrote so gravely, and exhibited in his writings such clear sound sense, could have been taken for a 'Merrie Andrewes,' passes one's conception.

"I have carefully read through the Dyetary. The first ten chapters are admirable; indeed, the third chapter so thoroughly comprehends all that sanitary reformers have been teaching for the last 20 years, that it is difficult to say that we have made any advance upon it. Certainly, until quite recently, the knowledge of Englishmen on all sanitary matters connected with the surroundings of a house, must have retrograded since Boorde wrote. Nothing can be better than the advice he gives as to the situation of a house, the soil on which it should be erected, the placing of the outbuildings, the avoidance of stagnant water, &c., and the means to be taken to secure a pure atmosphere. The advice given throughout the remaining seven chapters, how to procure and to retain good health, is not surpassed in quality in any book of modern times. It is not necessary to select any special passage where all is good.

"The remaining chapters of the book on special diets are all coloured by the peculiar doctrines of Boorde's time; but, setting those aside, the advice he gives is good. He specifies the articles of diet which are, as determined by long experience, difficult of digestion, or which produce flatulence; whilst such elements of diet as are laxative, diuretic, stimulant to special organs, &c., he points out, albeit there is sometimes a little fancy about the latter.

"Like a sensible man, however, he sums up in his thirty-ninth chapter what it is necessary that a man should do to preserve his health, making much of that depend upon his own experience and common sense. The perusal of the Dyetary is calculated to give a medical reader a high opinion of Boorde's sound good sense and powers of observation. I think you have done good service in reprinting the Dyetary, and that you will thereby have corrected some erroneous impressions as to the knowledge of the time on sanitary matters."

A man must dwell at elbow-room, says Boorde (p. 233), having
HINDWORDS. SKETCH OF BOORDE'S DYETARY. 321

water and wood annexed to his house; he must have a fair prospect to and from it, or he'd better not build a house at all (p. 234); he must have pure air round it, and nothing stinking near it (p. 235-7), and must provide, before he begins, all things needful to finish it; for 'there goeth to buyldynge many a nayle, many pyrmes, many lathes, and many tyles or slates or strawes, besyde tymber, bordes, lyme, sand, stones or byrcke,' &c. (p. 237). Don't front your house to the South, but don't be afraid of the East, as 'the Eest wynde is temperate, fryske, and fragraunt,'—witness Charles Kingsley;—arrange your buildings on my plan in pages 238-9, and have a park, a pair of butts, and a bowling-alley, near them. Provide food and necessaries beforehand (p. 240); divide your income into three parts, 1. for food; 2. for dress, wages, and alms; 3. for emergencies (p. 241); fear God, and make your household do so too, specially punishing swearing (p. 243). Sleep moderately (p. 245), and not during the day; be merry before bed-time, sleep on your side, wear a scarlet night-cap, and have a quilt over you (p. 247); air your breeches in the morning; wash, pray, take exercise, and eat two meals a day (p. 248). Wear a lambskin jacket in winter, and a scarlet pety-cote in summer (p. 249). Don't stuff (p. 250). Abstinence is the best medicine (p. 251). Only sit an hour at dinner: Englishmen sit too long, and stupidly eat heavy dishes first (p. 252). Don't drink water (p. 252-3), except it's mixed with wine (p. 254). In Germany, maidens drink water only; prostitutes drink wine. Abroad there's a fountain in every town (p. 254).

'Ale for an Englysshe man is a naturall drynke. . . Bere is a naturall drynke for a Dutche man; and nowe of late dayes it is moche used in Englande, to the detryment of many Englysshe men' (p. 256). Cider does little harm in harvest-time; metheglin, fined, is better than mead (p. 257). Bread is best when unleavened and without bran. In Rome the leaves are saffroned, and little bigger than a walnut (p. 258). Rascally bakers I should like to stand in the Thames up to their eyes (p. 261). Potage is more used in England than anywhere else in Christendom (p. 262). Almonds comfort the breast, and mollify the belly (p. 263). Don't mind what old authors say, if experience contradicts them (p. 264). No

BOORDE. 21
eggs but hen's are used in England (p. 264); in Turkey they pickle hard eggs (p. 265). Dutchmen eat butter at all times in the day, which I think bad (p. 265). In High Almayne the Germans eat cheese-maggots like we do comfits (p. 267). Milk is not good for those who have grumbling in the belly; strawberries and cream may put men in jeopardy of their lives (p. 267). England is supplied better with fish than any other land (p. 268); but you musn't eat fish and flesh at the same meal (p. 269). A pheasant 's the best wild fowl, and a capon the best tame one (p. 269-70). All small birds are good eating (p. 270). Young beef is good for an Englishman (p. 271); mutton and pork I don't like. In England swine eat stercorous matter, and lie in filth, though in Germany and abroad (except in Spain) they have a swim once or twice a day (p. 272). Jews and Turks hate pork, but will eat adders as well as any Christian in Rome will (p. 273). Bacon 's only good for earters and ploughmen. Brawn 's a usual winter meat in England. Nowhere are hart and hind loved as in England. Doctors tell us that venison is bad for us; but I say it ' s a lord ' s dish: let the doctors take the skin! give me the flesh! (p. 274-5). Let dogs eat hares; don't you (p. 275). Rabbits, sucking ones, are the best wild beasts' flesh (p. 275). At Montpelier they have boiled meat for dinner, roast for supper (p. 277). A good Cook is half a physician. Onions make a man's appetite good, and put away fastidiousness (p. 279). Artichokes' heads and sorrel are good (p. 280-1). 'There is no Herb nor Weede, but God haue gyven vertue to them, to helpe man' (p. 282). Strawberries are praised above all berries; filberts are better than hazle-nuts (p. 283); peas and beans fill a man with wind; roast apples comfort the stomach (p. 284). Olives and oranges provoke appetite; black pepper makes a man lean (p. 285-6). Then I give you diets for Sanguine, Phlegmatic, Choleric, and Melancholy folk (p. 287-9), tell you how to treat Pestilence (p. 289-91), Fever or Ague (p. 291-2), the Iliac, Colic, and Stone (p. 292), Gout, Leprosy (p. 293), Epilepsy (p. 294), Pain in the Head (p. 295), Consumption (p. 296), Asthma, Palsy (p. 297), and Lunatics (p. 298). Hardly, these last: keep 'em in the dark, shave their heads once a month, and use few words to them. Lastly, I treat
Dropsy (p. 299); give general directions on Diet to all people (p. 300); and then tell you how to arrange a sick-bed, a death-bed, urging all to make their peace with God (p. 300-1).

Two quaint and jolly books these are; and if readers are not obliged to me for reprinting them, they ought to be.

On the state of England at Boorde's time, I refer the reader to my Ballads from Manuscripts for the Ballad Society, Part I, 1868, 'Poems and Ballads on the Condition of England in Henry VIII's and Edward VI's Reigns;' Part II, 1871, these continued, with Poems against Cromwell, on Anne Boleyn, &c. The contemporary complaints give a very different view of the state of affairs to Mr Froude's couleur-de-rose picture. Of early books on the countries of Europe, I know only the Libel of English Policy, a.d. 1436, in Mr T. Wright's Political Songs, vol. ii. 1861, and the descriptions, not the history, in Thomas's very interesting Historye of Italye, 1561. Both of these I have quoted largely. George North's 'Description of Swedland, Gotland, and Finland. Imprinted at London by Jhon Awdeley, 1561, 4to, 28 leaves, with the Lord's Prayer in Swedish at the end' (Hazlett's Handbook), I don't know. The Russia of Fletcher, and Horsey, Boorde does not touch.

Spruner's Reformation Map of Europe in the middle of the 16th century, No. VII, in his Historical Atlas, is the best to use for Boorde's Introduction. In it, Syria is part of the Osmannisches Reich, Turkey in Europe and Asia, and that may account for Boorde treating it as in Europe. For the dress of the inhabitants of the different countries, recourse may be had to the Recueil de la Diversité des Habits, Paris, 1562, 8vo, from which Upcott had his Scotchman and Frenchman cut on wood for his reprint of Boorde's Introduction in 1814, chap. iv. sign. G ii, chap. xxvii., sign. T.

In conclusion, I have to thank Mr John W. Praed for his help (obtained by Miss C. M. Yonge's kind offices) in Boorde's Cornish dialogue; Dr B. Davies for help in the Welsh; Mr F. W. Cosenès and Mr H. H. Gibbs for help in the Spanish; Professor Cassal for help in the French; and Prof. Ricu in the Arabic; also a German officer of the Coin Department in the British Museum (with very little time to spare) for explanations of the names of a few coins.
To Mr Henry Bradshaw, Librarian of the University of Cambridge, I am much indebted for help in the bibliography of Boorde's books, and to his friend, Mr Hollingworth, Fellow of King's, and curate of Cuckfield, for a very pleasant day's entertainment and walk near Andrew Boorde's birthplace.

19th Sept., 1870.

One of Andrew Boorde's phrases, "good fellowes the whyche wyll drynke all out," p. 151, l. 6, receives illustration from an unexpected source, namely, an English translation in 1576 A.D. of the famous Galateo of Della Casa, written about 1550 A.D., and so amusingly sketched for us from the original Italian by our good friend Mr W. M. Rossetti, at the end of his essay on Italian Courtesy Books in Part II, p. 66—76, of the Society's Queene Elizabethes Achadt my, &c., 1869. Neither he nor I knew at that time of the existence of this translation, though it was entered in Bonn's Lowndes, with others in 1703, and 1774:—

"Galateo of Maister John Della Casa, Archebishop of Beneuenta. Or rather, A treatise of the manners and behaiours, it behoveth a man to vse and eschewe, in his familiar conuersation. A worke very necessary & profitable for all Gentlemen, or other. First written in the Italian tongue, and now done into English by Robert Peterson, of Lincolnes Inne Gentleman. Satis, si sapienter. Imprinted at London for Raufe Newbery dwelling in Fleetestreate a little aboue the Conduit. An. Do. 1576." black letter 4to, leaves, A in 4, g in 2, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, in fours, with a leaf of errata and verse.

On leaf 115 is this passage:

"Now, to drink all out every man—which is a fashion as litle in vse amongst vs, as the terme it selfe is barbarous & straunge: I meane, Ick bring you:—is sure a foule thing of it selfe, & in our countrie [Italy, ab. 1550 A.D.] so coldly accepted yet, that we must not go about to bring it in for a fashion."

The Swearing, of which Boorde complains so much in pages 82, 243, was also complained of by Robert of Brunne in 1303 A.D.; but then the gentry were the chief sinners in this way, and 'every gadling not worth a pear taketh example by you to swear.' Handlyng Synne, p. 23-7
NOTES.

I. ON THE FOREWORDS.

p. 21. Agues... be infectious. Although at this day medical men are disposed to extend the list of communicable diseases, they have not yet come to regard the agues as amongst them.—John Leigh.

p. 25. Pronosticaciones.—An amusing instance of how some people believed in prognostications and astronomers' prophecies in Boorde's days, is told by Hall:—

"In this yere [1524 A.D.], through booke of Emphymerydes and Pronostications made and calculate by Astronomers, the people were sore afiayde; for the sayd writers declared that this yere should be suche Eclipses in watery signes, and suche coniunctions, that by waters & fluddes many people should perishe, Insomuche that many persones vitailed them selves, and went to high groundes for feare of drounyng; and specially, one Bolton, which was Prior of saint Bartholomewes in Smythfield, builded him an house vpo Harow of the hill, only for feare of this flud; and thether he went, and made provision for all things necessarye within him, for the space of two monethes: But the faythfull people put their trust and confidence onely in God. And this raine was by the wryters pronosticate to be in February; wherfore, when it began to raine in February, the people wer mucho afiayd; & some sayd, 'now it beginneth:' but many wisemen whiche thought that the worlde could not be drouned againe, contrary to Goddes promise, put their trust in him onely; but because they thought that some great raines might fall by enclinacions of the starres, and that water milles might stand styll, and not grinde, they provided for meale; and yet, God be thanked, there was not a fairer season in many yeres; & at the last, the Astronomers, for their excuse, said that in their computacion they had mistaken and miscounted in their nomber an hundreth yeres."—Hall's Chronicle, p. 675, ed. 1809.

p. 28. Gotham and Nottingham. Nearer hand [nearer to Nottingham Castle than Belvoir Castle was], within three miles, I saw the
ancient Towne of Gotham, famous for the seven sages (or Wise men) who are fabulously reported to live there in former ages. (1639. John Taylor, Part of this Summers Travels, p. 12.)

p. 59. Trust yow no Shot! "As there are many sundry Nations, so are there as many inclinations: the Russian, Polonian, German, Belgian, are excellent in the Art of Drinking; the Spaniard will Wench it; the Italian is revengefull; the French man is for fashions; the Irish man, Usquebaugh makes him light heel'd; the Welsh mans Cowss-boby works (by infusion) to his fingers ends, and translates them into the nature of lime-twigs; and it is said, that a Scot will prove false to his Father, and dissemble with his Brother; but for an English man, he is so cleare from any of these Vices, that he is perfectly exquisite, and excellently indued with all those noble abovesaid exercises." 1652. John Taylor, Christmas in & out, p. 9.

p. 61. Boorde holding land. The statute 31 Henry VIII, chapter vi, (A.D. 1539) enabled "all . . . Religious persons . . . to purchase to them and their heires . . . landes . . . and other hereditaments . . . as though they . . . had never bene professed nor entred into any suche religion." This Act also enabled them to sue and be sued, but provided that not "anye of the saide religiouse persons, beinge Priestes, or suche as have vowed religion att twenty one yeres or above, and therto then consented, continuynge in the same any while after, not duly provinge . . . some un-lanfull cohercion or compulsion . . . be enhabled by . . . this Acte . . . to marie or take any wief or wyves."

p. 71. Mr J. P. Collier's inaccuracy. I believe that among persons who have followed Mr Collier, only one opinion prevails as to his accuracy. While I write, comes an unsought testimony on the point from a conscientious editor; "King Iohan as edited by Mr Collier so swarms with blunders, that I regard it as just so much waste paper. The late J— B— (good man and true) sent me his copy of Mr C.'s Iohan, and every page is speckled with his corrections. I'm sorry to say this is no new thing in following and testing Mr Collier."

p. 72. The sycknes of the prisons. Boorde has anticipated Howard and other samaritans in announcing that "this infinititie doth come of the corruption of the ayer," &c. As prisons are now kept, medical men have little opportunity of seeing the special forms of disease referred to by Boorde. They do, however, meet with cases simulating carcinoma, in badly-ventilated private houses, which recover on removal to more healthy localities.—John Leigh.

p. 75, 256. Ale. I call to minde the vigorous spirit of the Buttry, Nappy, Nut-browne, Berry-browne, Ale Abelendo, whose infusion and inspiration was wont to have such Aleborate operation to elevate & exhillerate the vitals, to put alementall Raptures and Enthusiasms in the most capitall Perricranion, in such Plenitude, that the meanest and most illiterate Plowjogger could speedily play the Rhetician, and speak alequently, as if ho were mounted up into the Alctitude. 1652. John Taylor, Christmas in & out, p. 14.
p. 75, 255. Wines. See a long list of wines in "Colyn Blowbols Testament" (?1475-1500 A.D.), printed in Halliwell's Nugeæ Poeticeæ, 1844, and Hazlitt's Early Popular Poetry, i. 106, lines 324-341 (line 7 or 8 of the poem is left out); and in "The Squyr of Lowe Degre," l. 753-762, E. Pop. P. ii. 51. Alicant wine, so called from Alicante, the chief Town of Marsia in Spain, where great store of Mulberries grow, the juyce whereverof makes the true Alicant Wine.—Blount's Glossographia.

p. 78-9. An excellent description of Nightmare and of its causes and remedies. Nothing can be better than the advice. It is honestly worth a guinea even now.

Query, Is the use of 'Saynt Johns worthe' (commonly placed by maidens under their pillows on St John's eve in former times, and in some districts even now, that they may dream of their sweethearts,) adopted on the Hahmieran principle, that what will cure a disease will produce it?—John Leigh.

p. 79. If the general advice for the cure of Cachexia be followed, the treatment by 'Confection of Alkengi' may be safely omitted.—J. L.

p. 80, 271. Martinmas beef. "In a hole in the same Rock was three Barrels of nappy liquour; thither the Keeper brought a good Red-Decere Pye, cold roast Mutton, and an excellent shooying-horn of hang'd Martinmas Biefe." (1639. John Taylor, Part of this Summers Travels, p. 26.)

p. 80. Symnelles. At Bury in Lancashire, 'Symnell Sunday' is a great day; and rich cakes are prepared for it, containing currants, raisins, candied lemon, almonds, and other ingredients.

In the prescription for Stone, the Broom seeds, parsley seeds, saxifrage (Saxifraga granulata), and Gromel seed (those of Lithospermum arvense) are all excellent diuretics.—J. L.

p. 81. It is rather an exaggeration to say that "touchynge the contentes of vrines, experthe physicians maye knowe the infyrmyties of a pacient unfullybly"; but certainly, the careful examination of the contents by the "experthe phisicions" of modern times has marvellously increased their knowledge of many diseases.—J. L.

p. 82. "Impetigo" is now known to be a fungoid growth, and not a worm.—J. L.

p. 94. The farrago of remedies for the treatment of wounds is now all cast aside. The proper treatment is all contained in Boorde's first two lines of "remedy."—J. L.

p. 97. Boorde's treatment of Tertian Fever not unlikely brought the latter into the category of infectious diseases.—J. L.

p. 97. "Boorde's treatment of Scurf" With the omission of the mercury, we have here a very good sulphur ointment, the free application of which would render the cultivation of the nails unnecessary.—J. L.

p. 99. "Boorde's cure for asthma." The treatment consists in the administration of antispasmodics and expectorants, and the avoidance of such articles of diet as produce flatulence.—J. L.
p. 99. 'Loch de pino.' In the "Niewe Herball or Historie of Plantes, &c., first set forth in the Doutche or Almaigne tongue by that learned D. Rembert Dodoens, &c., and nowe first translated out of French into English by Henry Lyte, Esquyer, 1578," it is stated in the description of the virtues of the Pine: "The Kerneuls of the Nuttes which are founde in the Pine apples are good for the lunges, they clenese the breast, and cause the fleme to be spet out; also they nourish wel, and ingender good blood, and for this cause they be good for suche as have the cough."—John Leigh.

p. 99. 'Fylles of Agaryeke.' Dodoens also says, "there groweth on the larche tree a kinde of Mushrome or Tadstoole, that is to say, a fung-eus excrescence called Agaricus or Agarick, the whiche is a precious medicine, and of great vertue. The best Agarick is that which is whitest, very light and open or spongious. . . . Agarick is good against the shortnesse of breath called Asthma; the hard continuall cough or in-veterate cough. . . . Taken about the weight of a Dramme, it purgeth the belly from colde slimie fleme, and other grosse and raw humours which charge and stoppe the brayne, the sinewes, the lunges, the breast, the stomach, the liver, the splene, the kidneyes, the matrix, or any other the inwarde partes. . . It also cureth the wamblinges of the stomacke."

—J. L.

p. 99. Wood powder for Excoration. The application of wood-powder to an excoration is analogous treatment to that of flour to a burn or scald. The object in both cases is to exclude atmospheric air, and to effect the absorption of purulent matter.—J. L.

Wood-dust was also used for the 'violet powder' of the present day: compare Florio's 'Carolo, a month or timber-worme. Also, a cutbitch or winchester-goose. Also dust of rotten wood used about yeongue children against fleazing.'

p. 100. 'Agnus castus.' "Agnus castus, Hempe tree or Chaste tree, is a singular remedie and medicine for such as woulde live chaste . . . whether in powder or in decoction, or the leues alone layde on the bed to sleepe upon. . . . The seede of Agnus Castus driveth away and dissolveth all windinesse and bastinges of the stomacke, entrailes &c."

Lyte's Dodoens—J. L.

p. 110. Louis Napoleon. My revises come on Sept. 5; and on Sept. 2 Louis Napoleon and MacMahon's army surrendered almost unconditionally to the King of Prussia, Bazaine and the Army of the Rhine being held captives at Metz! Well-deserved retribution! May it be speedily followed to the end, and France have meted to her the same measure she declared that she would mete to Prussia, at least, the loss of her Rhine provinces! Meantime, as the uprising of the German nation to defend their Fatherland has been the grandest sight that I have ever seen, and one of the most magnificent that I have ever heard of, making one glad to have lived to witness it, I desire to quote here

1 Notwithstanding Louis Napoleon's friendship for England. If one's friends take to unprovoked murder, they deserve hanging.
the words of a stranger who is not one of the trimmers who have dis-
graced part of the English Press:

"History will record no instance of a greater outrage done to
humanity, or one accompanied by circumstances of more malicious
perfidy, more selfish premeditation, or a display of combined abjectness,
effrontery, and vainglorious miscalculation more disgusting to think of,
than this war thrust upon the world by Napoleon III. and his official
lackeys. There has never been a nobler movement of national indigna-
tion and national resolution, undertaken in a temper more magnificent,
more gravely and unexultingly heroic, than the rising of the German
people to the challenge. These great facts are, and will remain, true
concerning the causes of the war, whatever may be its progress and re-
sults. I am not speaking of that which has been obscure or ambiguous
in the contradictions and recriminations of diplomats; but of that
which has been obvious in the action and speech of a sovereign and a
nation. It is perfectly possible to separate the German nation in this
case from Herr von Bismarck; and if Herr von Bismarck is convicted of
the crime of seriously entertaining rapacious negotiations (which in-
volves, be it remembered, his further conviction of the folly of self-be-
trayal) in that case to condemn him, without foregoing a jot of the ad-
ministration due to the superlative attitude of threatened Germany. To what
extent it may yet be possible to separate Napoleon III. from the people
among whom he has gagged whatever elements he has not been able to
demoralize, and to acquit France of anything worse than military and
territorial jealousy, must remain uncertain for the present." AN ENGLISH
REPUBLICAN, in the Pall Mall Gazette, August 10, 1870, p. 3, col. 2.

II. NOTES ON BOORDE'S INTRODUCTION.

p. 119. Bulwarks, &c.—Compare Hall, under the xxx. yere of Kyng
Henry the VIII. "The same tyme [March, 1538-9] the kyng caused all
the haunens to be forsteid, and roade to Douer, and caused Bulwarkes
to be made on the sea coastes."—Chronicle, p. 827, ed. 1809. And on
p. 828, "Also he sent dyuers of his nobles and counsaylours to view and
searche all the Portes and danngiers on the coastes, where any meete or
conuenient landing place might be supposed, as well on the borders of
Engelande, as also of Wales. And in alle suche doubtfull places his
hygnes caused dyuers & many Bulwarkes & forticacions to be made."

p. 119. Castles and Blockhouses built by Henry VIII. "The most
prondit prince that euer reigned in this land, for the fortification there-
of against all outward enimies, was the late prince of famous memorie,
king Henrie the eight, who, beside that he repared most of such as were
alreadie standing, builded sundrie out of the ground. For, hanning shaken
off the more than seruile yoke of popish tyrannie, and espieng that the
empourer was offended for his diucrce from queene Catherine, his aunt,
and thereto understanding that the French king had coupled the Dol-
phyn his sonne with the popes nece, and maried his daughter to the king of Scotts, . . he determined to stand vpon his owne defense, and therefore with no small sped, and like charge, he builded sundrie block-houses, castles, and platformes, vpon diuerse frontiers of his realme, but chielie the east and southeast parts of England, whereby (no doubt) he did vere much qualifie the conceived grudges of his adversaries, and vetterlie put off their hasty purpose of invasion." W. Harrison's Descr. of England, in Holinshed's Chronicle, p. 194, col. 2, ed. 1587.

p. 120. Caernarvon. "Wednesday the 4. of August, I rode 8 miles from Bangor to Carnarean, where I thought to have seen a Town and a Castle, or a Castle and a Towne; but I saw both to be one, and one to be both; for indeed a man can hardly divide them in judgement of apprehension; and I have seen many gallant Fabricks and Fortifications, but for compactness and compleatness of Caernarvon, I never yet saw a parallel. And it is by Art and Nature so sited and seated, that it stands impregnable; & if it be well maned, victualled, and ammunitioned, it is invincible, except fraud or famine do assault, or conspire against it." (1653. John Taylor, A short Relation of a long Journey, p. 14.)

p. 120. The Northern tongue.—Sane tota lingua Nordanimborum, et maxime in Eboraco, ita inconditum stridet, ut nichil nos australes intelligere possimus. Quod propter viciniam barbararum gentium, et propter remotionem regum quondam Anglorum modo Normannorum contigit, qui magis ad austrum quam ad aquilonem diversati noscentur.—Willelmii Malmesburiensis monachi Gesta Pontificum Anglorum, lib. iii. p. 209, ed. Hamilton, 1870.

p. 120. Salt. And for Salte, there is great plentie made at the Witches [places whose names end in -wich] in Cheshire, and in diuers other places: Besides many Salte houses standing vpon the coaste of England that makes Salte, by sething of salte Sea water.—1580, Robert Hitchcock's Politique Platt, sign. c. iii.

p. 122. Cornwall. The Water-Poet gives the county a much better character a hundred years later: "Cornwall is the Cornucopia, the compleat and repeate Horne of Abundance, for high churlish Hills, and affable courteous people: they are loving to requite a kindenesse, placable to remit a wrong, and hardy to retort injuries: the Countrey hath its share of huge stones, mighty Rocks, noble, free, Gentlemen, bountiful housekeepers, strong and stout men, handsome beautifull women; and (for any that I know) there is not one Cornish Cuckold to be found in the whole County; In briefe, they are in most plentifull manner happy in the abundance of right and left hand blessings." 1649. John Taylors Wandering, to see the Wonders of the West, p. 10. On pages 17, 18, Taylor gives an account of the pilchard fishing at Mevagesey in Cornwall.

p. 126. The Welsh and Cawse boby or Roasted Cheese.—The 78th Tale in "A Hundred Mery Talys" from the only perfect copy known, printed by John Rastell in 1526, ed. Oesterley, 1866, p. 131, is

"LXXVIII. Of seynt Peter that cryed 'cause bobe.'—I fynde wryten
amonge olde gestys, how God made Saynte Peter porter of heuen / and 
that God of his goodnes, soone after his passyon, suffered many men to 
come to the kyngdome of heuen with small deseruing / at whiche tyme 
there was in heuen a grete company of Welchemen / whiche, with 
theyre krakyenge & babelynge, trobelyd all the other. Wherfore God 
sayd to Saynt Peter that he was wery of them / & that he wolde fayne 
haue them out of heuen. To whome Saynt Peter sayde ' Good Lorde, 
I warrant you that shalbe shortly done / ' wherfore Saynt Peter went 
out of heuen gatys, & cryed with a loud voyce 'Cause boke' / that 
is as moche to say as 'rostyde chese' / whiche thynge the Welchemen 
heryn, ran out of heuyyn a great pace. And when Saynt Peter sawe 
them al out, he sodenly went in to heuen, and lokkyd the dore, and so 
sparryd all the Welchemen out. 

" ¶ By this ye may se that it is no wysdome for a man to loue or to 
set his mynde to moche vpon ony delicate or worldly pleasure wherby 
he shall lose the celestyall & eternall Ioye."

See also the note below, on p. 156.

p. 127. St Winifrid's Well. Taylor the Water-Poet describes this 
in his Short Relation of a long Journey in 1653, p. 10-12. "Saturday, the 
last of July, I left Flint, and went three miles to Holy-Well, of which 
place I must speak somewhat materially: About the length of a furlong, 
down a very steep Hill, is a Well (full of wonder and admiration;) it 
comes from a Spring not far from Radland Castle; it is, and hath been, 
many hundred yeares knowne by the name of Holy-Well, but it is more 
commonly, and of most Antiquity, called Saint Winifrids Well in 
memory of the pious and chaste Virgin Winifrid, who was there be-
headed for refusing to yield her Chastity to the furious lust of a Pagan 
Prince: in that very place where her blond was shed, this Spring sprang 
up; from it doth issue so forceible a stream, that within a hundred yards 
of it, it drives certain Mils; and some do say that nine Corn Mils and 
Fulling Mils are driven with the Stream of that Spring: It hath a fair 
Chappell erected over it called Saint Winifrid's Chappell, which is now 
much defaced by the injury of these late Wars; The Well is compassed 
about with a fine Wall of Free stone; the Wall hath eight Angles or 
 Corners, and at every Angle is a fair Stone Piller, whereon the West end 
of the Chappell is supported. In two severall places of the Wall there 
are neat stone staires to go into the water that comes from the Well; for 
it is to be noted that the Well it selfe doth continually work and bubble 
with extream violence, like a boiling Cauldron or Furnace; and within 
the Wall, or into the Well, very few do enter: The Water is Christalline, 
sweet, and medicinable; it is frequented daily by many people of Rich 
and Poore, of all Diseases; amongst which, great store of folkes are cured, 
divers are eased, but none made the worse. The Hill descending is 
plentifully furnished (on both sides of the way) with Beggers of all ages, 
sexes, conditions, sorts, and sizes; many of them are impotent, but all 
are impudent, and richly embroidered all over with such Hexameter 
poudred Ermins (or Vermin) as are called Lice in England."

NOTES ON BOORDE’S INTRODUCTION.
p. 127-8. *Foolish Customs in Wales.* Taylor the Water-Poet, in 1653
notices that the Welsh were free from the Sabbatarian superstition of one
English place. "Of all the places in England and Wales that I have
travelled to, this village of Barnsley [in Gloucestershire] doth most strictly
observe the Lords day, or Sunday, for little children are not suffered to
walk or play: and two Women, who had beene at Church both before
and after Noone, did but walke into the fields for their recreation, and
they were put to their choice, either to pay sixpence apiece (for prophane
walking,) or to be laid one houre in the stocks; and the pievhall willfull
women (though they were able enough to pay,) to save their money,
and jest out the matter, lay both by the heales merrily one houre.

There is no such zeale in many places and Parishes in Wales; for
they have neither Service, Prayer, Sermon, Minister, or Preacher, nor any
Church door opened at all, so that people do exercise and edifie in the
Church-Yard, at the lawfull and laudable Games of Trap, Catt, Stool-ball,
Rocket &c, on Sundaies."

p. 128. *Preses shal have no concubynes* (or wives). The 31st of
Henry VIII, chapter 14, A.D. 1539, enacted "that if any person which is
or hath byne a Preest, before this present parliament, or during the time
of cession of the same, hath maryed, and hath made any contract of
matrimony with any woman, or that any man or woman which before
the makinge of this acte advisedly hath vowed chastitie or wydowhode
before this present parliament or during the cession of the same, hath
maried or contracted matrimony with any person, that then every suche
mariage & contract of matrimony shalbe utterlie voide and of none
effecte: And that the Ordinaries within whose Dioces or Jurisdiiction
the person or persons so maried or contracted is or be resident or abyd-
ynge, shal from tyme to tyme make separacion and devorses of the
saide mariajes and contractes.

And further it is enacted by the auctoritie abovesaide, that if any
man which is or hathe bene Preest as is aforesaid, at any tyme from
and after the saide xijth daye of July next comynghe, doe carnally kepe or
use any woman, to whom he is or hathe bene maried, or with whom he
hath contracted matrimony, or openly be conversaunt [or] kepe com-
panye and famyliaritie withe any suche woman, to the everlie example of
other persons, everie suche carnall use, copulacion, open conversacion,
kepinge of company and famyliarity, be, and shalbe deemeed and adjudged,
felony, aswell against the man as the woman; and that everie such
person see offendinge shalbe enquired of, tried, punyshed, suffer, and
forcifd, all and everie thinges and thinges as other felons made and de-
clared by this Acte, and as in case of felonyce, as is aforesaid."  

The death-punishment for Felony was found too severe; and there-
fore by the 32 Henry VIII, chapter 10, the penalty was altered to:
"First offence, Forfeiture of all Benefices but one, &c. Second offence,
Forfeiture of all Benefices land, goods & chattels. Third offence, Im-
prisonment for Life. The Penalty on Single Women offending was;
First offence, Forfeiture of Goods. Second offence, Forfeiture of Half
the Profits of her Lands. Third offence, Forfeiture of all Goods, chattels, & Profits of land, and Imprisonment for Life. The Penalty on Wives offending was imprisonment for Life.

p. 131. Products of Ireland.—The Libel of English Policy, A.D. 1436, speaks of these, and the country itself. The products are

Hydes, and fish, samon, hake, herynge,
Irish wollen, lynyn cloth, faldynge
And marternus gode, bene here marchamundye;
Ilertys hydes, and other of venerye,
Skynnes of otore, squerel and Irysh [h]are,
Of shepe, lambe, and fox is here chaffare,
fielles of kydde and conyes grete plente.

Then, as to the country, which is a buttress and a post under England, the writer says,

Why speke I thus so muche of Yrelonde?
For als muche as I can understande
It is fertyle for thynge that there do growe
And multiplyen,—loke who-so lust to knowe ;—
So large, so gode, and so comodyouse,
That to declare is Strange and merveylouse.

And sylvere and golde there is the oore
Amonge the wylde Yrishe, though they be pore
So that if we had there pese and gode wyle
To myne and fyne, and metalle for to pure,
In wylde Yrishe myght we fynde the cure;

As in London scyth a juellere,
Whych brought from thens gold oore to us here,
Whereof was fyned metalle gode and elene,
As [to] the touche, no bettere coude be sene.

T. Wright’s Political Songs, Rolls Series, ii. 186-7.

And welle I wote that frome hens to Rome,
And, as men sey, in alle Cristendome,
Ys no grounde ne lond to Yreland lyche,
So large, so gode, so plenteouse, so riche,
That to this worde dominus dothe longe. (ib. ii. 188.)

p. 131, line 8. And good square dyce.—There is among them (the Wild Irish) a brotherhood of Karrows, that profer to play at chartes all the yere long, and make it their onely occupation. They play away mantle and all to the bare skin, and then trusse themselves in strawe or in leaues ; they wayte for passengers in the high way, invite them

1 He rood vp on a Rouncey, as he kouthe,
In a gowne of faldynge to the knee.

CHAUCER of his Shipman, Cant. Tales, group A. § 1, l. 391.
to game upon the grene, & aske them no more but companions to holde them sporte. For default of other stuffe, they panne their gibs, the nailes of their fingers and toes, their diminifaries, which they leese or redeeme at the curtesie of the wynner.—The Description of Ireland, by Richard Stanyhurst (chap. 8), in Holinshed, ed. 1577.

p. 131, l. 8-7. Aqua Vite, and the Diet of the Wild Irish.—"Water cresses (which they terme shamrocks), rowtes, and other herbes, they feede upon; otemeale and butter they cramme together; they drinke whey, mylke, and bifie brothe. Fleshe they devour without bread, and that halfe raw: the rest boyleth in their stomackes with Aqua vitae, which they swill in after such a surset by quartes & pottels: they let their cowes bloud, which, growne to a gelly, they bake, and ouersped with butter, and so eate in lumps. No meat they fancy so much as porke, and the fatter the better. One of Iohn Oneales household demanded of his fellow whether bifie were better then porke: 'that,' quoth the other, 'is as intricate a question, as to aske whether thou art better then Oneale.'"—Stanyhurst's Description of Irelande, chap. 8, Holinshed, ed. 1577.

p. 131. Natural disposition of the "wyld Irishe."—"The people are thus inclined: religious, fraaze, amorous, irefull, sufferable of infinite paynes, very glorious, many sorcerers, excellent horsemen, delighted with wars, great almsgiuers, passing in hospitality. The lewer sort, both clerkes and lay men, are sensnall, & ower loose in liuyng. The same, beyng vertuously bred up or reformed, are such myrors of holynes and austeritic, that other nations retaine but a shadow of denotion in comparision of them. As for abstinence and fasting, it is to them a familiar kynd of chastisement."—Stanyhurst's Description of Irelande, chap. 8, Holinshed, ed. 1577.

p. 132. The Wild Irish lack manners.—"The Irishe man standeth so much upon hys gentilitie, that he termeth any one of the English sept, and planted in Ireland, Bobdeagh Galteagh, that is, 'English churle': but if he be an Englishman borne, then he nameth hym, Bobdeagh Saxonnegh, that is, 'a Saxon churle': so that both are charles, and he the onely gentleman; and therupon, if the basest pesant of them name hymselfe with hys superior, he will be sure to place himselfe first, as 'I and Oneyle, I and you, I and he, I & my maister,' wheras the curtesie of the Englishe language is cleane contrary."—Stanyhurst's Description of Irelande, chap. 8, Holinshed, ed. 1577.

p. 132. The English Pale.—"Before I attempt the unfoldyng of the maners of the meere Irish, (wild Irish) I thinke it expedient, to fore-warn thee, reader, not to impute any barbarous custome that shall be here layde downe, to the citizens, townesmen, and the inhabitants of the english pale, in that they differ little or nothying from the ancient customes and dispositions of their progenitors, the English and Walshmen, beyng therfore as mortally behated of the Irish, as those that are borne in England."—Stanyhurst's Description of Irelande, chap. 8, Holinshed, ed. 1577.
p. 133. Ireland; No Adders, &c., there.

"Tis said no Serpent, Adder, Snake, or Toade, Can live in Ireland, or hath there abode."

1642. John Taylor, Mad Fashions, p. 4.

p. 133. Men and women lie together in straw.—In olde tyme they (the Wild Irish) much abused the honourable state of marriage, either in contractes unlawful, meetlyng the degrees of prohibition, or in diuorementes at pleasure, or in retaynyng concumbes or harlots for wynes: yea, even at this day where the clergy is fainte, they can be content to marry for a yeare and a day of probation, and at the yeres ende, or any tyme after, to returne his home with his marriage goodes, or as much in vaine, upon light quares, if the gentlewomens friendes be unable to reuenge the injury. In lyke maner may she forsake his husband.—The Description of Ireland, by Richard Stanyhurst (chap. 8), in Holinshed, ed. 1577.

p. 133. Superstitions of the Irish.—Stanyhurst says, "In some corner of the land they used a damnable superstition, leaving the right armes of their infantes unchristened (as they terme it) to the intent it might gaine a more ungracious & deadly blowe, Others write that gentlemen's children were baptized in mylke, and the infantes of poore folke in water, who had the better, or rather the only, choyce. Divers other vayne and execrable superstiti-ions they obserue, that for a complete recitall would require a seuerall volume. Wherto they are the more stiffly wedded, because such single preachers as they have, reprone not in theyr sermons the piousnesse and fondnesse of these friuolous dreamers. But these and the like enormities have taken so deepe roote in that people, as commonly a preacher is sooner by their naughtie lyues corrupted, then their naughtie lyunes by his preaching amended. . . . Again, the very English of birth, conersant with the savage sort of that people, become degenerate; & as though they had tasted of Circes poysoned cup, are quite altered. Such a force hath education to make or marre."—The Description of Ireland, by Richard Stanyhurst (chap. 8), in Holinshed, ed. 1577.

p. 135. Scotland.—The Libel of 1436 says the exports of Scotland are skins, hides, and wool, which pass through England to Flanders,—the wool being sold in the towns of Poperynge and Belle. The imports are mercery, haberdashery, cartwheels and barrows.—T. Wright's Polit. Songs, ii. 168.

p. 136. "Scotlande is a baryn and a waste country."—Certes there is no region in the whole world so barren & unfruitful, through distance from the Sunne.—Description of Scotland, chap. 13, Holinshed, ed. 1577.

p. 137. The Scotch 'be hardy men.'—Thereunto we finde them to be courageous and hardy, offering themselves often unto the uttermost perils with great assurance, so that a man may pronounce nothing to be ower harde or past their power to performe.—Description of Scotland, chap. 1, Holinshed, ed. 1577.
p. 141. Iceland and its Stockfish.—The Livel of 1436 says,
Of Yseland to wryte, is lyttille nede,
Save of stokfsiche; yit for sothe, in dede,
Out of Bristow, and costis many one,
Men have practised by nedle and by stone
Thider-wardes wythine a lytel whylle,
Wythine xij. yere, and wythoute perille,
Gone and comen—as men were wonde of olde—
Of Scarborough unto the costes colde;
And now so fele shippes thys yere there were,
That moche losse for unaughter they bare;
Yselond myght not make hem to be fraught
Unto the hawys; this moche harme they caught.
T. Wright’s Political Songs, ii. 191.

p. 142. Iceland curs, and Icelanders eating tallow-candles.—“Besides these also we have sholts or curs dailie brought out of Iceland, and much made of amonge vs, because of their sawcinesse and quarrelling. Moreover they bite verie sore, and love candles exceedinglie, as doe the men and women of their countrie: but I may saie no more of them, because they are not bred with vs. Yet this will I make report of by the waie, for pastimes sake, that when a great man of those parts came of late into one of our ships which went thither for fish, to see the forme and fashion of the same, his wife apparrelled in fine sables, abiding on the decke whilst hir husband was vnder the hatches with the mariners, espied a pound or two of candles hanging at the mast, and being loth to stand there idle alone, she fell to, and eat them vp euerie one, supposing hir selfe to have beene at a iollie banke, and shewing verie pleasant gesture when hir husband came vp againe vnto hir.”—Harrison’s Descri., Bk. iii. chap. 7, p. 231, col. 2, ed. 1586-7.

“My lorde is not at leasure:
The pawre man at the dur
Standes lyke an yslande cur,
And Darre not ones sture.”

Vox Populi Vox Dei, a.d. 1547-8, l. 473-5, p. 137 of my Ballads from Manuscripts, vol. i. Ballad Society, 1868, p. 137, where this note from Nares is given, “Iceland Dogs: shaggy, sharp-cared, white dogs. much imported formerly as favourites for ladies etc. ‘Pish for thee, Iceland dog, thou pricke-car’d cur of Iceland!’ Henry V, ii. 1.”

p. 142. The neve founde land named Calico.—? Calicut, a kingdom of India on the coast of Malabar, about 63 miles long, and nearly as many broad. Its capital is also named Calicut, and was the first place where the Portuguese admiral Vasco de Gama landed on May 22, 1498, and whence he returned to Portugal, laden with the first spoils of the eastern world. This was the beginning of European trade with India. Our word calico is taken from Calicut.—Oxford Encyclopedia, 1828.

p. 145. Paschal.—Can this be the Pascal or Paschal, Pierre, de-
scribed in the *Bibliographie Universelle*, 1823, vol. xxiii. p. 44, col. 2; as a littérateur without talent, but full of vanity and impudence, who was born in 1522 at Sauveterre in the Bazadois, of a noble family, and died at Toulouse on Feb. 16, 1565, at the age of 43? He got praises in plenty, and a pension, for his proposals to continue Paulus Jovius’s Eulogiums of Learned Men, and to write a History of France; but he left only 6 leaves of the latter work finish’d when he died, though he had before distributed notes with *P. Paschalli liber quartus rerum à Francis gestar-um* on them.

Pope Pascal II died on January 11, 1118; Pope Pascal III was for a time made Anti-Pope in the days of Alexander III, who was elected on Sept. 7, 1159, and died Aug. 30, 1181.

p. 147. *The Flemings’ Fish and Beer.*—“the Flemings . . . with their greene fishe, barreled Cod and Heringes, caryeth out of Englane for the same yearely, both golde, and siluer, and other commodities: and at the leaeste tenne thousande tunne of dubble dubble Beare, and hath also all kinde of Frenche commodities, continually both in tyne of warres and peace, by their trade onely of fishyng.”—1580, Robert Hitchcock’s *Pollitique Platt*, sign. f. ii. (The book shows how great a help the development of the Herring Fishery would be to England.) For the “Butter,” see the note on p. 156.

p. 147, &c. *Flemings, their Beer-drinking, Butter, and Products.*—The *Libel* of 1436 says of the Prussians, High-Dutchmen, and Easterlings,

Oute of filamdres . . . . .

... they bringe in the substaunce of the beer
That they drynken fele to goode chepe, not dere.
Ye have herde that twoo filemynges togedere
Wol undertake, or they goo ony whetheere,
Or they rise onys, to drinke a barrelle full
Of goode berkyne. 1 So sore they hale and pulle,
Undre the borde they pissen, as they sitte:
This cometh of covenant of a worthy witte.
Wythoute Calise in thir buttere the[y] cakked;
When they flede home, and when they leysere lakked
To holde here sege, they wente lyke as a doo:
Wel was that filemyng that myght trusse and goo . . .

*After bere and bacon, adre gode commodites usene.*

Now bere and bacon bene fro Pruse ibrought
Into filamdres, as loved and fere isonghite;
Oshomme, 2 coppre, bow-staffes, stile, 3 and wax,
Peltre-ware, and grey, pych, terre, borde, and flex,
And Coleyne threde, lustiane, and canvase,
Corde, bokeram: of olde tyme thus it wase.
But the filemyngis, amonge these thinkes dere,
In comen lowen 4 beste, bacon and bere:

1 barley brew 2 a kind of iron.—Halliwell. 3 steel 4 love

BOORDE.
Thus arn they hoggis; and drynkyn wele ataunt; flare wel, Flenyngge! hay, harys, hay, avaunt!
Also Pruse men make here aventure
Of plate of sylvere, of weggies\(^1\) gode and sure
In grete plenté, whiche they bringe and bye
Oute of londes of Bealme and Hungrye;
Whiche is encrese ful grete unto thyss londe.
And thei bene laden, I understonde,
Wyth wollen clothe, alle manere of coloures,
By dyers craftes ful dyverse that ben oures.
And they aventure ful gretyly unto the Baye,\(^2\)
for salte, that is nedefulle wythonte naye.

_T. Wright’s Political Songs_, ii. 169-171.

Again, at p. 161 the Spanish imports from Flanders are said to be
flyne clothe of Ipre, that named is better than oure-is,
Cloothe of Curtryke, flyne clooth of alle coloures,
Moche fustyane, and also lynen clothe.
But, ye fillenmyngis, yf ye be not wrothe,
The grete substance of youre cloothe, at the fulle,
Ye wot ye make hit of youre English wolle.

p. 149. *Dutchmen* ‘quof tyl they ben droyk.’
“Tis said the Dutchmen taught vs drinke and swill;
I’m sure we goe beyond them in that skill;
I wish (as we exceed them in what’s bad,)
That we some portion of their goodnesse had.”

1632. *Taylor on Thame Isis*, p. 27.

p. 150, l. 5. *Antwerp and Barow.*—If this warre [with the Emperor in 1527] was displeasaunt to many in Englaunde (as you have hard), surely it was as much or more displeasant to the tounes and people of Flaundres, Brabant, Holland, and Zelande, and in especiall to the tounes *Andworpe and Barrow*, where the Martes wer kept, and where the resorte of Englishmen was; for thei saied that their Martes were vndoen if the Englishemen came not there; and if there were no Marte, their Shippes, Hoyes, and Waggons might rest, and all artifices, Hostes, and Brokers might slepe, and so the people should fal into miserie and pouertie.—_Hall’s Chronicle_, p. 746, ed. 1809.

p. 150. *Brabant, the Mart of all nations.*—The *Libel* of 1436 says,
And wee to martis of Braban charged bene
Wyth Englyssh clothe, fulle gode and feyre to seyne.
Wee bene ageyne charged wyth mercerye,
Haburdasshere ware, and wyth grocerye.
To whyche martis—that Englishse men call “feyres”—
Iche nacion ofte maketh here repayeres,

\(^1\) weggies

\(^2\) Into the Rochelle, to fetche the fumose wine,
Nere into Britonnse bay for salt so fyne. (ib. p. 162.)
Englysshe and Frensch, Lumbardes, Januayes, Cathalones, theder they take here wayes, Scottes, Spanyardes, Iressmen there abydes, Wythe grete plenté bringinge of salte hydes.

T. Wright's Political Songs, ii. 179.

The English were by far the largest buyers at the Marts, of goods brought thither by land as well as sea; and among the articles are,

Yit marchaundy of Braban and Selaunde,
The madre and woode that dyers take on hande
To dyne wyth; garleke, and onyons,
And salt fysshale, for husband and comons.
But they of Holonde, at Caleyse byene oure selles
And oure wolles, that Englyshe men hem selles. (ib. p. 180.)

p. 151. Antwerp Church and its Spire.—"The great glory of Antwerp is its cathedral, the finest building in the Low Countries; it is said to be 500 feet long, 240 wide, and has a spire of stone . . 366 feet (high); consequently it is lower than the spire of Salisbury cathedral, if the [generally acknowledged] height of this spire can be depended on."

Penny Cyclopaedia.

p. 151. Hanauar or Hanago, or Hainault, is called Henwygow in the map of Europe in XII Landtaflen, printed at Zurich by Christoffel Froschower, M.D.LXII., and is placed South (instead of East) of Artois, and north of Paris. The map is turned and lettered with its North, instead of its South point, towards you. 'Lunden' is wholly on the south of the Thames.

p. 156. Butter and Dutchmen.—A tale in The Sack-Fall of Newes, ed. 1673, sign. B., illustrates this: "There was a widow in London that had a Dutchman to her servant, before whom she set a rotten Cheese & butter for his dinner: and he eate of the butter because he liked it, and his Mistresse bad him eat of the cheese. 'No, Mistresse,' quod he, 'the butter is good enough.' She, perceiving he would eat none of the bad cheese, said, 'Thou knave, thou art not to dwell with honest folks!' 'By my troth, Mistresse,' said he, 'had I taken heed ere I came hither, I had never come here.' 'Well, knave,' quod she, 'thou shalt go from on whore to another.' 'Then will I go,' quod he, 'from you to your sister;' and so departed.'

See also in "The Figure of Nine, Containing these Nine Observations, Wits, Fits, and Fancies, Jests, Jibes, and Quiblets, with Mirth, Pastime, and Pleasure.

The Figure of Nine to you I here present,
Hoping thereby to give you all content,
over a circular device, with the legend Cor unum via una. "Printed for J. Deacon, and C. Dennisson, at their Shops at the Angel in Guiltspur-street, and at the Stationers Arms within Aldgate." A in eight.

"Nine sorts of men love nine sorts of dishes.—A Dutchman loves butter, an Englishman Beefe, a Scot loves an Oat-cake, the YWelshman
loves Couse-bobby [toasted cheese], an Irishman Onions, a Frenchman loves Mutton, the Spaniard tobacco, the Seaman loves Fish, and a Taylor loves cabbage." sign. A. 3, back.


p. 163. The old warriors and present poverty of Denmark.—The Libel, A.D. 1436, says,

In Denmarke ware fulle noble conquerours
In tyme passed, fulle worthy werriours,
Whiche, when they had here marchaundes destroyde,
To poverte they felle,—thus were they noyede ;—
And so they stonde at myschesse at this daye ;
This lerned I late, welle wryten, this no naye.

T. Wright's Polit. Songs, ii. 177.

p. 169. Bugles.—See Topsell's History of Four-footed Beasts: "Of the Vulgar Bugil. A Bugil is called in Latine, Bubalus, and Buffalus; in French, Beufle; in Spanish Bufano; in German, Buffel. . . This vulgar Bugil is of a kinde of wilde Oxen, greater and taller then the ordinary Oxen, and their limbs better compact together. . . They are very fierce, being tamed; but that is corrected by putting an Iron ring through his Nostrils, whereinto also is put a cord, by which he is led and ruled, as a Horse by a bridle; (for which cause, in Germany they call a simple man overruled by the advise of another to his own hurt, `a Bugle, led with a ring in his nose.' His feet are cloven, and with the formost he will dig the earth, and with the hindmost fight like a Horse, setting on his blows with great force, and redoubling them again if his object remove not. His voyce is like the voyce of an Oxe; when he is chased he runneth forth right, seldom winding or turning, and when he is angered, he runneth into the water, wherein he covereth himself all over, except his mouth, to cool the heat of his blood." p. 45, ed. Rowland, 1658.

p. 171. A gret citie called Malla-vine.—And Men gon thorghe the Lord of this Lord [the Kyng of Hungarye], thorghe a Cytee that is clept Cypron, and be the celyle Town, that sytt toward the ende of Hungarye.—Mandeville's Voiage and Travaille, p. 7, ed. 1839.

p. 176. Naples.—Thomas speaks thus of the Neapolitans, Hist. Italie, I. 114, "the Neapolitanes are scareelye trusted on their wordes. Not that I thinke they deserve lesse credyte than other men, but because the wonted general ill opinion of their vnstedfastuesso is not taken oute of men's hertes. Yet is the Neapolitane, for his good entertaiment, reckened to be the veraie courtesie of the worlde, though most men repute him to be a great flatterer, and ful of crafte.

"What wol you more? They are rych, for almost every gentylman is lorde and kyunge within hym selfe; they haue veray fayre women,
and the world at wyll; in so muche as Naples contendeth wyth Venice, whether should be preferred for sumptuous houses. Finallye, the court about the Vicere was wont to be very princelye, and greater than that of Myllayne for trayne of gentilmen; but now it is somewhat diminished.”

p. 178. Italy: *the people be homely and rude.*—Thomas (leaf 3, back, leaf 4) praises the Italian gentlemen very highly: “so honourable, so courteise, so prudente, and so grave withall, that it sholde seeme eche one of thaim to haue had a princelye bringynge vp. To his superior, obedientie; to his equall, humble; and to his inferiour, gentle and courtese; amyable to a straunger, and desyrous with curtesie to winne his loute.

“I graunte, that in the expense or loute of his money to a straunger, he is waré, and woulue be at no more cost than he is sure eyther to saue by, or to haue thanke for: wherein I rather can commend him than otherwyse. But this is out of doubte, a straunger can not be better enterteigned, nor moore honourable entreated, then amongst the Italians.” Thomas also praises highly the Italian universities “Padoa, Bononia, Pauia, Ferrara, Pisa, and others”; none of which Andrew Boorde says he saw. But Thomas says the condition of the poor is very bad; they are hardly able to earn bread.

p. 178. St Peter’s fallen to the ground.—Though Rome was sacht in 1527 by the Emperor’s army under the command of the Duke of Bourbon (see the account in Hall’s Chronicle, p. 726-7, ed. 1809), yet it was Julius II who had the old basilica of St Peter’s pulled down, in order to provide a site for his mausoleum, which Michael Angelo had designed. On April 18, 1506, Julius II laid the foundation-stone of the present church. Bramante made designs for it, and four great piers and their arches were completed before he died in 1514. The work stood still for nearly 30 years; Michael Angelo altered the design; and his Cathedral was nearly finisht in 1601, when Paul V and the Cardinals commissioned Carlo Maderno to lengthen the nave, &c. Urban VIII dedicated the church on the 18th of November 1626, a hundred and twenty years after the building began. *Spalding’s Italy and the Italian Islands, iii. 154:* see a plan and account of the old Basilica, ib. ii. 46-50.

p. 178. Rome.—See W. Thomas’s chapter “Of the present astate of Rome,” leaf 37, &c., of his *Hist. of Italye,* ed. 1561. Of the new Cathedral of St Peter’s, he says:—“But above all, the newe buildyng, if it were finished, wolde be the goodliest thynge of this worlde, not onelye for the antike pillers that haue ben taken out of the antiquitees, and be-stowed there, but also for the greatnesse and excellent good proporcion that it hathe. Neuerthelesse it hath been so many yeres adoing, and is yet so vnperfect, that most men stand in dout whether ever it shalbe finished or no.”—1549, W. Thomas’s *Hist. of Italye,* leaf 40, back, ed. 1561.

p. 181. Venice.—Thomas, in his *Historye of Italye,* 1549, p. 74, ed. 1561, says of Venice, “I thincke no place of all Europe, hable at this daye to compare with that citee for number of sumptuous houses, speciallye for
theyr frontes. For he that would rowe through the Canale grande, and marke wel the frontes of the houses on bothe sydes, shall see them more lyke the doynges of prynces then private men. And I have been with good reason persuaded, that in Venice be aboe .200. palaices able to lodge any king.”

p. 182. *The Merchandise of Venice* was, according to the *Libel* of 1436, grocery, wines, monkeys, knicknacks, and drugs:

The grete galees of Venees and florence
Be wel ladene wyth thynges of complaenec,—
Alle spicerye, and of grocers ware,
Wyth swete wynes, alle manere of chaffare,
Apes, and japes, and marmusettes taylede,
Niles, triles, that litelle have availede,
And thynges wyth whiche they tetely blere oure eye,
Wyth thynges not enduryng that we bye . .
And . . for inffirmeties . . . skamonye,
Turbit, enforbe, correcte, diagredie,
Rubarde, sené; and yet they bene to nedefulle.

*T. Wright's Political Songs*, ii. 173.

p. 183. *No Lords in Venice.*—“Democratia, a free state or common wealth, hauing no Prince or superior but themselues (as Venice is) except those officers that themselues appoint.” *Florio.*

p. 184, note. *Italian Wives, and their Husbands' Jealousy.*—Thys vyce is of property to the Italiens, to shytte vp theyr wyynes as theyr treasour. And, on my fayth (to my judgemente) to lytle purpose; for the mooste part of women be of thys sorte, that moost they desire that [which] moost too them is denied; and whan thou woldest, they wylnat; and whan thou woldest nat, they wolde; and yt they hane the brydle at libertye, [the] lesse they offende; so that it is as easy to kepe a woman against her wyll, as a flocke of flies in the hete of the sonne, excepte she be of her selfe chaste. Inwayne doth the husband set kepers over her; for who shal kepe those kepers? She is crafty; and at them lightely she beginneth; and whan she taketh a fantasy, she is unreasonable, and lyke an vnbrydeled mule.—*The goodly History of the moste noble and beautifull Ladye Lucre of Scene in Tuskan, & of her lover Eurialus, verye pleasant and delectable unto the reder.* ¶ *Anno Domini* M.D.LX. [col.] Imprinted at London, by Iohn Kyngge. (sign. D.ii.) This is the 2nd edition, and Mr Henry Huthe hath lent me the copy from which I extract. The book is in Captain Cox's list. Its author, A.E. S. Piccolomini, returns to the husband-&-wife question on leaves F iv, v, vi: “And on the morowe, eyther for that it were necessary to take hede, or for some yl suspicte, Menelaus [the husband] walled vppe the wyndowe [by which Eurialus had got in to Lucres]. I thynke as our Cytezens [of Sienna] be suspicous and full of coniectures; so dyd hee feare the commodyte of the place, & woulde escheue the occasion; for though he knewe noughte, yet wyste hee well that she was much desyred, and daylye pronoked by great requestes, & [he] judged a womens thought
v unstable, which hath as many myndes as trees hath leues, & that theyr kynde alway is desyrous of newe thynges, and seldom loute they their husbands whom they haue obtained. Therefore dyd he folowe the common opynyon of married men, too aoayde myshap, thought he it com wyth good luke."

The food and ways of Italian servants about 1440 A.D. are shown by a passage in this *Lucre & Eurialus*, written by Pope Pius II in his young days, when he was Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini: "looke that oure supper be redy! We must be meri while our mayster1 is furth; our maistres2 is better felowe; shee is merye & liberal; he is angry, full of noyse, couetous, and harde. We are neuer wel when he is at home. Se, I pray the, what lanke belyes we hane! He is hungry hym selfe, to sterue vs for hunger; hee wyll not suffer one moyste peece of browne breade to be loste; but the fragmente of one daye he kepeth fyue dayes after, & the gobbets of salte fysh & salt eles of one supper, he kepeth vnto another, and marketh the cut chese, least anye of it shulde be stolen. ... How muche are we better with our maistres, that feedeth vs not onylxe with veale & kidde, but with hennes and byrdes, & pleyte of wyne? Go, Dromo, and make the kytech smoke!" "Mary!" quod Dromo, "that shall be my charge; & soner shall I laye the tables thanne rub the horse! I brought my mayster into the comtree to-daye, that the Deuyll breke hys necke! and never spake hee woorde vnto me, but badde me, whan I brought home my horses, to tell my maistres that hee woulde not come home too nyghte. But by God," quod he, "I praye the, Zosias, that at the last hast founde fante at my maysters condicions, I had forsaken my mayster, yf my maistres had not gueen me mi morow meales as she hath. Lette vs not sleepe to-night, Zosia; but lette vs cate & dryncke tyllyt it bee daye. My mayster shall not winne so muche this moneth, as we shal wast at one supper."

Gladlye dyd Eurialus [Lucre's lover, hiding in the hay till he could get to her] here this, and marked the maners of servants, & thought he was servud a lyke. ed. 1560, sign. F .iii., F .iii. The unique copy of the first edition in the British Museu is more correctly printed than the second, but has lost its last leaf, with the last verse of the Envoy. This has now been supplied by me from Mr Huth's copy of Kynge's edition. The story of the novel is told in the Forewords to my edition of Captain Cox, or Laneham's Letter (Ballad Society, 1871).

p. 185. *The Venetians' timer, &c., in readiness for war.*—"the Arsenale in myne eye exceedeth all the rest: For there they haue well neere two hundred galeys in such an order, that vpwn a very smal warrnyng they may be furnished out vnto the sea. Besydes that, for euer daye in the yeare (whan they woulde goe to the coste) they should be able to make a newe galey; hauning such a staple of timer (whyche in the water wythin Th arsenale hahte lyen a seasoninge, some .20. yeare, some .40. some an .100, and some I wot not how longe) that it is a wonder to see." — Thomas's *Hist. of Italye*, leaf 74, bk. Read the whole chapter.

1 *orig. maysters*  
2 *orig. maistres*.
p. 187. Lombard's craftiness.—"The kyng this tyme [Henry VIII in 1511-12] was moche entysed to playe at tennes and at dice; which appetite, certain craftie persons about him perceauynge, brought in Frenchmen and Lombardes to make wagers with hym; & so he lost much money: but when he perceyued their craft, he exchyuyl their compaignic, and let them go."—Hall's Chronicle, p. 520, ed. 1809.

p. 188. Iene or Genoa, and the Genoese.—See Thomas's interesting description of Genoa, on leaves 160 back, to 163, of his Historye of Italye. He was immensely struck by the beauty of their women, and the freedom they had.

"Of theyr trade and customes.—All the Genowayes in maner are merchant men, and very great travaulers of strange countreis. For I have been reasonably persuaded that there be .5. or .6. thousand of them continually abreode, either merchantes or factours: so that they haue few places of the worlde vnsoght, where anye gaine is to be had. For the merchandise that they bring home hath spedy dispatche, by reason theyr citee is as a keye vnto all the trade of Lombardy, and to a great part of Italie.

They at home make such a noumber of silkes and veluettes as are hable to serve many countreis: whyche is the chiefe merchandise that they sende forthe. In deede they are commonly noted to be great vsurers.

One thing I am sure of, that if Ouide were nowe alive, there be in Genoa that could teache him a dousen pointes De Arte Amandi. For if Semiramis were ever celebrated amongest the Assirians, Venus amongest the Greckes, Circes among the Italians, sure there be dames in Genoa that deserve to be celebrated & chrontyed for their excellente practise in loue. And truely the Genowayes them selves deserne that their wyfes should be praised; because I saw in no place where women haue so muche lybertee. For it is lawfull there openly to talke of loue, with what wife so euer she bee. Insomuch that I haue scene yonge men of reputacyon, standing in the strete, talke of loue with yong mistresses byeng in theyr wyndowes aboue; and openly rehearse verses that they had made, one to the other. And in the churches, specially at euensong, they make none other prayers. So that he that is not a loner there, is meece for none honest companye. Many men esteme this as a reproche to the Genowayes; but they vse it as a policie; thinkyng that their wifes, through this libertee of open speache, are ridde of the rage that maketh other women to travaile so much in secret.

In deede, the women there are exceding faire, and best appariled, to my fantasie, of all other. For thonghe their vppermost garments be but plaine clote, by reason of a law, yet vnderneath they weare the finest silkes that may be had, and are so finely hosed and shoed, as I never sawe the like, open faced, and for the moste parte bare headed, with the heare so finely trussed and curled, that it passeth rehearsall. So that, in myne opinion, the supreme court of loue is no where to be sought, out of Genoa " (leaves 161 bk, and 162).
p. 188. The Genoese, their trading and products.—The Libel of 1436 says,

The Janneys comyne in sondre wyse
Into this londe, wyth dyverse marchaundyse
In grete karrekkis arrayde, wythouthe lake,
Wyth clothes of golde, silke, and pepir blake
They bringe wyth hem, and of wood grete plenté,
Wolle, oyle, wood aschen, by wesshelle [=vessels] in the see
Coton, roche-alum, and gode golde of Jene.
And they be charged wyth wolfe ageyne, I wene,
And wollen clothe of owres, of colours alle.

T. Wright's Political Songs, ii. 172.

p. 188. The trade of Italy with England, of which Hall speaks, under 1531 A.D., "Merchaunt straungers, and in especiall, Italians, Spanyardes, & Portyngales, daily brought Oade, Oyle, Sylke, Clothes of Golde, Veluet, & other Marchaundyse into this Realme, and therefore received ready money" (Hall's Chronicle, p. 781, ed. 1809), was doubtless carried on by the Genoese, Lombards, Venetians, and Neapolitans, whose merchandisings are noticed by Boorde.

p. 190. French fashions.—"With them [the French Ambassadors in 1518] came a great number of rascal, & pedlers, & Iuellers, and brought out hottes and cappes, and dyverse marchaundise, vncustommed, all vnder the colour of the trussery of the Ambassadours. . . . The young galantes of Fraunce had coates garded with one colour, cut in x. or xii. partes, very richely to beholde. . . . The last day of September, the French Ambassadors toke their barge, & came to Grenewich. The Admyrall [Lord Boneuet] was in a gonne of cloth of siluer, raysed, furred with ryche Sables, & al his company almost were in a new fasion garment called a Shemewe, which was in effect a gonne, cut in the middle."—Hall's Chronicle, p. 503-4, ed. 1809. The old chronicler didn't think much of the last of French soldiers:

"surely the nature of the Frenchmen is, not to labor long in fighting, and muche more braggeth then fighteth."—Hall's Chronicle, p. 124, at foot, ed. 1809.

p. 196, l. 8-15. Portuguese products and merchandise.—The Libel, A.D. 1436, says,

The marchaundy also of Portyngale
To dyverse londes tornie into sale . . .
Here londe haythe oyle, wyne osey, wex, and grayne,
flygnes, reysys, hony, and cordeweyne,
Dates and salt, hydes, and suche marchaundy.

T. Wright's Polit. Songs, ii. 162-3.

p. 196, l. 10. Portugal poor.—A.D. 1524. "the Emperor answered:
"The very pouerite of your countrey of Portyngale is suche, that of your selfes you be not able to line; wherfore of necessitie you were drudden to seke liuyng; for, landes of princes you were not able to purchase, and lande of lorde you were not able to conquere." Wherfore
on the sea you were compelled to seke that which was not found.”—
Hall’s Chronicle, p. 677, ed. 1809.
p. 197. The fashion of the Spainierdes.—“after whome came in
.vi. ladyes apparelled in garmentes of Crymosyn Satyn, embroudered
and trauessed with cloth of gold, cut in Pomegranettes and yokes,
strynged after the fucion of Spayne.”—Hall’s Chronicle, p. 516, ed.
1809.
p. 198. The Products of Spain are stated in the Libel of 1436 to be

. . . fygues, raysyns, wyne bastarde, and dates;
And lycorys, Syvyle oyle, and grayne,
Whyte Castelle sope, and wax, is not in vayne;
Iren, wolle, wadmole; gotefel, kydefel, also,—
flor poyn-makers fulle nedefulle be the two;
Saffron, quiksilver (wheche arne Spaynes marchandy)
Is into flaundres shypped fulle craftyle,
Unto Bruges, as to here staple fayre,
The haven of Sluse here havene for here repayre,
Whiche is cleped Swyn; thaire shyppes gydynge
Where manys wessell and fayre arne abydynge.
T. Wright’s Political Songs, ii. 160.
p. 202. The poverty of Navarre (& Spain).—“The English souldiers,
what for sickness, and what for miserie of the country, ever desired to
returne into England . . . saiyng, that thei would not abide and die of
the flixe in suche a wretched country.”—Hall’s Chronicle, p. 532, ed. 1809.
Navarre was won by the Spaniards under the Duke of Alva, in the 4th
year of Henry the 8th, A.D. (22 April, 1512 to 21 April, 1513). See
Hall’s Chronicle, p. 530, ed. 1809.
p. 203. Hanging long on the Gallows.—This must have been done
also in some cases in England: “the harlot, Wolfs wyfe . . . at the
last, she and her husband, as they desired, were apprehended, ar-
raigned, & hanged at the foresayd turnyng tree [a place on the Thames],
where she hanged still, and was not cut downe, vntil suche tyme as it was
knowen that beastly and filthy wretches had moste shamefully abused
her, beyng dead.”—Hall’s Chronicle, p. 815, ed. 1809.
p. 205-6. The Pilgrims to St James of Compostella.—Contrast the
reality with the Court notion of “pilgrims from St James” in February,
1510-11: “Then came neste the Marques Dorset and syr Thomas
Bulleyne, like two pilgrims from saint James, in taberdes of blakke
Veluet, with palmers hattes on their helmettes, wyth long Iacobes stanes
in thei handes, their horse trarpers of blakke Veluet, their taberdes,
hattes, & trarpers, set with scaloppe schelles of fyne golde, and strippes
of blakke Veluet, euery strip set with a scalop shell; thei seruauntes
all in blakke Satyn, with scalop shells of golde in their breastes.”—
Hall’s Chronicle, p. 518, ed. 1809.
p. 207. Brittany’s products; and its hatred of England. The Libel,
A.D. 1436, says,
Commodité therof there is and was,
Salt and wynes, creste clothe, and canvasse . . . .
And of this Bretayn, who-so trewth[e] levys,
Are the grettest rovers and the grettest thevys
That have bene in the see many oone yere :
That our marchanntes have bowght full dere;
for they have taken notable gode of oures
On thys seyde see, these false coloured pelours,
Called of Seynt Maloune, and elles where,
Wheeche to there duke none obeysaunce woll bere.
Wyth suche colours we have bene hindred sore,
And fayned pease is called no werre herefore.
Thus they have bene in dyverse costes manye
Of oure England, mo than reherse can I;
In Northfolke coostes, and other places abonte,
And robed, and brente, and slayne, by many a route;
And they have also ransommed toune by toune,
That into the regnes of bost have ronne here soune.

T. Wright's Polit. Songs, ii. 164.

p. 207, line 1. Bayonne once English.—It was lost in the 29th year of
Henry VI (1 Sept. 1450 to 31 Aug. 1451). Hall says in his Chronicle,
p. 224, ed. 1809, "When the cities and tounes of Gascoyne wer set in
good ordre, the Erle of Dunoys and Foys, with greate preparacion of
vitaill, municion and men, came before the citie of Bayon, where, with
mynes and battery thei so dismaiad the fearfull inhabitantes, that neither
the capitain nor the souldiers could kepe them from yeldyng: so by force
they deliuered the toune; and their capitain, as a prisoner, offred a great
some of money for the safegard of their lifes and goodes."

p. 209. Boulogne.—"Althoughe this peace [of 1546 A.D.] pleased both
the Englysh and the French nacions, yet surely both mistrusted the con-
tinuance of the same, considering the old Proverbe, 'that the iye seeth,
the harte runeth,' for the French men styll longed for Bulleyn, and the
Englyshmen minded not to gene it ouer."—Hall's Chronicle, p. 867, ed.
1809.

p. 218. Jewry or Judea.—See, under "Asie," the chapter "Of Jewry,
and of the life, maners, and Lawes of the Jewes in the Furalle of Facion,
conteyning the aunciente maners, customes, and Lawes of the peoples
habiting the two partes of the earth called Affrike and Asie. Print
at London, by Ihon Kingstone and Henry Sutton. 1555, sign. ii. back." "
'Palestina, whiche also is named Judea, beinge a seueralle province of
Siria, lieth betwixte Arabia Petrea and the countrie Celoosiria. So bor-
dering vpon the Egyptian sea on the west, and vpon the fonde Jordan on
the Easte, that the one with his wanes wasseeth his cliues, and the
other sometime with his streame overfloweth his banckes.

(sign. i vii. back.) 'The lande of Siria (whereof we have named

Jewrie a parte) is at this daie enhabited of the Grekes called Griphones, of the Jacobites, Nestorians, Saracenes, and of two christian nacions the Sirians and Marouines. . . . The Saracenes, whiche dwelle aboute Jerusalem (a people vaineant in warre) delighte muche in housbandrie and tilthe.

p. 219, 60, 144. Venice, &c., and Englishmen abroad.—In the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1812, reprinted in Fosbroke's British Monachism, ch. vii, p. 337, ed. 1843, are some extracts from a MS Diary of a Pilgrimage to Jerusalem made by a Sir Richard Torkington in 1517. He started on March 20, 1517, from Rye in Sussex, and got back to Dover on April 17, 1518: "We war owt of England in ower sayd pylgryme the space of an holl yer, v. wckys, and iiij. dayes." "We com [29 April, 1517] to the goodly and famose Cite of Venys. Ther I was well at ese, for ther was no thyng that I desired to have, but I had it shortly. At Venyse, at the fyrst howse that I cam to except oon, the good man of the howse seyd he knew me, by my face, that I was an englyshman. And he spake to me good englyssh. thanne I was jo[yo]us and glade. for I saw never englyssh man from the tyme I departed owt of Parysto the tyme I cam to Venys, which ys viij. or viij.C. myles."

p. 220. Joppa.—"At Jaffe begynnyth the holy londe; and to every pylgryme, at the fyrst foote that he sett on the londe, ther ys grauntyd plenary remission De pena et a culpa. In Jaff, Seynt Petir reysid from Deth, Tabitam. the sarvanent of the Appostolis. And fast by ys the place where Seynt Petir usyd to fflysh, And ovr Savior Crist callyd hym, and seyd sequere me."—Sir Richard Torkington's Diary, 1517; in Fosbroke's British Monachism, p. 338, col. 1, ed. 1843.

III. NOTES ON BOORDE'S DYETARY.


p. 236. Let water flaxe nor hemp be watered.—"Here and there was an artificial flat-bottomed pool of water, formed by damming up one of the many rivulets which ran from their sources in the distant hills to empty themselves into the adjacent Rhine. At the bottom of each pool were bundles of flax undergoing the first process preparatory to their ultimate conversion into linen fabrics. The odour of the decomposed or decomposing flax was the reverse of agreeable. Indeed, the prevalence of bad smells was the chief drawback to the enjoyment of the prospect."
Daily News, Sept. 13, 1870; letter from Achern, Sept. 6, describing the country from Achern to Auenheim, a small village, close to the right bank of the Rhine, near Strasburg, which was then besieged by a German army.

p. 239. Dovehouse.—The Norfolk and Suffolk rebels under Kett in 1549 say in their list of Grievances: "We p[ri]ay that noman under the degree of a knyght or esquyer, kepe a dove house, except it hath byn of an ould aunychyent costome." Was this because the doves eat the poorer men's grain, as the rich men's pheasants and partridges—and worse, hares and rabbits,—now do? See my Ballads from Manuscripts, i. 149.

p. 241. See the 'Proverbys of Howsolde-kepyng' in my ed. of Political, Religious, and Love Poems, for the Society, 1866, p. 29.

p. 243. Instructing the Ignorant.—Teaching them a Robin-Hood ballad or the Primer, perhaps, after Robert Crowley's exhortation to unlearned curates in his Voyce of the last Trumpet, 1550. (E. E. T. Soc. 1871.)

p. 244. Epilencia, &c. were generally called Epilepsia, Analepsia, and Catalepsia. See Boorde's Breaviary, ch. 122, Fol. xlvii.

p. 250. Boarded Chambers.—Wooden floors were not common in Boorde's days. One of his remedies for a stitch in the side is "take vp the earth within a dore, that is well troden, and pare it vp with a spade, after [= a piece like] a cake; and cast Vineger on it, and tost it against the fyver; and in a lynnyn clothe laye it hote to the syde."—Breaviary, Pt. II, The Extravagantes, Fol. xi, back. See too the well-known quotation from Erasmus on the filthy clay floors of England, in the Babees Book, Forewords, p. lxvi.


p. 253. Standing Water.—L'eau qui dort est pire que celle qui court: Pro. So is a sleepy humor worse then a giddie. Il n'y a pire eau que la quoye: Prov. The stillest waters (and humors) are ever the worst. Cotgrave.

p. 254. Wyne . . must be . . fayre . . and redolent, &c.—The compiler of what Mr Dyce, in his Skelton's Works, vol. i, p. xxx, calls 'that tissue of extravagant figments which was put together for the amusement of the vulgar, and entitled the Merie Tales of Skelton' (T. Colwell), probably had Boorde's opinion on wine before him when he wrote "all wines must be strong, and fayre, and well coloured; it must have a redolent sanoure; it must be cold, and sprinklyne in the pecess or in the glasse."—Tale xv. Skelton's Works, vol. i, p. lxiii.

p. 260. London bakers' trickery.—A.D. 1522. In this yere the bakers of London came and told the Mayre that corne would be dere; wherupon he and the aldermen made prorsion for xv. C. quarters; & when it was come, they [the bakers] would bye none, and made the common people beleue that it was musty, because they would vter their owne, so that the lord Cardynal was faine to proue it, and found the bakers
false, and commanded them to bye it.—Hall's Chronicle, p. 650, ed. 1800.

p. 273. The Jews love not pork.—"Swines flesche thei eate none, for that thei holde opinion that this kynde of beaste, of it selfe beinge disposed to be skornie, might be occasion againe to enfecte them of newe."—The Fardle of Facions, 1555. I. iv, not signed.

p. 273. Adder's flesh eaten, and called "fysshe of the mountayn."

Now followeth the preparing of Serpents: Take a mountain Serpent, that hath a black back, and a white belly, and cut off his tail, even hard to the place where he sendeth forth his excrements, and take away his head with the breadth of four fingers; then take the residue and squeeze out the blood into some vessel, keeping it in a glass carefully; then fly him as you do an Eele, beginning from the upper and grosser part, and hang the skin upon a stick, and dry it; then divide it in the middle, and reserve all diligently. You must wash the flesh and put it in a pot, boying it in two parts of Wine; and, being well and throughly boyled, you must season the broth with good Spices, and Aromatical and Cordial powders; and so eat it.

But if you have a minde to rost it, it must be so rosted, as it may not be burnt, and yet that it may be brought into powder; and the powder thereof must be eaten together with other meat, because of the loathing, and dreadful name, and conceit of a Serpent: for being thus burned, it preserveth a man from all fear of any future Lepry, and expelleth that which is present. It keepeth youth, causing a good colour above all other Medicines in the world; it cleareth the eye-sight, gardeth surely from gray hairs, and keepeth from the Falling-sickness. It purgeth the head from all infirmity; and being eaten (as before is said), it expelleth scabbiness, and the like infirmities, with a great number of other diseases. But yet, such a kinde of Serpent as before we have described, and not any other, being also eaten, freeth one from deafness.


Mandeville says that in the land of Mancy, that is, in Ynde the more, and which is also called 'Albanye, because that the folk ben whyte,' "there is gret plente of Neddres, of whom men maken gretre Festes, and eten hem at gretre sollemnytees. And he that makethe there a Feste,—be it never so costifous,—and he have no Neddres, he hathe no thank for his travaylle."—Voiage and Travaile, p. 208, ed. 1839.


"The Venson not forgot, moste meete for Princes dyshe:
All these with more could I rehearse, as much as wit could wyshe.
But let these few suffice, it is a Noble sport
To recreate the mindes of Men in good and godly sort.
A sport for Noble peeres, a sport for gentle bloods,
The paine I leane for servants such as beate the bushie woods,
NOTES ON BOORDE'S DYETARY.

To make their masters sport. *Then let the Lords rejoyce,*
*Let gentlemen beholde the glee, and take thereof the choyce.*
For my part (being one) I must needes say my minde,
*That Hunting was ordeyned first for Men of Noble Kinde.*
And vnto them, therefore, I recommend the same,
*As exercise that best becometh their worthy noble name.*

p. 279. *Garlic* is good for 'longe whyte wormes in the mawe, stomake, and guttes,' says Boorde: "If any man wyll take a Plowe-
mannes medicine, and the beste medicine for these wormes, and al other
wormes in mannes body, let hym eate *Gerlyke.*" Breuiary, fol. lxxiii,
ch. 212.

p. 279. *Garlic.*—Tharmie this [= thus, in 1512 A.D.] lyngeryng [in
Navarre], euer desirous to be at the busines that thei came for, their
victaile was muche part Garlike; and the Englishmen did eate of the
Garlike with all meates, and dranke hote wynes in the hote wether, and
did eate al the hote frutes that thei could gette, whiche caused their
bloudde so to Boyle in their belies, that there fell sicke three thousande
of the flixe; and thereof died xviii. hundred men.—*Hall's Chronicle,*
p. 529, ed. 1809.

p. 289. *Sweating Sickness.*—After this great triumphe [Henry VIII's
jousts in June, 1517] the king appointed his gestes for his pastyme this
Sommer; but sodeinly there came a plague of sickenes, called the Swee-
tyng sickenes, that turned all his purpose. This malady was so cruell that
it killed some within three houres, some within twoo houres, some, merry
at diner and dedde at supper. Many died in the kynges Courte, the
Lorde Clinton, the Lorde Grey of Wilton, and many knightes, Gentle-
men and officiers. For this plague, Mighelmas terme was adiourned;
and because that this malady continued from July to the middes
December, the kyng kept hymself euer with a small compaignie, and
kept no solemne Christmas, willyng to haue no resort, for feare of in-
feccion; but muche lamented the number of his people, for in some one
toune halfe the people died, and in some other toune the thirde parte,
the Sweate was so feruent and infeccious.—*Hall's Chronicle,* p. 592, ed.
1809. See the history of this plague in *Chambers's Book of Days,* under
April 16; also in my *Ballads from Manuscripts,* Part II, 1871.
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voluis, 59, wolves.
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wits of man, the five, 93.
Witzenburg, 165, Wittenberg. ‘In the 15th and 16th centuries, Wittenberg was the capital of the electoral circle of Saxony, and the residence of the court.’ Penny Cyclopaedia.
wo be the pye! 273.
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Wright, T., on the Gotham Tales, 29.

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wydddrawghtes, 295, withdrawers?, drains.

Wyer, Robert, his date, 12; his undated edition of Boorde's Dyetary, 12, 13; his device, 304, 224, 316.

wysephenyngs, 161, white pennies, worth about 1½d.

Wynkyn de Worde; his cuts in Hyecescorner and Robert the Denvll used by W. Copland in Boorde's Introduction, 108.

Yarmouth, 120.

3e, 59, yea.

yll, 122/9, badly, extremely.

yongly, 300.

yonker, 160/3, fine fellow, in Germany.

young folks' laziness, 83.

yrco, 94, 288.

Ytale, 53, Italy.

draughtes, p. 236, l. 4 from foot, must mean 'privies'. 'A draught or priuie, latrina': Withals, in Babees Book, p. 179, note 2.

On dagswaynes, p. 139, see Way's note 1 in Promptorium, p. 112. He quotes from Horman, "my bed is covered with a daggeswaine and a quylte (gausape et centone): some dagcswaynys haue longe thrumys (fractillos) and faggz on bothe sydes, some but on one." 'So likewise Elyot gives Gausape, a mantell to caste on a bed, also a carpet to lay on a table; some cal it a dagcswayne'.
"Andrew Borde, Doctor of Physick, was (I conceive) bred in Oxford, because I find his book called the Breviary of Health examined by that University. He was Physician to King Henry the eighth, and was esteemed a great Scholar in that age. I am confident his book was the first written of that faculty in English, and dedicated to the Colledge of Physicians in London. Take a test out of the beginning of his Dedicatory Epistle,

'Egregious Doctors and Masters of the Eximious and Arcane Science of Physick, of your Urbanity ex...te not your selves against me for making this little volume of Physick; &c.'

"Indeed his book contains plain matter under hard words, and was accounted such a Jewel in that age, (things whilst the first are esteemed the best in all kinds,) that it was Printed, Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, for William Midleton, Anno 1548. He died, as I collect, in the reign of Queen Mary." (Part I, p. 215-216.)

Paschal the playn, p. 145. Fuller explains who this man was. Under Suffolk, in his Worthies of England, Part III, p. 59, Fuller gives in his list of Prelates:—

"John Paschal, was born in this County (where his * Bole de scrip. brie. centur. 5. num. 25. name still continueth) of Gentle Parentage, bred a Curselian, and D.D. in Cambridge. A great Scholar and popular Preacher. Baleman, Bishop of Norwich, procured the Pope to make him the unbratlie Bishop of Scalari, whence he received as much profit as one may get heat from a Glow-worm. It was not long before, by the favour of King Edward the Third, he was removed from a very shadow to a slender substance, the Bishoprick of Landaffe; wherein he died Anno Domini 1361."

1 This is a mistake.
Supplement

to

Andrew Boorde’s Introduction and Dietary.

EXTRA SERIES, NO. X, 1870.
NOTE ON THE DISCOVERY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM OF A BOOK WITHOUT AUTHOR'S NAME OR INITIAL, BUT UNDOUBTEDLY THE WORK OF ANDREW BOORDE.

By Charles Faulke-Watling.

This very interesting little volume from the press of Robert Wyer was entered in the Catalogue under the general heading "Book," there being nothing to show until now by whose hand it was written. The writer of this note, while searching for something else, was so struck with the title "The Boke for to lerne a Man to be wyse in building of his house," that he sent for it, thinking that it might supply material for an interesting article commenting on Dr Richardson's recent lectures on the same subject, after a lapse of more than three centuries. This expectation was amply justified, and the subject having been mentioned to Mr Ponsonby Lyons, that gentleman suggested the name of Andrew Boorde as a writer on sanitary matters in the 16th century, whose works might supply additional material for the purpose in view. But when Boorde's works were obtained, it was found that the interest was by no means confined to the subject matter, but that the first eight of the forty chapters contained in his Dietary were as nearly as possible identical with the eight chapters of which the volume now to be described consists.

The book is quite perfect, and in as good condition as when it first came from the press. It is a small quarto of sixteen leaves (A. B. C. D. in fours). There are twenty-five lines to each page, and every chapter has a woodcut initial letter, which is not the case with any of the editions previously known, except that belonging to
Mr Henry H. Gibbs, which has ornamental initials throughout. The attention of Mr Furnivall was called to the book, and he at once pronounced in favour of its being the work of Boorde. It may be that it was his first attempt at authorship, and that after he had acquired some degree of reputation, and was engaged in writing the more comprehensive work which he published under the title "A compendious regyment or a Dyetary of helth," he prefixed the little treatise now under consideration to the later work instead of republishing it in a separate form. No edition of the Dietary is known which does not contain these eight chapters, but, as will be seen hereafter, the title is not so applicable to them as it is to the succeeding thirty-two chapters, which relate exclusively to questions of regimen and diet, and there appeared at first sight to be some reason for supposing that the break in the continuity of the subject was recognized by several of the printers, who have concluded the eighth chapter with lines gradually decreasing in length. This is the case in all the editions, except Powell's and that in the possession of Mr Gibbs, in both of which Chapter VIII. ends evenly; the irregularity, however, occurs in one or more places in every edition of the Dietary, so that in all probability it should be attributed rather to accident than to design.

The Title-page, Table of Contents, and Colophon of the newly-discovered work are here given in full, and the notes appended will show that they have been carefully collated with those of five editions of the Dietary; attention is also directed to a circumstance of some interest at the end of the third chapter. The other differences between the work described and any one of the editions of the Dietary are not greater than those between that one and each of the others. There is no dedication to the Duke of Norfolk, but that is also the case with the undated edition of the Dietary (A.), as well as with Colwell's edition of 1562 (B.), both in the British Museum. No allusion whatever is made in the dedication printed in the 1542 edition (E.) to any portion of the book having been in existence previous to that date, and this is, of course, an argument against the supposition that the first eight chapters were published in a separate form before the appearance of the Dietary, and would tend rather to show that they
First Edition of the First 8 Chapters of A. Boorde's Dietary. 389

were really published as an extract from a book previously known. Which of the two hypotheses is the true explanation is the question now submitted for consideration, and the following extracts are given to aid in the solution of the difficulty. The title-page is as follows:

The boke for to
Lerne a man to be wyse in
buyldyng of his howse for
the helth of body & to holde
quyetnes for the helth
of his soule, and body.

¶ The boke for a good
husbande to lerne.

¶ We
May-
sters of
Astrono-
ymye,
And do-
c Toures
in Phe-
sycke co-
fyrmeth
this say-
enge to
be good
& trewe
both for
the bo-
dy, and
also for
the sou-
le. ❀

Woodcut of an
Astronomer.

A 1

The woodcut is not the same as that in the copy belonging to Mr Henry Hucks Gibbs, from which Mr Furnivall printed his edition of the Dietary for the Society, nor is it the same as that printed in the undated copy in the British Museum, and in the 1562 edition, which has also been recently acquired by the trustees of the National Library. The double-dated Edition, and that of 1576, have no woodcut on their title-pages. It is noteworthy that the woodcut of the 1542 edition represents St John without the eagle. Robert Wyer used as his device a cut of the Saint writing the Revelations, and attended in most cases by an eagle. Herbert makes a special note
Another peculiarity to be observed is, that in the tract now described the title-page itself is signed, A. 1.

The next point for description is the table of contents. This has been carefully collated with those of the five editions of the Dietary, and all the various readings are supplied in the foot-notes, chapter by chapter, the heading being numbered 1, and the eight chapters 2 to 9.

1. The Table of the Chapters doth followeth; B. The Table; C. Here followeth the Table of the Chapters; D. The Table; E. Here followeth the Table of the Chapytres.

2. D. first; A. B. Chapter (throughout): C. Chapyter; E. Chapytre; B. doeth; D. shew; C. E. shuld; D. should; in A. B. D. "cytuat" for "buylde"; C. E. cytunt; A. B. C. D. E. "set his mansyon place or howse," instead of "howse or place"; except that D. has "mansion," E. "mancon," and B. C. D. have "house"; C. y*.

3. B. omits (throughout); D. secod; C. chapiter; E. Chapytre; C. dothe; D. shew; D. how; C. shuld; D. should; B. D. build; B. C. D. house; A. B. C. D. E. here insert "and"; A. B. prospeete: C pspect; A. B. D. the; A. B. C. E. consruacion; D. consruation; A. B. C. D. health.
FIRST EDITION OF THE FIRST 8 CHAPTERS OF A. BOORDE’S DIETARY. 391

4 ¶ The thyrde chapter doth shewe a man to / buylde his house in a 
   pure and fresh / ayre for to length his lyfe./

5 ¶ The fourth chap’t doth shew vnder what / maner a man shuld buylde 
   his house in ex/chewyng thynges ye shuld shorten his lyfe.

6 ¶ The V. chapter doth shewe howe a man / shulde ordre his 
   house, consenynge the im/plementes, to cofort the spyrites 
   of man/

7 ¶ The VI. chapter doth shewe a man howe / he shulde ordre his 
   house and howsholde, to / lyue in quyetnes.

8 ¶ The VII. chapter doth shewe howe the hed / of the house, or 
   howseholder shulde exercy/se hymself, for the helth of his soule 
   & body

9 ¶ The VIII. chapter doth shewe howe a man / shuld ordre hym 
   self in slepynge & watche,/ and in his apparell werynge.

Explicit tabula.*

4 C. has \*\* for ¶.  D. third; C. Chapytter; E. Chapitre; B. doeth; C. 
   dothe; D. shew; A. më;  B. D. build; A. B. C. D. house; C. i; C. inserts 

5 A. III;  B. E. III;  A. B. D. Chapter; C. Chapiter; E. Chapytre; 
   B. doeth; C. dothe; D. shew; A. B. C. shulde; D. should; D. build; B. 
   hys; B. C. D. house; here A. B. C. D. E. all insert the words “or mansyon” 
   (D. spells mansion); A. B. D. omit “in”; C. E. eschewynge; D. eschewing; 
   D. things; A. B. D. E. that; A. B. C. shulde; D. should; A. B. D. “the” 
   for “his”.

6 D. fift; C. Chapiter; E. Chapytre; B. doeth; D. shew; C. E. shuld; 
   D. shold; B. C. D. order; B. hys; B. C. D. house; A. B. concernynge; C. E. 
   concernynge; D. concerning; A. B. Implementes; A. B. C. D. E. comforte; 
   A. B. C. E. sprytyes; D. spirytes.

7 C. has \*\* for ¶.  D. sixie; C. Chapiter; E. Chapytre; D. shew; C. a 
   më; E. shoulde; D. should; B. C. D. order; B. C. D. house; B. has “hou-
   shold” as a catchword, but at the top of the next page the word is spelt 
   “housholde”; D. quietnesse.

8 A. VIJ;  D. seeith; C. chapiter; E. Chapytre; D. E. shew; C. E. 
   howe; C. ye; A. hed of house; B. hed of the house; C. hed of a house; 
   D. head of the house; E. hed of a houwe; A. B. C. D. E. insert “a” after 
   “or”; A. B. D. houssholder; C. householde; A. B. shuld; D. should; 
   C. exceryse; D. exercise; A. E. C. hym selfe; B. D. himselfe; A. B. C. 
   health; C. E. the soule; A. B. and bodye; D. E. and body.

9 A. VIJ;  D. eyght; C. chapiter; E. Chapytre; E. shew; C. howe; C. 
   më; A. C. E. shulde; B. shoulde; D. should; B. C. D. E. order; A. hymselfe; 
   B. E. hym selfe; C. him selfe; D. himselfe; D. slepping; A. B. C. D. E. and; 
   C. E. watchyngye; B. apparel; A. B. C. E. wearyng; D. wearing.

* Wyer’s undated edition, A. Colwel’s of 1562, B. Powell’s double-dated 
   Mr Furnivall’s reprint of the 1542 edition, E.
The words "explicit tabula" at the end of the eighth chapter are, of course, peculiar to the treatise which is brought to a conclusion at that point. In all the enlarged editions published under the title "Dietary of Health," the table of contents proceeds, without any break whatever, to give the headings of the remaining thirty-two chapters. The various readings of the concluding words in the different editions will be found at page 231 of Mr. Furnivall's reprint.

The next point to be observed is, that in the Dietary there occurs, at the end of the third chapter, a reference to the 27th chapter, but in the book under examination there is no such reference for obvious reasons, but the information referred to appears as a separate paragraph on the same page. The extracts are given here, for the sake of comparison, in parallel columns, partly with a view to directing attention to the differences between them, and partly because the circumstance appears, at first sight, to afford some additional ground for believing that the larger work was first published, and the smaller one brought out afterwards in a separate form.

Paragraph at the foot of Chapter III. in the book described.

"For whan the plaiges of the Pestylence or the swetynge syckenes is in a trowne or countre, at Mountpylour, and in all other hyghe regyons and countrees, that I haue ben in, the people doth flye from the contagious and infectyous ayre, preseruatyues with other councell of Physycke, notwithstanding. In lower and other baas countrees, howses the which be infectyd in trowne or cytie, be closed vp, both dores & wyndowes, and the inhabytours shal not come abrode, nother to churche nor market, for infectyng other, with that syckenes.

Opening sentences of Chapter XXVII. (Mr. Furnivall's reprint.)

"Whan the Plages of the Pestylence, or the swetynge sycke-nes is in a towne or countree, with vs at Mountpylour, and all other hygh Regyons and countrees y* I haue dwelt in, the people doth fle from the contagious and infectious ayre preseruatyues, with other councellyll of Physyke, notwithstanding. In lower and other baas countrees, howses the which be infectyd in trowne or cytie, be closyd vp both doores & wyndowes: & the inhabytours shall not come a brode, nother to churche: nor to market, nor to any howse or copany, for infectyng other, the whiche be clene without infection."
It will be seen that in the tract the author does not use the words “with us” when speaking of Montpelier. Can it be that he wrote the treatise on house-building elsewhere? And, if so, are we to suppose that it was written before or after 1542, the date of his dedication of the Dietary to the Duke of Norfolk, which Mr Furnivall believes to be the date at which the first edition was published? And, speaking of this dedication, does the text afford sufficient ground for believing that it was actually written in Montpelier? It is dated from there, but it would be hard to prove that it was not written in London. The author in the body of the dedicatory letter calls attention to a book “the which I dyd make in Mountpyller,” and which he says “is a pryntynge besyde Saynt Dunston’s churche.” The dedication, as prefixed to the 1542 edition, and the version in Powell’s edition of 1547, are printed by Mr Furnivall in parallel columns (page 225 et seq.), and we see at once that Powell kept both the original place, Montpelier, and the original day and month, 5th of May, but altered the year, 1542, to the date of his own edition, 1547, to make it look like a new book.

1542 Edition.

From Mountpyller. The .v. From Mountpyller. The fyft day of May. The yere of our lorde Iesu Chryste M.v.C.xlij.

Powell’s Edition.

From Mountpyller. The .v. From Mountpyller. The fyft daye of Maye. The yere of our Iesu Chryste M.ccccc xlvii.

It is at least possible that the principal object of Boorde, as well as Powell, was to show, not that the dedication was written in Montpelier, but that the author had studied in the medical school of that city, which he himself describes as “the hed vniversitie in al Europe for the practes of physycke & surgery or chyrming.”

There is nothing more in the book here described that requires any special consideration until the eighth and last chapter is brought to a conclusion, with a caution against travelling in boisterous weather. “ Explicit” is printed at the foot of the chapter, and thereafter are inserted the following verses, which do not occur anywhere in the various editions of the Dietary. The last verse is followed by the word “Finis”, and beneath that is the Colophon as printed below
¶ Of folyshe Physycyons.
Who that useth the arte of medycyne
Takynge his knowlege in the feelde
He is a foole full of ruyne
So to take herbes for his sheelde
wenynge theyr vertue for to weelde
whiche is not possyble for to knowe
All theyr vertues, both hye and lowe.

¶ Of dolorous departynge.
¶ Neuer man yet was so puysant
Of gooddes or of parentage
But that mortall death dyd hym daunt
By processe at some strayght passage
yea, were he neuer of suche an age
For he spareth neyther yonge nor olde
Fayre nor fowle, fyerse nor also bolde.

¶ Of the true descripcion.
¶ The wyse man whiche is prudent
Doth moche good where euer he go
Gyuynge examples excellent
Unto them the whiche are in wo
Teachynge them in all vertues so
That they may not in to synne fall
If that they hertely on God call.

¶ Of Phylosophye.
¶ At this tyme doctryne is decayed
And nought set by in no place
For euery man is well appayed
To get good with great solace
Not carynge howe nor in what place
Puttynge the fayre and dygnesophye
Under feete with Phylosophye.

¶ Finis. ¶
Imprynted by me Robert Wyer,¹ dwellynge at the signe of :Ś:
John Euangelyst, in s. Martyns parysshe in the felde besyde the Duke of Suffolkes pla-
ce, at Charynge Crosse.
¶ Cum priueligio, Ad impremendum solum.

It now remains to say a few words about the relative ages of the tract described and of the first edition of the Dietary, regarding the question from a purely typographical point of view. All the evidence appears to be in favour of the tract having been printed at an earlier period than the “Dietary.” It is well known that the printers of the day allowed the quality of the paper they used to deteriorate as time went on. Now there is a marked difference in the texture and finish of the paper on which the tract is printed and that of the paper which is used for the Dietary, and the superiority belongs entirely to the former. The type used in the tract is, in the opinion of experts, of an earlier character than that used in the Dietary, many of the letters (l, v, &c.) bearing a closer resemblance to the forms used in manuscript, while a careful comparison of those of the woodcut initial letters, which are common to both books, seems to show that if the same blocks were used in both cases they were less worn and in better condition when the tract was printed than when they were used for the Dietary; but, of course, it is quite possible that

¶ Cum priueligio Ad impromen-dum solum.

For the colophons of the other editions noticed by Mr Furnivall, see page 304 of his reprint. In H. Jackson’s edition of 1576 an imprint is given at the foot of the title-page, but the colophon merely consists of the word Finis over the woodcut reproduced by Mr Furnivall from Mr Gibbs’s copy, that is, Wyer’s ordinary device, St John attended by the eagle: it will thus be seen that Mr Gibbs’s copy affords examples of two out of the three devices used by that printer, one of them being very rare.
the initials in the two books were printed from different blocks, cut to the same pattern; and if that were the case the argument, based upon the superior clearness of the impressions in the tract, falls to the ground. However, taking all the facts of the case together, the writer, as far as he can venture to form an opinion on such a subject, is inclined to believe that "The boke for to lerne a man to be wyse in the buyldeynge of his howse" was printed, if not actually written, at an earlier period than the earliest known edition of the "Compendyous Regymt or Dyetary of Helth," with which it was incorporated; and the supposition that the Dietary, in its complete form, was first published, and then that the first eight chapters were extracted and published separately under another title, he believes to be untenable and against the weight of the evidence.
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