

INTRODUCTION

HISTORY AND CONTEXTS

The dietary genre

Dietaries, or regimens, are texts (usually prose) advising readers on how to best achieve and maintain good health, and they were immensely popular in the early modern period. Dozens of titles were published in the sixteenth century, with many reprinted several times, and some corrected, revised, and enlarged in subsequent editions. The market for these texts was clearly huge, and, following the success of the first titles, writers and publishers responded by producing further works aimed at a readership eager to learn more about their physical and mental well-being. Dietaries are an eclectic genre, with some titles aimed specifically at particular groups, such as old men or the melancholic, and some containing recipes or lengthy advice devoted to specific ailments, such as the plague. However most were aimed at a wide range of readers who could each consult the particular piece of advice that especially pertained to them. They all contain detailed advice on how to live a healthy life according to one's complexion (determined by the predominance or imbalance of a particular humour) but also taken into account are a person's age, gender, location, and even their occupation.

Advice is usually given on how to maintain bodily health by taking exercise and avoiding bad air, using purges, and bloodletting. Advice is also provided about which medicines are best suited to alleviate a particular ailment, with instructions given for how to make certain medicines at home. How to sleep (for how long and in what position) is also usually discussed as are other aspects of behaviour that impact upon bodily health such as when to wash and what to wear. The dietaries also usually attend to mental well-being, noting that a happy disposition is the best way to maintain physical and mental health.

What to eat and why forms an important part of any dietary. The following are all dealt with in detail: what foods are best suited to a particular complexion; whether foods are best consumed raw or cooked (usually the latter); how best to cook a particular food, usually according to one's complexion; how much to eat and when (in what season, at what time of the day); what combinations of foods are best avoided; how easily a particular food is digested. Specific food groups – for example animal flesh, fish, fruit and bread – are usually discussed in detail, with further detail provided according to which particular types of animal, fish, fruit or bread should be sought-out and which avoided. Herbs and spices are often given considerable attention, with their medical attributes stressed, and drinks are also considered. Typically the section on each food will consider the food's properties, to whom it is best suited, in what state it is best consumed (for example whether fresh if fruit, or young if animal flesh), and its effects upon the body. The reader is repeatedly urged to avoid excessive consumption of food and drink, with the merits of moderation often rehearsed.

A major influence on early modern dietary authors was the medieval text *Regimen sanitatis Salerni* (*The Salernitan Rule of Health*), attributed to Joannes De Mediolano,

and translated into English by Thomas Paynell (De Mediolano 1528) and later in a verse translation by Sir John Harington (De Mediolano 1607). Harington's translation is closer in spirit to the original because the rhyming verses make the advice offered easy to remember, something that helped established the popularity of the medieval text. In this celebrated work we find what would become the common concerns of those dietaries published in English during the early modern period and outlined above. The debt to the *Regimen sanitatis Salerni* is evident in the three dietaries included in this edition, for example in their promotion of mirth as an aid to good health. Translating the *Regimen sanitatis Salerni* into English was an important step in the development of the dietary genre. In his dedication to Lord John, Earl of Oxford, and High Chamberlain of England, Paynell explains why he has translated the work:

Oh how wholesome is it then to use good diet, to live temperately, to eschew excess of meats and drinks? Yea how greatly are we Englishmen bound to the masters of the universities of Salerno (Salerno is in the realm of Naples), which vouchsafed in our behalf to compile thus necessary and thus wholesome a book? But what availeth it to have gold or abundance of riches if one cannot use it? What helpeth costly medicines if one receive them not? So what profiteth us a book, be it never so expedient and fruitful, if we understand it not? Wherefore I considering the fruit that might come of this book if it were translated into the English tongue (forwhy every man understandeth not the Latin), I thought it very expedient at some times for the wealth of unlearned persons to busy myself therein, for learned persons and such as have great experience need no instructions to diet themselves nor to conserve their health. (Present author's modernization of De Mediolano 1528, A3r)

The focus on increasing the understanding of those not educated in Latin or medical and dietary matters, on translating these "wholesome" ideas into English, was part of an emerging sense of egalitarianism and national pride found in humanist circles. This is apparent also in the printer's address to the reader that prefaces the later translation by Harington:

Reader, the care that I have of thy health appears in bestowing these physical rules upon thee; neither needest thou be ashamed to take lessons out of this school, for our best doctors scorn not to read the instructions. It is a little *academa* where every man may be a graduate and proceed Doctor in the ordering of his own body. It is a garden where all things grow that are necessary for thy health. This medicinable tree first grew in Salerno, from thence it was removed and hath born fruit and blossoms a long time in England. (Present author's modernization of De Mediolano 1607, A3r)

The printer claims that "the author", perhaps Harington rather than De Mediolano, "is to me unknowne, and I put this child of his into the open world without his consent", urging the reader to hope, as the printer does, "that he will not be angry, finding this a traueeler abroad, when by his trauel, so many of his owne country, are so manifoldly benefited" (De Mediolano 1607, A3v).

The humanists reached back even further than the medieval period and privileged classical learning, believing that the study of ideas and values found in writings by the ancients would unlock the intellectual and spiritual potential of humankind. By studying Latin and Greek, rhetoric, grammar, poetry, history, and moral philosophy, and considering ancient values in the context of Christianity, they believed that what

it meant to be human could be brought into sharper focus. Humanist scholars sought to return to original writings as far as was possible so as to uncover the errors of earlier translations and commentaries. The printing press facilitated the dissemination of knowledge and further enabled humanists to impart the values learnt from the ancients, the benevolence towards one's fellow Christian through learning being a key aspect of humanist thought.

Medical humanism saw a renewed interest in bodily and mental health propagated by ancient authorities, as is evident in the well-known humanist phrase *mens sana in corpore sano* (a healthy mind in a healthy body), taken from the tenth satire of the Roman poet Juvenal. The spirit of medical humanism is perhaps most clearly evident in the career of Thomas Linacre, the physician and humanist scholar responsible for teaching Greek to Sir Thomas More. Linacre went back to the original Greek manuscripts of some of Galen's most important writings to provide fine Latin translations of volumes hitherto unavailable in print.

The development of dietary literature parallels the spread of humanist ideas in early modern England. Humanists formed an intellectual network and many were friends with one another. As noted in this volume's introduction to Elyot, Thomas Linacre is probably the physician praised by Elyot in the proem (= preface) to his *Castle of Health*, and Elyot's dietary was influenced by the ideas of More and Erasmus, men he might also have known personally. It is also perhaps not too fanciful to suggest that Andrew Boorde might have met More since both men spent time with the Carthusian monks in London, Boorde as a member of the order and More as a visitor. What is clear is that the dietary authors took even further than the humanists the concept of communicating learning to the people by making ancient views on maintaining a healthy body and mind available not only in Latin, the language of scholars, but in the vernacular.

The notion that all readers, and specifically English readers, ought to have access to medical knowledge, hitherto the preserve of specialists, led to a surge in new titles, written in English and aimed at the general public. A popular work was Thomas Moulton's *Mirror or Glass of Health* (Moulton 1531), which begins with a treatise on the pestilence, offering some advice on how to avoid it via diet and other measures such as bloodletting, but is mainly a list of medical ailments and how to treat them, with a particular focus on astrology. With *The Castle of Health* Thomas Elyot is the first author to present a dietary written in the vernacular – not one simply translated into English – that takes into account the English climate, English foods, and the particular habits of English people. For the first time this kind of advice was widely available to the layperson, albeit one who was well-educated enough to be able to read.

The three dietaries contained in this volume, Thomas Elyot's *Castle of Health*, Andrew Boorde's *Compendious Regiment*, and William Bullein *Government of Health*, were each republished several times and are typical of the genre. Elyot's dietary, the first of the three to be published, clearly influenced the other two, although each is distinct in its approach, with Boorde the least conservative in his attitude to traditional views on health. Boorde's *Compendious Regiment* is arguably the next most important dietary written in English to emerge after Elyot's *Castle of Health* and, although, unlike Elyot, Boorde was trained in medicine, his tone is light, indeed lighter than Elyot's, and the work aimed at the general reader. Like Elyot,

Boorde is keen to make his work particularly relevant to his English readers. Bullein's *Government of Health* is unlike the other two in that it takes the form of a dialogue between the riotous John and the moderate Humphrey, but it shares their efforts to make matters relating to health understandable to all who can read in the vernacular and, again, there is a focus on matters specifically pertinent to England and the English people.

These popular and influential works deserve a modern readership because they offer an insight into early modern attitudes to food and diet, ideas about the body, psychological well-being, and identity. We know that they were widely read and popular because they were frequently reprinted in the decades after they first appeared. Today's scholars' investigations of this genre have hitherto been hampered by the lack of modern critical editions of them. It is hoped this volume will be of use to any reader interested in the history of food, medicine, and how these early printed books evolved through successive editions. Dietaries also illuminate early modern literary and dramatic texts where references and allusions to food and health were influenced by this fascinating but neglected genre.

Humoral theory

The ancient model of humoral theory dominated medieval and early modern thinking about how the body worked and was the key to understanding how to maintain bodily health. According to humoral theory, human personalities could be divided into four essential types: sanguine, choleric, melancholic, and phlegmatic. These were derived from the four cardinal humours: blood, choler (yellow bile), melancholy (black bile) and phlegm that they believed flowed through the body. The humours were described in terms of heat and moisture: blood was hot and moist; choler, hot and dry; melancholy, cold and dry; and phlegm cold and moist. Ideally a person had to have a properly proportioned mixture of the four humours since a predominance of one produced a person who was sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, or melancholic. However, the balance of the humours was not equal, for example blood was present in more abundance than other humours, and it was considered normal for most people to suffer from a slight humoral imbalance. This imbalance was usually corrected by modifying one's diet as well as controlling external factors – termed “non-naturals”, for example air and exercise – that could influence the internal humoral balance (Albala 2002, 49, 50).

Sir John Harington's verse translation of the *Regimen sanitatis Salerni* describes the four humours:

Four humours reign within our bodies wholly,
And these compared to four elements,
The sanguine, choler, phlegm, and melancholy . . .
Like aire, both warm and moist, is sanguine clear,
Like fire doth choler hot and dry appear,
Like water, cold and moist, is phlegmatic,
The melancholy cold, dry earth is like.

(Present author's modernization of De Mediolano 1607, C3r)

Various physical and personality traits are associated with each humour: the sanguine person tends to be fat, loving “wine, and women, and all recreation”; the choleric

man tends to be thin and is described as “proud, bountifull enough, yet oft malicious”; the phlegmatic man is “fat and square” and “Giuen much vnto their ease, to rest and sloth”; the melancholic is “Suspitious in his nature, and mistrustfull” with a “heauy look” (De Mediolano 1607, C3r–C4r). The physical characteristics typical of a particular complexion are further elaborated upon and are worth quoting in full:

If Sanguine humour do too much abound,
 These signs will be thereof appearing chief,
 The face will swell, the cheeks grow red and round,
 With staring eyes, the pulse bear soft and brief,
 The veins exceed, the belly will be bound,
 The temples and the fore-head full of grief,
 Unquiet sleeps, that so strange dreams will make
 To cause one blush to tell when he doth wake,
 Besides the moisture of the mouth and spittle,
 Will taste too sweet, and seem the throat to tickle.

If Choler do exceed, as may sometime,
 Your ears will ring and make you to be wakeful,
 Your tongue will seem all rough, and oftentimes
 Cause vomits, unaccustomed and hateful,
 Great thirst, your excrements are full of slime,
 The stomach squeamish, sustenance ungrateful,
 Your appetite will seem in nought delighting,
 Your heart still grieved with continual biting,
 The pulse beat hard and swift, all hot, extreme,
 Your spittle sour, of fire-work oft your dream.

If phlegm abundance have due limits past,
 These signs are here set down will plainly show,
 The mouth will seem to you quite out of taste,
 And apt with moisture still to overflow;
 Your sides will seem all sore down to the waist,
 Your meat wax loathsome, your digestion slow,
 Your head and stomach both in so ill-taking,
 One seeming ever griping tother aching:
 With empty veins, the pulse beat slow and soft,
 In sleep, of seas and rivers dreaming oft.

But if that dangerous humour over-reign,
 Of melancholy, sometime making mad,
 These tokens then will be appearing plain,
 The pulse beat hard, the colour dark and bad,
 The water thin, a weak fantastic brain,
 False-grounded joy, or else perpetual sad,
 Afrighted oftentimes with dreams like visions,
 Presenting to the thought ill apparitions,
 Of bitter belches from the stomach coming,
 His ear (the left especial) ever humming.

(Present author's modernization of De Mediolano 1607, C4v–C5r)

Humoral theory considered disease a consequence of humoral imbalance and so it needed to be avoided at all costs. Various kinds of behaviours and environmental

factors discussed in dietary literature, the so called ‘non-naturals’, could help the reader bring about the perfect balance of the four humours, as noted in the *Regimen sanitatis Salerni*:

Against these several humours overflowing,
As several kinds of physic may be good,
As diet-drink, hot baths, whence sweat is growing
With purging, vomiting, and letting blood:
Which taken in due time, nor overflowing,
Each Malady's infection is withstood,
The last of these is best, if skill and reason
Respect age, strength, quantity, and season,
Of seventy from seventeen, if blood abound,
The opening of a vein is healthful found.

(present author's modernization of De Mediolano 1607, C5v)

The early modern dietary authors also advocated bloodletting but this would have been suitable only for those bodies containing an excess of blood (the sanguine) and usually when the humoral imbalance was extreme and disease had already taken hold.

Diet was the more usual way of correcting an imbalance in the humours in order to keep disease at bay. The reason diet was so important in regulating the humours was that each food and drink had its own complexion: for example whilst the consumption of hot and dry herbs would help correct the excessively phlegmatic (a humour that was cold and moist), they ought to be avoided by those suffering from an excess of a humour with the same qualities, that is choler (hot and dry), since they would augment the imbalance already causing a problem and make the person sick. The humours produced by foods, and the process of digestion, must also be of the correct quality and magnitude according to the type of person consuming them. For example, a delicate constitution would have difficulty processing a heavy meat such as pork, that was better suited to a strong body, whereas a delicate food such as chicken would be unsuitable for a strong body better suited to processing pork. In the strong body a delicate meat could result in burnt or adust humours and in a delicate constitution a heavy meat could produce raw humours (Albala 2002, 49). The *Regimen sanitatis Salerni* recommends moderation in diet before providing detailed advice on specific foods. The following assertion is typical of the emphasis put upon food in establishing and maintaining a good humoral balance and thus good health:

They that in physic will prescribe you food,
Six things must note, we here in order touch,
First what it is, and then for what 'tis good,
And when, and where, how often, and how much . . .

(present author's modernization of De Mediolano 1607, B5v)

These “six things” are typically the focus of attention for early modern dietary authors, including Elyot, Boorde, and Bullein.

Authorities

Although Elyot, Boorde, and Bullein were clearly influenced by the *Regimen sanitatis Salerni* they mention it rarely. It is cited by Bullein in the section “What is sage?” (pp. 257–8) and referred to by Elyot in the revised proem to the fourth edition of his

dietary (upon which this edition is based) but not in the dietary itself. It is not mentioned at all by Boorde. This is typical of the relaxed early modern attitude toward citing a debt to earlier authors. Harington's translation of the *Regimen sanitatis Salerni* advises that the reader "Vse three Physitians still, first Doctor *Quiet*, / Next Doctor *Merry-man*, and Doctor *Dyet*" (De Mediolano 1607, A6r) and Bullein also recommends these three doctors without specifically mentioning Harington's translation (p. 252). Elyot and Bullein are more likely than Boorde to credit their sources even if they are not consistent in naming them. Of course much of the advice given in the *Regimen sanitatis Salerni* can itself be found in earlier classical texts and these are often specifically cited or alluded to by Elyot, Bullein, and Boorde.

A major influence on the dietary authors was Galen of Pergamon, the Greek physician of the second century CE. Andrew Boorde is less likely than Elyot and Bullein to cite Galen, yet even he is heavily indebted to the ancient authority and all three authors do not demur from questioning Galen's opinions, invoking their own experience when relevant. Arab and Jewish authorities are also cited by the three dietary authors, although the influence of Galen and Galenic medicine in general tends to dominate. In the proem to the fourth edition Elyot lists the authorities with whom he is familiar:

when I wrote first this book I was not all ignorant in physic, for before that I was twenty years old a worshipful physician, and one of the the most renowned at that time in England, perceiving me by nature inclined to knowledge, read unto me the works of Galen, of temperaments, natural faculties, the introduction of Johannotius, with some of the aphorisms of Hippocrates. And afterward, by mine own study, I read over in order the most part of the works of Hippocrates, Galen, Oribasius, Paulus Celius, Alexander of Tralles, Celsus, Pliny, the one and the other, with Dioscorides. Nor I did omit to read the long canons of Avicenna, the commentaries of Averroes, the practice of Isaac, Haly Abbas, Rasis, Mesue, and also of the more part of them which were their aggregators and followers.

As John Villads Skov pointed out, this list "includes the most important authorities of his time" (Elyot 1970, 12) and Elyot clearly wants to impress the medical men reading his dietary with his knowledge of medical experts. Indeed, as Skov noted, the authors cited by Elyot "appear on reading lists assigned to medical students, and it is quite likely that Elyot deliberately intended to suggest that he had the equivalent of a university education in medicine" (Elyot 1970, 12–13). Most of these authorities are cited by Boorde and Bullein also.

The majority of the authorities cited by the three dietary authors in this volume are experts on the body, diet, and related issues such as bloodletting but other topics also emerge, for example, theology, politics, history, and mathematics. While most of the authorities are classical and some medieval, early modern authorities also feature, for example Elyot mentions Augustine de Augustinus, the sixteenth-century Venetian doctor who was personal physician to Cardinal Wolsey and royal physician from 1540 to 1546. Bullein is the dietary author most likely to cite his contemporaries, some of whom were English, for example the physician, cartographer, and astronomer William Cunningham and the mathematician and surveyor Leonard Digges. Bullein also cites Elyot's *Castle of Health* as an authority when discussing radish roots (pp. 269–70). A full list of who and what is cited and by which dietary author is provided in Appendix 5.

The Castle of Health

The author and the dietary

The following account of Elyot's life is derived from the standard sources (Hogrefe 1967; Elyot 1970, 1–124; Lehmborg 2004a; Lehmborg 2004b). Thomas Elyot was born around 1490 into a wealthy and influential family. His father, Richard, was a judge with powerful connections: acting as attorney-general to Queen Elizabeth. Richard also worked with Cardinal Wolsey and took part in the preliminary investigations into charges of treason against Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham (whose aunt was the wife of King Edward IV). Thomas Elyot spent his childhood in Oxfordshire and in the preface to the first edition of his Latin–English dictionary, published in 1538, claims he was educated by a private tutor until the age of twelve. It seems that he was subsequently largely self-taught; it is not clear whether he attended university or took any degrees. There is no evidence that he was trained in or practised



1 Portrait of Sir Thomas Elyot by Hans Holbein the Younger, c. 1532–34, Royal Collection

law but from 1510 to 1526 he served as clerk to the justices of assize for the western circuit, assisting his father and continuing for four years after his father's death.

Around 1510 he married Margaret à Barrow and it seems that the couple were friends of Sir Thomas More. After More's death, Elyot asked Thomas Cromwell to "lay apart the remembraunce of the amity betweene me and Sir Thomas More . . . I was never so moche adict [so much addicted] unto him as I was unto truthe and fidelity towards my sovereign lord" (Elyot Undated, fol. 260). In his biography of More, William Roper (More's son-in-) claims that Elyot reported to him a conversation he had with the Spanish Emperor Charles V about More's death, emphasizing More's worth as a counsellor to Elyot himself, his wife, and friends (Roper 1935, 104). If Elyot did know More then he would also have known the influential members of More's circle such as Erasmus and he certainly knew Hans Holbein because the artist produced drawings of Elyot and his wife, which are currently in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle. It may have been through More that Elyot also met Thomas Linacre, the humanist scholar and physician who taught More Greek, and Linacre is probably the physician Elyot praises in the proem to *The Castle of Health*:

before that I was twenty years old a worshipful physician, and one of the most renowned at that time in England, perceiving me by nature inclined to knowledge, read unto me the works of Galen, of temperaments, natural faculties, the introduction of Johannitus, with some of the aphorisms of Hippocrates.

Between 1515 and 1529 Elyot served as a Justice of the Peace for Oxfordshire and Wiltshire and in 1527 and 1529 he was named sheriff of the two counties. In 1523 he was appointed senior clerk of the King's council and served Cardinal Wolsey until his fall from power in 1529. Elyot's apparent friendship with More and advancement at the hands of Wolsey did not appear to cause him any lasting harm: he was knighted in 1530, and in 1531 appointed by King Henry as ambassador to the Spanish Emperor. Henry may have wanted Elyot to influence the Emperor's views on his divorce from Katherine of Aragon, Charles's aunt, but things clearly did not go well, presumably due to the fact that although Elyot was a loyal subject he was also sympathetic to Katherine's religious principles. He was recalled from Spain in January 1532 and replaced by Thomas Cranmer, the future archbishop of Canterbury. Elyot spent some time travelling through Germany with Cranmer and also spent some time in the Netherlands. He represented Cambridgeshire in the parliament of 1539 and also served as a Justice of the Peace for the region but did not get the preferment that he sought. Elyot continued undertaking various duties for the government in the final years of his life but lost any real influence when his patron, Thomas Cromwell, was charged with treason and executed in 1540. Elyot died on 26 March 1546 leaving his property to his wife (they had no children) and ordering that his books be sold and the money distributed to poor scholars.

With the death of his father in 1522 Elyot had inherited lands and a large library, containing French and Latin books as well as manuscript primers. The library was clearly put to good use: Elyot's reputation as a humanist scholar was established with *The Book of the Governor*, a treatise on government and the ideal ruler, first published in 1531 and dedicated to Henry VIII. Elyot's view of monarchy as the only proper form of government was indebted to a wide range of classical and medieval sources and in the book he recommends that future rulers be well-read in Greek and

Latin literature. His Latin–English dictionary, first published in 1538, was also dedicated to King Henry who was apparently interested in the project and had lent Elyot some books. It was the first Latin dictionary based on classical sources and applying humanist principles. Other works that deal with English matters with a view to influencing King Henry are *Pasquil the Plain*, first published in 1533, a Socratic dialogue that promotes the virtues of the free-speaking counsellor, and *Of the Knowledge Which Maketh a Wise Man*, also published in 1533, a prose dialogue featuring Plato and Aristippus that discusses, among other issues, the distinction between a king and a tyrant and what kind of knowledge the wise man possesses.

Elyot's *Castle of Health* was first published around 1537, with two further editions appearing in 1539, three in 1541, and subsequent editions appearing from 1547 onwards (making a total of eighteen). The textual situation is discussed in detail below. Elyot's title is an allusion to the traditional notion of the body as a fortress under siege from threatening forces, against which a strong regimen might launch a defence. The dietary begins with a proem in which Elyot explains his reasons for writing it and the various scholarly sources to which he is indebted. It is then divided into four books that incorporate the six topics of the regimen genre: air, food, evacuation, passions, exercise, and sleep. Throughout the dietary Elyot makes frequent use of lists and headings. As John Villads Skov pointed out, this way of dividing his material "owes a good deal to the Renaissance concept of 'method,' the reduction of an 'art,' or subject-matter field, to brief, clearly organized, summary form for quick reference and speed of comprehension" (Elyot 1970, x). Elyot also tends to use over-long sentences, some of which cannot be easily repunctuated due to his over-use also of subordinate clauses (for example in the penultimate paragraph of chapter seven, "Letting of blood", from the third book). Although this kind of writing can be frustrating for the modern reader (and the modern editor) it does lend the writing a modern 'stream of consciousness' effect, conveying a sense of excitement and urgency.

The first book is fairly short, containing what Elyot terms a "table" listing all the items and topics discussed in the dietary. It then lists what were known as the seven things natural (elements, complexion, humours, members, powers, operations and spirits); the six things not natural (air, meat and drink, sleep and watch, moving and rest, emptiness and repletion, affections of the mind) and the three things against nature (sickness, cause of sickness, and accident which follows sickness). Also listed, and annexed to the things natural, are age, colour, figure and diversity of kinds. He then discusses the things natural, not natural, and against nature in more detail, mainly in list form detailing also the effect meat and drink have upon the various parts of the body and specific humours.

Food and drink are the main focus of the second book: how much to consume; the nature of certain foodstuffs; the problems that emerge with excessive consumption, and the positive effects of moderation. Subsequent chapters are dedicated to specific foodstuffs, beginning with a short chapter on bread, then a longer one on the different kinds of animal flesh before proceeding to fowl, offal, fish, dairy products, fruits, nuts, vegetables, and herbs. The section on drinks begins with a discussion of water, then wine, milk, ale, cider, and whey. Honey and then sugar are dealt with before considering issues pertinent to health such as when to eat, which diet is best for which age group, and the merits of moderate sleep and exercise.

The third book begins with a discussion of the state of the body and bodily functions, for example repletion and purgations, before listing the foods (mainly herbs) that will help digest or purge a particular humour. Also discussed are bloodletting, scarifying the body, haemorrhoids, and the mental states of ire and dolour. It is suggested that certain foods will help the afflicted (again these are provided in a list) and, after briefly discussing the merits and dangers of joy, Elyot considers the combination of humours that might exist in one body, what time of the year certain humours are more prevalent, and which diets best suit particular complexions.

The fourth and final book discusses bodily ailments further – crudities (the imperfect concoction of humours or undigested matter in the stomach); distillations (catarrh); lassitude (weariness) – and proposes some remedies. It also details which illnesses are likely to strike at specific times of the year and to people of certain ages, and includes a list of the signs for telling which particular body part is afflicted. There is a detailed discussion of the diagnostic significance of urine before the “Precepts of the Ancient Physician Diocles Unto King Antigonus” are outlined: a brief description of medical symptoms and remedies. The book ends with a diet to be used in the time of pestilence.

Elyot’s proem to his dietary was revised twice: the first time for the second edition of the work published in 1539 and again for the fourth edition, published in 1541, and upon which this new edition is based. The proem to the first edition, published some time between 1536 and 1539, addresses Thomas Cromwell, Elyot’s patron, directly. In it Elyot claims that the main motivation for writing *The Castle of Health* is to help Cromwell to regain health, having recently discovered that the great man is suffering from a dyscrasy, a bodily disorder resulting from an imbalance among humours or qualities. Elyot tells how he was upset to hear of the illness of a friend but also that a wise and honourable counsellor to the King was ill because the King needs such men around him to help govern the kingdom. *The Castle of Health*, claims Elyot, will be of use to Cromwell but also to anyone who would “perfectly know the state of his body, being in the lattitude of health or declination to sickness, engendered by distemperance of the four natural humours”. The reader may find in the work the means to effect a cure himself or “instruct his physician”, and here Elyot pre-empt criticism for stepping on the physicans’ toes by stating that “by wise physicians considered, they will not disdain that I write in this matter, their estimation (where few men do perish) being thereby increased”. He also defends himself against accusations that writing a work on physic is not suitable for a knight by listing a number of great men, amongst them emperors, kings, and knights, who did the same. Isn’t it better for a Christian knight to cure men than kill them? he asks, concluding his proem with the plea “let not men be offended with my labour, which I have taken for their universal commodity”, returning to the point that it was Cromwell’s illness that first moved him to compose the work.

In the revised proem to the second edition Elyot begins by explaining that he was so upset by Cromwell’s illness and the desire to quickly build his *Castle of Health* that he rushed it and the work consequently contained errors, which were also due to Elyot’s responsibilities as a Member of Parliament. He then praises moderation, announcing that “he that liveth moderately doth love always faithfully, for over him affections and passions have left authority and he that standeth just in the middle standeth most surely”. The moderate person chooses sincere friends, indeed

friendship is a treasure, and Elyot urges Cromwell not to forget that he is a friend, concluding by proclaiming that he will pray to God for Cromwell's continued good fortune and health.

In the final revision made by Elyot to his proem for the fourth edition no mention is made of Cromwell, no doubt because he had been executed for treason in 1540. Where Elyot briefly defended his decision to write about physic in the proem to the first edition he here defends himself at length against those who have criticized his *Castle of Health* and he aligns himself with Galen who also faced criticism for putting his interest in learning above financial reward. Elyot denounces those who hold books on physic in disdain, repeating the point from the first edition that kings and emperors have studied physic, this time listing different powerful people and specifying their medical discoveries, mainly herbal cures, and later adding to the list of authorities by including traditional Arabic and classical medical authorities. He proclaims the esteem with which physic has been long held in England, hoping the king will take an interest in establishing it in the country, just as he is establishing "true and uncorrupted doctrines". If this were the case then his fellow Englishmen would "have less need of things brought out of far countries, by the corruption whereof innumerable people have perished". Although Elyot claims the physicians are not to blame for these deaths, he does note that some have been less than diligent in ensuring the safety of their drugs and ingredients. As David W. Swain pointed out, this is a dig at the Italian College of Physicians, "whose founder and early members had medical degrees from Padua and other continental schools" and implies also that "like native medicine, a native medical literature might also lessen English reliance on continental learning" (Swain 2008, 61).

The subtle criticism of physicians is evident throughout *The Castle of Health*, for example when Elyot concludes his advice on purgations, in chapter six of the third book, by commenting "These things I remembered because I have known right good physicians to have forgotten to instruct thereof their patients". His criticism is more overt in chapter two of the fourth book when he advises on the treatment of rheums, saying that men can follow his advice if they wish "although some physicians more considering their market than their duty to God and their country will be never so much offended with mine honest enterprise". Throughout the dietary Elyot advises the reader to consult "honest physicians", "good and well-learned physicians", "honest and perfect physicians", clearly a rhetorical strategy to suggest that not all physicians are to be trusted.

Elyot continues on the defensive in this proem, proclaiming that in writing his book he follows the example of King Henry VIII who wrote a book on grammar. Elyot specifically mentions the criticism he has received from the College of Physicians: "some of them hearing me spoken of have said in derision that although I were prettily seen in histories yet being not learned in physic I have put in my book diverse errors in presuming to write of herbs and medicines". He challenges this criticism by claiming that history is less trivial than the physicians believe and "may more surely cure men's affections than diverse physicians do cure maladies". Crucially, he also asserts that he is not ignorant when it comes to physic, listing the medical authorities he has read in his youth under the tutelage of "a worshipful physician, and one of the the most renowned at that time in England", presumably an allusion to Thomas Linacre. He knows not why the physicians would be angry with him since he wrote

with a view to helping them better diagnose illness and better prescribe medicine and that men reading his work might, by following a suitable diet, prevent serious sickness and be sooner cured. Of course such claims were not likely to placate his critics and were perhaps even made to deliberately antagonize them: certainly the tone of Elyot's defence veers between apology and mockery of his critics.

Elyot defends writing his *Castle of Health* in the vernacular: "But if physicians be angry that I have written physic in English, let them remember that the Greeks wrote in Greek, the Romans in Latin, Avicenna and others in Arabic, which were their own proper and maternal tongues". If the physicians wanted to keep their skills a secret, he says, they ought to have written it in a secret language, and he compares them unfavourably with earlier authorities who were not guilty of trying to withhold learning and knowledge from the untrained. He concludes by claiming he is not interested in "glory, reward, nor promotion" and that his book will prove advantageous to the careful reader and "honest physicians", this being part of the rhetorical strategy mentioned above that works by suggesting that not all physicians are honest and that those who find fault with *The Castle of Health* are amongst the dishonest ones.

The focus on popularizing medical knowledge, writing in English, and the influence of the English physician Thomas Linacre mark Elyot out as distinctly humanist in his approach. As Skov indicated, Linacre was an important, medical humanist, producing numerous influential translations of the writings of Galen (Elyot 1970, 71–2). As noted above, Elyot recalls being read the works of Galen by "a worshipful physician" (probably Linacre) and he names Linacre explicitly in book two, chapter thirty-three of his dietary when he advises further reading on fricaces or rubbings before exercise "He that will know more abundantly thereof, let him read the book of Galen of the preservation of health, called in Latin *De sanitate tuenda*, translated more truly and eloquently out of Greek into Latin by Doctor Linacre, late physician of most worthy memory to our sovereign lord, King Henry the Eighth". Medical humanism became well known in intellectual circles in England, not least due to Linacre's translations of Galen, yet for the humanists most influential in England, Erasmus and More, human well-being moved beyond the physical and their approach to health was more "broadly humanistic in that they sought not only to preserve the body but also to reform the mind and spirit", their interest spurred not only by medicine but also "a fundamentally psychological, ethical, and religious orientation toward all things coming down from Plato and medieval Christianity" (Elyot 1970, 73). Mental and spiritual well-being is especially evident in those chapters in the third book of *The Castle of Health* that deal with "the affects of the mind": however Elyot's main focus is the body and it is telling that, unlike Erasmus and More, Elyot expresses no dislike of athletics (Elyot 1970, 88).

By writing in English and making medical learning available to the non-expert Elyot was also apparently influenced by Erasmus's view that medical information should be more widely available: for example in his *Praise of Physic* Erasmus asserts that no man should be ignorant of "that parte of phisike whiche apperteyneth to the gouernance and preseruacion of helth" although this is made difficult mainly due to the "blynde ignorance . . . [and] the vayne glorie & ambition of leude phisitians" (Erasmus 1537, C1v). Similarly Elyot was likely influenced by More's view that medical knowledge, specifically that of Galen, could be put to practical use, as expressed in his *Dialogue of Comfort*. That good health could be maintained by

following a healthy regiment is stressed also by Raphael in More's *Utopia*, for example in his description of Utopian habits in dining (Elyot 1970, 75–8; Erasmus 1537, C1v; More 1553, H5v–H6r; More 1551, K2r–K3v). David W. Swain has compared the humanist endeavours regarding medicine and the tensions this raised between lay authors and physicians as “congruent to religious conflicts over the English bible”, although the arguments over ownership of Galen “entailed matters of academic politics, professional identity, and the rights of patients to know themselves medically and determine their care” (Swain 2008, 55). As noted above, in the proem to the fourth edition of *The Castle of Health*, Elyot's plea to use more English ingredients in medicine suggests that the English ought also to rely less on continental medical authorities. As Swain observed, Elyot's defence of writing his dietary in English, that the early physicians wrote in their own language, which “echoes Reformist arguments for universal access to the Bible” compared those physicians who mock him to “a cabalistic priesthood intent on guarding private knowledge from the Christian community of believers” (Swain 2008, 63). Elyot thus appeals to an emerging sense of national confidence, a desire to democratize medical learning, and a sense that medical theory ought to be balanced with empirical evidence via experience.

A growing national confidence is apparent not just in the use of the vernacular to communicate learning about physic but also in the use of English examples to illustrate points about physic that occur throughout *The Castle of Health*. In the second book Elyot repeatedly locates his discussion of foodstuffs and physical symptoms in an English context. For example in his discussion of the quantity of meat and whether the body can better digest gross or fine meats, from chapter one, he notes “men which use much labour or exercise, also of them which have very choleric stomachs (here in England), gross meats may be eaten in a great quantity, and in a choleric stomach beef is better digested than a chicken's leg”. A similar point is made in chapter eight: “Beef of England, to Englishmen which are in health, bringeth strong nourishment but it maketh gross blood and engendereth melancholy”. Also in chapter eight, the discussion of fallow deer is given a local context: “I suppose because there be not in all the world so many as be in England, where they consume a good part of the best pasture in the realm”. In chapter twenty-one, discussing drinks, he says of ale “I can neither hear nor read that ale is made and used for a common drink in any other country than England, Scotland, Ireland, and Poland”. In chapter twenty-seven, discussing times in the day that meals ought to be eaten, he emphasizes the importance of “the temperature of the country and person” in deciding when to eat, remarking “I suppose that in England young men until they come to the age of forty years may well eat the meals in one day”, stipulating the time that ought to elapse between meals. In discussing breakfast he again returns to the local context:

I think breakfasts necessary in this realm, as well for the causes before rehearsed as also forasmuch as choler being fervent in the stomach sendeth up fumosities unto the brain and causeth headache, and sometime becometh adust and smouldereth in the stomach, whereby happeneth perilous sickness and sometime sudden death, if the heat enclosed in the stomach have no other convenient matter to work on; this dayly experience proveth and natural reason confirmeth.

Here Elyot clearly privileges experience over traditional authorities who were writing for a Greek, Latin, or Arabic audience, not an English one. He further underlines the point about experience when he states “And here I will not recite the sentences of

authors which had never experience of English men's natures or of the just tempera-
ture of this realm of England, only this counsel of Hippocrates shall be sufficient: we
ought to grant somewhat to time, to age, and to custom". The classical authority
serves merely to underline Elyot's point, that Englishmen should learn from foreign
authorities, of course, but these theories should be modified in the light of what
Englishmen know to be good for their health. Elyot repeatedly cites Galen as a
respected authority in medical matters but he also occasionally disagrees with him,
for example in his discussion of the feet of swine as a foodstuff. In chapter nine from
book two, he observes:

Galen commendeth the feet of swine, but I have proved that the feet of a young bullock
– tenderly sodden and laid in a souse two days or three, and eaten cold in the evening
– have brought a choleric stomach into a good digestion and sleep, and therewith hath
also expulsed salt phlegm and choler. And this have I found in myself by often experi-
ence, alway forseen that it be eaten before any other meat, without drinking immedi-
ately after it.

Similarly in his discussion of radish amongst herbs, in the second book, chapter
fifteen, he notes that "being eaten last they make good digestion and looseth the belly
(though Galen write contrary) for I, among diverse other, by experience have proved
it". It is specifically Galen's lack of knowledge about the English context that is
emphasized when Elyot disagrees with him on mutton, in the second book, chapter
eight: "Galen doth not commend it, notwithstanding experience proveth here in this
realm that if it be young it is a right temperate meat and maketh good juice, and
therefore it is used more than any other meat in all diseases".

Elyot also indicates when particular conditions are especially likely to occur in
England, such as rheums, of which he says, in the fourth book, chapter two: "at
this present time in this realm of England there is not any one more annoyance to
the health of man's body than distillations from the head, called rheums". In the
fourth book, chapter seven, he describes the sicknesses happening to children, noting
that older children can suffer from "swellings under the chin, and in England com-
monly purples, measles, and smallpox". He also makes frequent references to the
English word for particular medical conditions and foodstuffs. For example in
chapter one of the third book, in a discussion of repletion, he describes a condition
"where the body is enfarced, either with choler yellow or black, or with phlegm,
or with watery humours, and is properly called in Greek *cacochymia*, in Latin
viciosus succus; in English it may be called corrupt juice". Similarly in the third
book, chapter six, listing the foods "which of their property do digest or purge
superfluous humours", Elyot notes that his examples are taken from classical authors
such as Galen, but he has not listed all examples "forasmuch as there be diverse
things whereunto we have not yet found any names in English". Describing crudity
and lassitude in chapter one of the fourth book he remarks that "although they be
words made of Latin, having none apt English work, therefore yet, by the definitions
and more ample declaration of them, they shall be understood sufficiently and from
henceforth used for English". Elyot does not assume that his reader will understand
Latin, unlike some elitist authors who, even today, do not bother to translate Latin
or French.

There are moments in *The Castle of Health* when Elyot's personality emerges,
sometimes because of what he tells the reader about himself and sometimes because

of what is implied. In describing the diet of choleric persons, in chapter sixteen of book one, Elyot remarks:

beside the opinion of best learned men, mine own painful experience also moveth me to exhort them which be of this complexion to eschew much abstinence, and although they be studious and use little exercise yet in the morning to eat somewhat in little quantity, and not to study immediately but first to sit a while and after to stand or walk softly, which using these two years I and also other that have long known me have perceived in my body great alteration, that is to say, from ill estate to better.

We also learn that he is prone to mental suffering in his discussion of *dolour* in chapter thirteen of the third book. He tells us that grief and sorrow can be caused by ingratitude:

This vice therefore of ingratitude, being so common a chance, maketh no worldly friendship so precious that life or health therefore should be spent or consumed. I have been the longer in this place because I have had in this grief sufficient experience.

In a discussion of the sorrow caused by the death of a child he offers advice that sounds odd, even callous, to modern ears:

If death of children be cause of thy heaviness, call to thy remembrance some children (of whom there is no little number) whose lives, either for incorrigible vices or unfortunate chances, have been more grievous unto their parents than the death of thy children ought to be unto thee, considering that death is the discharger of all griefs and miseries and to them that die well the first entry into life everlasting.

His advice on why the reader might not have got that longed-for promotion is more perceptive:

Oftentimes the repulse from promotion is cause of discomfort, but then consider whether in the opinion of good men thou art deemed worthy to have such advancement or in thine own expectation and fantasy. If good men so judge thee, thank God of that felicity and laugh at the blindness of them that so have refused thee; if it proceed of thine own folly abhor all arrogance and enforce thyself to be advanced in men's estimation before thou canst find thyself worthy in thy proper opinion.

Skov comments upon Elyot's "sermonizing" and a general tone of "stern repression" (Elyot 1970, 34) in *The Castle of Health* but there are lighter moments when joy shines through, for example in the chapter on honey, from chapter twenty-two in the second book:

this excellent matter most wonderfully wrought and gathered by the little bee, as well of the pure dew of heaven as the most subtle humour of sweet and virtuous herbs and flowers, be made liquors commodious to mankind, as mead, metheglin, and oxymel.

The joy is not simply Christian awe but also wonder at nature's inspired creation and industry, evident in both the bees who gather the honey and humanity who create the liquors from which they benefit.

The early editions and the present edition

Much of the material in this section is indebted to Skov's valuable bibliographical work (Elyot 1970, 155–64). Six editions of Thomas Elyot's *Castle of Health* were

published by Thomas Berthelet during Elyot's lifetime. The first is an octavo (STC 7642.5) probably published in 1537, with two more editions published in 1539: a quarto (STC 7642.7) and an octavo (STC 7643). Three subsequent editions were published in 1541: a quarto (STC 7644) and two more octavos (STC 7645 and STC 7646). A further eleven editions were published between the years 1546 (the year of Elyot's death) and 1610, with one edition, the 1541 quarto, reissued.

O1 (1537?), the first known edition, was clearly printed from manuscript or from an unknown predecessor edition. Q2 (1539) may have been produced from a manuscript or a marked-up copy of O1 and contains what appear to be authorial revisions, including a new proem. O3 (1539), which has the same new additions as Q2, seems to be set from an exemplar of O1 and is worse printed than Q2. Q4 (1541) has what appear to be authorial revisions not in earlier editions (matter not in Q2 or O3) and seems to be set from an exemplar of Q2. O5 and O6 (1541) have some of the same new further additions as Q4; until one-third of the way into the second book both seem to be set from an exemplar of O3 and the rest set from an exemplar of Q4 but with a new heading (in chapter two of the fourth book) not in O1-Q2-O3-Q4 that reads "By what tokens . . .". The order of O5 and O6 is uncertain and their numbering here relies only on the assumption that the fact that subsequent editions follow the details of STC 7646 instead of those of STC 7645 shows that STC 7646 is the later of the two (on the grounds that printers tend to reprint from the latest edition).

Skov reproduced the only known exemplar of O1, the first edition of Elyot's dietary (dated some time between 1536-1539), which is located in Yale University library but not reproduced in Early English Books Online (EEBO). Skov collated the six editions that appeared during Elyot's lifetime, arguing that since Elyot died in 1546 these later editions cannot have greater or independent authority. In fact, a posthumous edition may easily have additional authority derived from authorial labour – the words of fresh writing or the correction of existing writing – that lay unused by a publisher until after the author's death. In the present case there are no obvious signs of such authorial labour in the posthumous editions and they are henceforth ignored.

Skov thought that the 1539 quarto (STC 7642.7) represents Elyot's second and corrected edition, and that the 1539 octavo (STC 7643) is a somewhat less carefully made third edition. Amongst the three editions of 1541 (STC 7644, 7645, and 7646) Skov thought that the quarto (STC 7644) most faithfully embodies Elyot's last modifications of his text. Skov's conclusion is accepted here and STC 7644 (Q4), in the form of the exemplar in the Huntington Library, California (call number 53932), and reproduced in Early English Books Online (EEBO), is the copy text for the present edition. All six editions appearing in Elyot's lifetime text have been freshly collated and because all either certainly or possibly contain material from authorial manuscripts and/or authorial corrections, the variants (the differences from Q4) found in the other five are given in the collation notes.

The major difference between Q4 and earlier editions is a revised proem that omits all references to Thomas Cromwell, Elyot's former patron. The new proem is defensive against the criticism aimed at earlier editions, and critical of professional physicians, the source of these attacks (discussed in detail above). Also new to Q4 is chapter two of the fourth book: "Of distillations called commonly rheums and of some remedies against them right necessary". This revision is apparently authorial

since here Elyot continues in the same acerbic tone of the revised proem, criticizing those physicians “more considering their market than their duty to God and their country”, and wondering that they are not more skilled in providing remedies for rheums. Elyot also provides additional personal information, remarking that reading Galen persuaded him to disregard the advice of physicians and to self-medicate, with favourable results. There are other minor changes that are likely authorial, for example in chapter eighteen “Of drinks, and first of water” the addition of the clause “specially taken with superfluous eating of banqueting meats” and in chapter twenty-three on sugar from book two the addition of the clause “with sugar and vinegar is made syrup acetose”.

Each collation note begins with a roman numeral and the reading (called the lemma) that appears in this edition, followed by a closing square bracket. Next comes either the source for the adopted reading – indicated by its siglum *O*₁, *Q*₂, *O*₃, *O*₅, *O*₆ or *this ed.* (meaning this edition, the editor’s own invention) – or else, where *Q*₄ is the source of the adopted reading, an alternative reading that has not been adopted and its sigla (*O*₁, *Q*₂, *O*₃, *O*₅ or *O*₆), followed if necessary by an italic semicolon and another alternative reading not adopted and its sigla, and so on (italic semicolon, reading, sigla) for other variants from *Q*₄. Where the collation note is recording a lemma that departs from *Q*₄, the note next has an italic semicolon followed by *Q*₄’s reading and its identifying siglum *Q*₄ and the sigla of other sources that agree with *Q*₄, followed if necessary by other alternative readings and their sigla, separated by italic semicolons. The collational notes for marginal notes follow this pattern but are included in the marginal notes themselves within square brackets – rather than appearing at the bottom of the page – and where the lemma is the entire marginal note it is omitted; explanatory notes to marginal notes also appear in the marginal notes themselves, again in square brackets and after the collational note if there is one.

A Compendious Regiment or a Dietary of Health

The author and the dietary

The following account of Boorde’s life is derived from the standard sources (Boorde 1870; Boorde 1936; Furdell 2004). Andrew Boorde was born around 1490 at Borde Hill, near Cuckfield, Sussex, and grew up in Oxford. He was under age when he became a monk in 1515 by joining the Carthusian order at the London Charterhouse. He clearly flourished within the order because he was nominated as Suffragan (that is, assistant) Bishop of Chichester but in 1517, as reported in one of his letters, he was accused of being “*conversant with women*” (Boorde 1870, 44) and dismissed from the post by papal bull in 1521. In a letter to John Batmanson, the prior of Hinton Charterhouse in Somerset, dated 1528, Boorde announced himself unable to conform to the Carthusian’s rigorous rules, which included vegetarianism and fasting, and asked to be released from his vows. Boorde then travelled abroad to study medicine at numerous universities. In 1530 he returned to England, during which time he provided medical assistance to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, to whom he would dedicate his *Compendious Regiment or Dietary of Health*. Boorde claims to have also waited on King Henry VIII, at Norfolk’s request, which was presumably an informal arrangement since there is no record of payment for his services. By 1532 Boorde was again abroad and conferring with medical authorities in Orléans, Poitiers,



2 Andrew Boorde, woodcut, Wellcome Library, London

Toulouse, Wittenberg, and Rome, as well as travelling to Santiago de Compostela in Galicia and meeting with surgeons from the university there.

Having returned to England, Boorde took the oath of conformity, acknowledging King Henry VIII's supremacy, on 29 May 1534. His powerful friends included Thomas Cromwell, Principal Secretary and Chief Minister of the King. In a letter to Cromwell he complained of being kept imprisoned in the Charterhouse and upon his release seems to have spent some time at Cromwell's house in Hampshire. In 1535 Boorde was again abroad, apparently having been sent by Cromwell to report on continental views of the English King. Boorde travelled throughout France, Spain, and Portugal, writing to Cromwell complaining about a lack of sympathy for England in most countries, France excepted, and sending him rhubarb seeds from Barbary with instructions for growing the plant.

Boorde had returned from his travels by April 1536 and, in a letter to Cromwell, claimed to be practising medicine in Glasgow. He spent a year in Scotland before

moving back to England where he sought help from Cromwell in the recovery of two horses stolen from him in London and the repayment of some money that was owed to him. In late 1537 or early 1538 Boorde again travelled abroad, to Jerusalem amongst other places, and in 1542 he was living in Montpellier. Whilst there he completed *The Compendious Regiment, or, Dietary of Health* and wrote a number of other works, including *The First book of the Introduction of Knowledge* (Boorde 1555), which describes the customs and manners of various nations, commenting on a range of issues including the weather, fashions, and food. He also appears to have written a treatise denouncing beards (now lost) since this work was responded to in the *Treatise Answering the Book of Beards*; its title page claims it was compiled “by Collyn clowte” and its last page suggests the author is one “Barnes” (1541), who Furdell claims is the satirist Milton Barnes (Furdell 2004). It is during his time at Montpellier that Boorde is reputed to have collected the humorous stories attributed to him in two publications: *Merry Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham* (Boorde 1565) and *Scoggins Jests* (Boorde 1625); this reputation for humour has led to the notion that Boorde was the original ‘merry-Andrew’.

In 1547 Boorde was back in England and living in Winchester; 1547 also saw the publication of his *Breviary of Health* (described below), a work he repeatedly promotes in his *Compendious Regiment*. That same year Boorde was incarcerated in Fleet prison after being charged by John Ponet, later the Bishop of Winchester, with keeping three prostitutes in his chamber. Boorde’s powerful friend Thomas Cromwell had died in 1540 so there was no possibility of appealing to him for help and Boorde died in prison in 1549. It is not known where he was buried.

Boorde’s *Compendious Regiment or Dietary of Health* was first published in 1542. It contains two distinct sections: the first eight chapters provide details on where and how a man should build his house, exercise himself, and dress for the good of his health. These chapters were published separately in an anonymous work entitled *Book for to Learn a Man to be Wise in Building of his House* (Boorde 1550). It is unclear whether this work was written before the thirty-two chapters that form the rest of the *Compendious Regiment* or when it was published as a distinct volume (the STC date of 1550 is conjecture), but F.J. Furnivall suggests that it was printed before the first edition of the *Compendious Regiment* and then incorporated into the dietary rather than being a section later extracted from the dietary for separate publication (Boorde 1870, 396).

According to Don E. Wayne the *Book for to Learn a Man to be Wise in Building of his House*, also the first eight chapters of Boorde’s *Compendious Regiment*, constitute “the earliest published work in English on the subject of building” (Wayne 1984, 114). Boorde advises the reader on the practicalities of house-building: one ought to build a house where there is easy access to water and wood, where a man has plenty of room and fresh air, avoiding marshy ground and other places where the air is not good; one should also choose a plot that is pleasing to the eye and thus the heart. Boorde advises against overspending, warning that “a man must consider the expense before he do begin to build” (the fourth chapter), not borrow from his neighbours, and have enough put aside for sundry expenses that may occur along the way. When the house has been built it is essential for the householder to properly exercise his body and soul by suitable physical activity and prayer. He must also set a good example to those who serve him and Boorde is especially critical of

those who swear, claiming a particular propensity towards it amongst his own countrymen “for in all the world there is not such odible swearing as is used in England, specially among youth and children, which is a detestable thing to hear it and no man doth go about to punish it” (the seventh chapter).

The importance of sleep is emphasized by Boorde, who advises on the proper amount of sleep according to complexion, age, and health; in the eighth chapter he warns against sleeping on a full stomach, although if this must be done “then let him stand and lean and sleep against a cupboard, or else let him sit upright in a chair and sleep”. Boorde also warns against having sex “before the first sleep”, presumably a reference to segmented sleep, which seems to have been common in the early modern period, and probably consisted of a first sleep some time after dusk followed by a period of wakefulness and activity of various degrees, possibly including sex, before a second sleep (Ekirch 2001; Ekirch 2005). Boorde’s reputation as the original ‘merry Andrew’ is apparent also in this chapter when he advises “To bedward be you merry, or have merry company about you, so that to bedward no anger nor heaviness, sorrow, nor pensivefulness do trouble or disquiet you”. Sleeping on the stomach or the back is not recommended, nor is it wise to leave any part of the body uncovered, and on the head one should wear a scarlet nightcap. After a good stretch first thing in the morning, one should cough, spit and evacuate the bowels. Repeated hair-combing and washing, but only in cold water, is also recommended; washing in hot water is also specifically warned against in Bullein’s dietary since it “engendereth rheums, worms, and corruption in the stomach because it pulleth away natural heat unto the warmed place which is washed” (p. 240). Later in his dietary, when recommending a diet for those suffering from a fever or ague, Boorde notes “Good it is for the space of three courses to wear continually gloves and not to wash the hands . . .” (the twenty-eighth chapter). According to Boorde, going for a walk, hearing mass or saying prayers, and then playing a game of tennis or bowls is the best way to round off morning activities before eating (the eighth chapter). This chapter also contains advice about what to wear in winter and summer: in winter a scarlet petticoat and a jacket lined with lambskin, and in summer a lighter scarlet petticoat and goatskin perfumed gloves.

The chapters on specific foodstuffs, what to eat and why, begin with a warning against surfeit and praise for moderation and abstinence; a labourer can eat three meals a day but a man who is less active ought to eat only two. Boorde often remarks upon the behaviour and diet of English people, noting that the English spend too long sitting at dinner and supper and feed on gross (heavy, inferior) meats before lighter ones, which is not good for their digestion (the ninth chapter). The tenth chapter, on drinks, warns Englishmen against drinking water because it is “cold, slow, and slack of digestion”, preferring ale over beer since “ale for an Englishman is a natural drink” whereas beer “is a natural drink for a Dutchman”. Other drinks are discussed, with Boorde explaining that he will not say too much about cordial drinks at this juncture: “To speak of a tisane, or of oxymel, or of aqua-vitae, or of hippocras, I do pass over at this time, for I do make mention of it in *The Breviary of Health*”. Boorde was clearly alert to future book sales because promotion of this other volume occurs throughout *The Compenious Regiment*.

Boorde devotes subsequent chapters to specific foods with discussion of bread, broths, white meats (dairy products), fish, fowl, animal flesh, roots, herbs, fruits, and

spices. He then proceeds to outline diets that ought to be followed by men who are sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, or melancholy before moving on to diets that best suit specific ailments, for example a diet to follow during an outbreak of pestilence and a diet for those who are suffering from pain in the head. Boorde repeatedly comments on which foods are regularly consumed in England, for example: "Pottage is not so much used in all Christendom as it is used in England" (the twelfth chapter) and "in England there is no eggs used to be eaten but hen eggs" (the thirteenth chapter). In the sixteenth chapter, on the flesh of wild and tame beasts, he observes that "brawn is a usual meat in winter amongst Englishmen" and also offers the English reader advice, noting that "Beef is good meat for an Englishman so it be the beast be young and that it be not cow-flesh" and that venison "is a lord's dish and I am sure it is good for an Englishman, for it doth animate him to be as he is, which is strong and hardy".

Throughout *A Compendious Regiment* Boorde repeatedly invokes his experiences travelling the world, for example in his observations about hunting for venison: "I have gone round about Christendom and overthwart Christendom and a thousand or two and more miles out of Christendom yet there is not so much pleasure for hart and hind, buck and doe, and for roebuck and doe as is in England" (the sixteenth chapter). As H. Edmund Poole pointed out, "Boorde accepted the propositions of the ancients, but he had his own general opinions" and the reader can trace how "he refuses or accepts the ancient beliefs as they coincide or not with his experience" (Boorde 1936, 14). This is evident in Boorde's comments upon the deleterious effects of honeysops (a piece of bread soaked in honey) and what he terms "other broths", observing "they be not good nor wholesome for the colic, nor the iliac, nor other inflative impediments or sicknesses . . . the sayings of Pliny, Galen, Avicenna, with other authors, notwithstanding" (the twelfth chapter). Experience of how foreigners see things comes up repeatedly in Boorde's discussion of specific foodstuffs: for example he notes that garlic "is used and most praised in Lombardy and other countries annexed to it" (the nineteenth chapter) and he refers to High Almain (Germany) in his discussion of cheese, noting that although cheese ought not to be full of maggots "Yet in High Almain the cheese the which is full of maggots is called there the best cheese and they will eat the great maggot as fast as we do eat comfits" (the thirteenth chapter). In his section on pork Boorde compares how people of various nationalities keep their swine, observing that "Spaniards, with the other regions annexed to them, keep the swine more filthier than English persons doth" (the sixteenth chapter). In his description of the development of dietary literature Ken Albala categorized dietaries from the 1570s to 1650 (what he called "period 3") as distinct from earlier works:

they were . . . willing to criticize the ancients and strike out with their own opinions. It is in this period that local custom began to outweigh nutritional dogma. Social prejudices also came to the fore. Personal experience became a valid criterion in making dietetic judgments, and although there was nothing like a revolution with the experimental method and quantification that characterized scientific investigation of later centuries, there were major departures from orthodoxy. (Albala 2002, 8)

Boorde is clearly ahead of his time since *A Compendious Regiment*, first published in 1542, prefigures the focus on experience Albala identified in dietary literature produced decades later.

Boorde's sense of fun is apparent throughout *A Compendious Regiment* and that this is intentional is made clear from the outset in the proem (which he also calls his preface) addressed to the Duke of Norfolk:

diverse times in my writings I do write words of mirth, truly it is for no other intention but to make your grace merry, for mirth is one of the chiefest things of physic, the which doth advertise every man to be merry and to beware of pensiveness.

Like William Bullein in *The Government of Health* who advised his readers to acquaint themselves with 'Dr Merry' (p. 252), Boorde repeatedly advises the reader to attend to their mood as well as their food: for instance the householder ought to show good example to those around him "then may he rejoyce in God and be merry, the which mirth and rejoicing doth lengthen a man's life and doth expel sickness" (the seventh chapter). Also important is going to bed "with mirth" and getting up happy: "When you do rise in the morning, rise with mirth and remember God" (the eighth chapter). Generally, the message is that good diet and medicine alone are not sufficient and one must maintain a positive frame of mind: "let every man beware of care, sorrow, thought, pensiveness, and of inward anger" (the thirty-ninth chapter).

The manner in which Boorde gives dietary advice also emphasises mirth, for example in the discussion of Martinmas beef in the sixteenth chapter, which Boorde warns against eating because "it is evil for the stone and evil of digestion and maketh no good juice", elaborating as follows:

If a man have a piece hanging by his side and another in his belly, that the which doth hang by the side shall do him more good if a shower of rain do chance that that the which is in his belly, the appetite of man's sensuality notwithstanding.

The notion that a man would be better off using the piece of beef as an impromptu umbrella than eating it adds colour to what might otherwise be a routine piece of dietary advice. Boorde adds such touches throughout the work, for example when he denounces bakers who adulterate their bread with inferior grains: "I would they might play bo-peep through a pillory" (the eleventh chapter). Yet Boorde also deals with darker subject matter, and his discussion of what appears to be the real case of a madman called Michael – who killed his wife and her sister before committing suicide – is disturbing, if perhaps unintentionally amusing, when Boorde warns "see that the mad-man have no knife nor shears . . . for hurting or killing himself" (the thirty-seventh chapter).

Boorde's *Breviary of Health*, a work he promotes throughout *A Compendious Regiment*, was first published five years after his dietary (Boorde 1547). *The Breviary of Health* is generally medical in its trajectory with 384 short chapters, arranged alphabetically, each devoted to a medical condition, which is described, its causes rehearsed, and a remedy proposed. The remedy typically includes pills or some other medicine but also advice about diet, specifically which food and drink to include or exclude in order to regain health. Douglas Guthrie characterized it as "the first medical book, by a medical man, originally written in the English language"; as Guthrie pointed out, Thomas Elyot's *Castle of Health* had been published in 1534 but Elyot was not a doctor and had "incurred the wrath of physicians" for his imperitance (Guthrie 1943, 508).

In the Prologue addressed to Physicians that prefaces *The Breviary of Health* Boorde contends that those offering medical advice ought to be properly qualified for otherwise he “shal kyll many more than he shall saue” (Boorde 1547, A3r). In the Proem to Surgeons he adds that surgeons should be “wyse, gentyll, sober, and nat dronken” and “to promyse no more than they be able to performe with goddes helpe” (Boorde 1547, A4r). The importance of diet is here emphasized: surgeons “muste knowe the operation of all maner of breades, of drynkes, and of meates” as well as having their instruments, salves, and ointments at the ready (Boorde 1547, A4v). In a “Preamble to sycke men and to those that be wounded” Boorde warns that the sick person should have patience and put his faith in Christ; only after he has called upon his “spyrytuall phisicion [spiritual physician]” should he “prouyde for his body, and take counsell of some expert phisicion” (Boorde 1547, A4v–B1r). Boorde aims his book at the general reader, explaining in the “Preface to reders of this boke” that he has translated foreign and obscure words into English so that everyone may understand them (Boorde 1547, B2r), although he adds that he is brief in his explication, so that “the archane science of phisicke shulde nat be to[o] manifest and open, for than [then] the eximious [excellent] science shulde fall in to great detriment and doctors the which hath studied the facultie shulde nat be regarded so well”. Boorde claims that if he told all he knew then “every bongler [bungler] wolde practyce phisicke vpon my boke, wherfore I do omyt and leue [leave] out many thynges” (Boorde 1547, B2r). *The Second Book of the Breviary named the Extravagants*, attached to the *Breviary of Health*, adds certain ailments and their remedies not discussed in the first book, concluding with a discussion of various types of urine, the specific colour, containing blood and so on, and what this signifies.

The early editions and the present edition

There are six early editions of Andrew Boorde’s *Compendious Regiment of Health*. The first is STC 3378.5, published by Robert Wyer in 1542, and the second is STC 3380, published by William Powell in 1547, and these quartos are here called Q1 and Q2 respectively. A roman numeral error makes the title page of Q2 claim to be published in 1567, but this is unlikely because as Furnivall noted “Boorde died in 1549, and the dedication is altered [compared to Q1] in a way that no one but an author could have altered it” (Boorde 1870, 13). It is possible that Boorde made the alterations before he died in 1549 and that they lay unactioned for two decades during which several other editions (described below) were printed. However, the alterations were apparently made by annotating an exemplar of Q1 so this possibility is remote. The survival, rediscovery and reprinting of such a marked-up exemplar is even more unlikely than the discovery of a fresh authoritative manuscript.

That Q2 is a reprint of Q1 is established by their agreement-in-error on the unwanted sentence break in “comfort the brayne. And the powers natural” (Q1 B4r, Q2 A2v). However, the exemplar of Q1 used to print Q2 was first extensively annotated by the author, for the latter advertises itself as “newly corrected” on the title page and includes a different preface from Q1 that, like the dedication, could have been written only by the author and has dozens of improved readings. For example, Q2 omits the spurious words “other of” in Q1’s “fulfyllynge other of the .vii. werkes of mercy” (Q1 C4v, Q2 B2r) and recommends that beer reduces the heat of the liver if it is “wel brude and fyned” (well-brewed and refined) rather than “well serued and

be fynyed" (Q1 F2v, Q2 D2v). Such alterations are not beyond the capacities of an intelligent printshop editor or compositor, but Q2 also expands upon certain descriptions with additional knowledge only the author could provide, such as extending the description of the drink coyte to mention that "hit dothe but quench the thyrste" (Q2 D3v) without providing nutrition. Because of this layer of authorial improvement, Q2 is the copy text for this edition.

Part of Boorde's *Compendious Regiment* appeared in the quarto STC 3382.5 (published by Wyer and dated around 1550 by the ESTC), together with a short guide at the end indicating what quantity of medicines one ought to use, and this is here called Q3. This edition's title page markets itself as compiled by Thomas Linacre (c. 1460-1524) and several "Doctours in Physicke" with no mention of Boorde. John L. Thornton conjectured that, with Boorde in disgrace after his death in prison, the publisher Wyer chose to republish part of *Compendious Regiment* under the safer name of Linacre (Thornton 1948, 209). The alternative proposition that Boorde earlier took over Linacre's or another writer's work and expanded it to make *Compendious Regiment* is unlikely, since Boorde's book reads as a stylistically coherent whole. What Wyer used to set STC 3382.5 is uncertain, but it was not Q2 as the authorial improvements are absent. Assuming that the assigned dates are correct, the choice for copy text for STC 3382.5 is limited to Q1 or a fresh manuscript or a combination of the two. Q3 frequently agrees with later editions against Q1-Q2 yet it cannot have been printer's copy for those later editions since it lacks much of *Compendious Regiment*'s text, including parts where those later editions depart from Q1-Q2. Moreover, Q3 has a number of unique readings that are neither garblings nor innovations likely to arise in the printshop, which suggests an independent manuscript source. These are "breketh wynde", "immedyatly eaten", "reform the nature", "asshe wode or cole", "Antony a Physycion", "his curate", and "byd the sycke man remembre how christe suffred death & passyon for hym" (Q3 A4v, B1r, B1r, D4r, F3r, G2r, G3r). Because Q3 apparently preserves readings from an independent manuscript, wherever it differs from this modernized edition's copy text, Q2, its readings have been given special consideration.

The dietary was published again as a quarto by Wyer (STC 3380.5) in an edition conjecturally assigned to the year 1554 by the ESTC, and reprinted again as an octavo by Thomas Colwell in 1562 (STC 3381) and again as an octavo by Hugh Jackson in 1576 (STC 3382). The three editions are here identified as Q4, O5, and O6 on the assumption that the first's assigned date of 1554 is correct. P.B. Tracy's study of Wyer's type enabled her to produce a tentative chronology of his undated books and she assigned STC 3380.5 (under its former STC number of 3379) to the year "1550?" (Tracy 1980, item 111). Q4-O5-O6 form a distinct group agreeing on dozens of readings against Q1-Q2. Despite the difference in format, O5 was a slavish page-for-page reprint of Q4, copying even a catchword error "of" for "a" (Q4 F3r; O5 L3r). All of O5's differences from Q4 could have arisen in the printshop without authority. Presumably the manuscript used to set Q1 was destroyed in the process (this was usual), and hence Q4's agreement-in-error with Q1 on the readings "lyeth of digestion" (Q1 E4r; Q4 F3r) and "fulfyllynge other of the seuen workes of mercy" (Q1 C4v; Q4 C4v) shows that an exemplar of Q1 was the printer's copy for Q4. For the first of these two variants, O5 prints the correct "lyght of dygestion" (C7r), as does Q2 (C4v), but this could simply be a printshop correction.

However, Q₄ also departs from Q₁ in a number of small rephrasings that seem unlikely to have been made in the printshop:

thynges that shortneth mans lyfe (Q₁ C1r)

thynges the whiche shulde shorten the lyfe of man (Q₄ B4v)

consyderynge it doth compasse vs rounde aboute (Q₁ B4r)

consyderynge it doth close and doth compasse vs rounde aboute (Q₄ B2v)

as the influence (Q₁ B4r)

The fyrst is the influence (Q₄ B3r)

hath prepared (Q₁ D1v)

hath prouyded (Q₄ D2r)

nede not to be rehersed (Q₁ D3r)

nede not greatly to be rehersed (Q₄ D5r)

or y^e water of buglos or the water of endyue (Q₁ F1r)

or the water of Buglosse, or the water of Borage, or the water of Endyue (Q₄ F4r)

vnto she be maried (Q₁ F1v)

vnto the tyme she be maryed (Q₄ G1r)

and deade ale the which doth stande (Q₁ F2r)

and deed ale, and ale the whiche doth stande (Q₄ G2r)

feble stomackes (Q₁ G2v)

fell stomackes (Q₄ H3v)

shall do hym more good (Q₁ H3v)

shal do a man more good (Q₄ K2r)

doth fede in Englande (Q₁ H4r)

doth fede, specyallye in Englande (Q₄ K3r)

of roste meate, of fryed meate, and of bake meate (Q₁ I3r)

of roste meate, of fryed meate, of soden or boyled meate, of bruled meate, and of bake meate (Q₄ L2v)

in y^e broth of beef (Q₁ K1r)

in the broth of Beefe or with beefe (Q₄ M1v)

preseruatyues (Q₁ L3r)

preseruacions (Q₄ O1v)

take any open ayer (Q₁ L4v)

take y^e open ayre (Q₄ O3r)

sowre brede (Q₁ M3v)

sowre beere (Q₄ P3r)

he that doth not the commandment (Q₁ N3v)

he y^t doth not obserue the co[m]maundements (Q₄ Q3v)

theyr brethes (Q₁ N4r)

theyr hote breathes (Q₄ Q4r)

man in suche agony (Q₁ N4r)

man that is in suche agony (Q₄ Q4r)

These mainly indifferent variations suggest that the exemplar of Q₁ used to set Q₄ was first annotated by reference to an authoritative manuscript, collateral to the one used to set Q₁. This additional authority is not sufficient for us to prefer Q₄ to Q₂ as copy text for a modern edition, since Q₂'s additional authority (attested on the title page and in the prefatory material) is witnessed in dozens of improved readings. But if Boorde annotated an exemplar of Q₁ to make copy for Q₂, as seems likely, they will agree wherever he failed to correct Q₁ and thus Q₁-Q₂ agreement against Q₄ is not strong evidence that Q₄ is wrong. For this reason, wherever Q₄ departs from Q₁ its readings have been given special consideration in this edition.

O₆ is a page-for-page reprint of either Q₄ or O₅, and more likely the latter since it agrees in error with O₅ against Q₄ on "west wynde mutable", "performation on it", and "Aptisone" (O₆ B1v, B3v, D3v), and without error on "and also other necessary thinges", "lyght of dygestion", "yet they be not commendable", "and so be chickens in sommer", "and redde wyne", "tyme of Pestylence", "beware the legges", "and hee muste exchewe", and "of lying" (O₆ B4v, C7r, C7v, E5r, G4v, G5r, G8r, G8v, H4v). Where O₆ agrees with another edition against O₅ the correction is sometimes obvious enough to be a printshop alteration, as with "treateth of Potage" (O₆ A2v) and "of Cullesses" (O₆ D6r), but on a couple of occasions O₆ departs from its O₅ copy to agree with a good reading from Q₁-Q₂: "good for all ages" (O₆ D4r) and "be not co[m]mendable" (O₆ E5v). These two corrections seem beyond the capacity of anyone in the printshop, so we must conclude that either the exemplar of O₅ used as copy for O₆ was first corrected at just these points by reference to Q₁-Q₂ or an authoritative manuscript, or else those resources were consulted in the printshop; either procedure is hard to explain. We can be sure that such correction of O₆'s copy was not thoroughgoing because O₅ and O₆ show a series of agreements-in-error deriving from Q₄: "docknet", "Wynes of operacion", "strayne coylyon", "oryfe", "Ieweue" and "skyn take of" (O₆ C8r, D1r, D2v, E1r, E1v, E8r). O₆ also has a few unique readings of its own that go beyond accidental variation by a compositor: "thy kynred, or nation", "for it doth doeth hynder and let much the memorye", "of yll digestion", and "do vse to go to the Church" (O₆ A4v, B7v, C2r, C3r). These appear to be small rewordings made in the printshop, perhaps to save or waste space in order to preserve the pagination of this page-for-page reprint.

This edition uses as its copy text for *A Compendious Regiment of Health* the British Library exemplar of Q₂ (classmark 1606/18). The readings of Q₂ are followed except where they are manifestly wrong. Wherever Q₁ or Q₃ differ from Q₂ their readings are recorded, and special consideration is given to Q₃'s differences from Q₂ since these are evidence of independent manuscript authority. Where Q₄ differs from Q₁ the readings of both are recorded and special consideration is given to Q₄'s readings since these are evidence of independent manuscript authority. Throughout the text all roman numerals have been converted to arabic numerals and Boorde's Latin has been retained and explained in notes. In collation notes quotations from texts other than Q₂ are not modernized.

Each collation note begins with a roman numeral and the reading (called the lemma) that appears in this edition, followed by a closing square bracket. Next comes either the source for the adopted reading – indicated by its siglum Q₁, Q₃, Q₄, or *this ed.* (meaning this edition, the editor's invention) – or else, where Q₂ is the source of the adopted reading, an alternative reading that has not been adopted and its sigla

(Q₁, Q₃, or Q₄), followed if necessary by an italic semicolon and another alternative reading not adopted and its sigla, and so on (italic semicolon, reading, sigla) for other variants. Where the collation note is recording a lemma that departs from Q₂, the note next has an italic semicolon followed by Q₂'s reading and its identifying siglum Q₂ and the sigla of other sources that agree with Q₂, followed if necessary by other alternative readings and their sources, separated by italic semicolons. Where Q₁'s reading is recorded solely to mark its difference from Q₄'s reading, it appears at the end of the note. Where Q₁'s reading is recorded solely to mark its difference from Q₂, it appears in the collation in its chronological position, which is at the beginning.

The Government of Health

The author and the dietary

The following account of Bullein's life is derived from the standard sources (Mitchell 1959; McCutcheon 1996; Wallis 2004; Maslen 2008). It is not clear exactly when William Bullein was born but it was probably around the year 1515 in the Isle of Ely, which was a county in what is now Cambridgeshire. He was the eldest son of William Bullen and Alice Tryvet and had two brothers one of whom, his younger brother Richard, apparently shared his interest in medicine. The family may have been related to Anne Boleyn and Bullein may have studied at both Cambridge and Oxford. There is no evidence that he went to either university, although he mentions (in the voice of Surgery) serving under "R.R." in his *Bulwark of Defence* (Bullein 1579, Gg1r), which may indicate Robert Record, the mathematician, astronomer, and physician, who taught at both Universities.

On 9 June 1550 Bullein became rector of Blaxhall in Suffolk and in *The Government of Health* claims to be related to the most important family in the town, although he does not indicate which family (p. 276). By 5 November 1554 he had resigned his post, presumably because, as a committed Protestant, he was unhappy under the reign of the Catholic monarch Mary I who had come to the throne in the summer of 1553. He remained in contact with the powerful Protestant noblemen he had met in Suffolk, among them Sir Robert Wingfelde, to whom he dedicated *A Comfortable Regiment . . . Against the Most Perilous Pleurisys* (Bullein 1562a), and Lord Henry Carey, Baron of Hunsdon, to whom he dedicated his *Bulwark of Defence*.

It is not clear where Bullein studied medicine (possibly Germany) but he does not appear to have taken a medical degree. He began to practise medicine in Northumberland and Durham where one of his patients, and patron, was Sir Thomas Hilton, Baron of Hilton and captain of Tynemouth Castle. Bullein lived in Hilton's home whilst writing his first book *The Government of Health* and dedicated it to him. Hilton died soon after the book was first published in 1558 and Bullein married Hilton's widow Agnes (or Anne). In the summer of 1560 the couple moved to London and rented a house in Grub Street in the parish of St Giles Cripplegate; Bullein had sent his goods ahead by ship from the Tyne but lost these when the ship was wrecked. Bullein's brother, Richard, was rector of the parish and evidence that he too was interested in medicine can be found in Bullein's description of him in the *Bulwark of Defence* as "a zealous Louer of Physicke" who "hath good Experience of many Infirmities and Sickneses . . . and hath done many goodly Cures", including a treatise



VV. B.

3 William Bullein after unknown artist, possibly late sixteenth to early seventeenth century, woodcut, National Portrait Gallery, London

on the stone (Bullein 1579, Hh4r–Hh4v). Richard was probably the author of the commendatory verses signed “R.B.” that were printed at the beginning of *The Government of Health*.

Whilst in London Bullein was accused by Hilton’s brother, William, of murdering his patron, Sir Thomas Hilton, and was arraigned before the Duke of Norfolk. Bullein denied the charge and the case was dismissed, perhaps through the influence of his powerful Suffolk connections. William Hilton continued to pursue Bullein and in 1559 or 1560 prosecuted him and his wife for a debt which he claimed he had been owed by his brother, Sir Thomas. Hilton won the case and Bullein and his wife were imprisoned. It was whilst in prison that Bullein rewrote his *Bulwark of Defence* (the original manuscript had perished in the shipwreck along with his other goods), which contains his account of Hilton’s accusations against him.

After his release from prison Bullein published his third book, *A Comfortable Regiment . . . Against the Most Perilous Pleurisy* in December of that year (Bullein 1562a). His last and most popular work was *A Dialogue Against the Fever Pestilence*, which he appears to have written in the home of Edward Barrette of Belhouse in Essex, to whom the work is dedicated (Bullein 1564).

Bullein continued to practise medicine in London, although he never became a fellow of the College of Physicians. His first wife died in the early 1560s, and in the autumn of 1566 he married Anne Doffield, with whom he had a daughter, Margaret. He appears to have written little after his *Dialogue Against the Fever Pestilence*, his last known publication being some commendatory verses prefacing John Sadler's translation of *De re militari* (*On Military Matters*), a Latin work from the fifth century (Flavius 1572).

Bullein was up in court again when at Christmas 1570 a Yule log set fire to his house and he answered accusations of carelessness by claiming that he and his family were unaware that the chimney had been built upon a floor of timber. He died on 7 January 1576 and was buried two days later in the church of St Giles Cripplegate. In the same grave was his brother, Richard, who had died in 1563, and a few years later the martyrologist John Foxe was also interred there; it was not unusual for unrelated persons to share graves in churchyards situated in overcrowded parts of London. An inscription over the tomb commemorates the three men and says of Bullein "*medicamina semper habebat, aequae pauperibus danda, ac locupletibus aequae*" ("he always had medicines, which he gave to rich and poor alike").

Bullein's *Government of Health* was first published in 1558. It consists of a dialogue between John, a self-confessed rioter, and Humphrey, a man of moderate habits. At the beginning of the dialogue John is confident in his gluttony, announcing that "Abstinence and fasting is a mighty enemy and nothing pleasant to me" (p. 221). When Humphrey suggests he is amongst the "lusty revellers and continual banquet makers" (p. 221) who will come to no good, John expresses irritation, telling Humphrey that he is an old man who ought to mind his own business. But, having heard Humphrey's report of the consequences of a life of excess, John soon comes round, apologizing for his opinions expressed earlier:

I would be glad to learn some of thy knowledge, for thou hast a good order in talking, and seem to be grounded of authority. Therefore I am sorry that I have contended with thee. I pray thee be not angry with my former talk. (p. 224)

The dialogue begins with a discussion about physic before moving on to the humours, which Humphrey describes by way of singing a song upon his lute, a song that John concludes is "not very pleasant" but "profitable" (p. 227). After a discussion of the four elements (earth, water, air, and fire) and the seasons, Humphrey plays another song describing the complexions of "meats and medicines" (p. 229). There follows a detailed discussion of the complexions of men, women, and other animals, according to man's various ages and the different types of creatures. Humphrey then describes the human body, pointing out to John the various veins that ought to be cut so as to bleed the patient and thus alleviate certain conditions. Having also commented briefly upon what medicines might clean the blood and the number of bones in the body, Humphrey advises John on different kinds of purging and the value of remaining clean, specifically combing one's hair and washing one's hands, though not in hot water, which "engendereth rheums, worms, and corruption in the stomach because it pulleth away natural heat unto the warmed place which is washed" (p. 240). He also advises on what diet best suits a phlegmatic man like John, those with other complexions, and sick men, as well discussing the value of good air, exercise, and a good night's sleep. After explaining how to avoid "the stone" (kidney stones), which John tells

Humphrey “my father was sore vexed therewith” (p. 249), Humphrey provides two rhymes, one detailing how to read urine for signs of illness and the other how to read excrement for the same. Humphrey agrees with John that three doctors ought to be known if a man is to remain healthy and happy: Dr Diet, Dr Quiet, and Dr Merryman. It is at this point in the dialogue that the question and answer session on specific foodstuffs begins, with John enquiring “what is wormwood?” (p. 255).

The section discussing various foods considers their dietary and medicinal value as well as what John, and thus the reader, ought to avoid in order to maintain good health. Humphrey discusses how certain foods might alleviate both relatively minor conditions such as coughs and headaches, as well as more serious ones such as fevers and the death of a foetus in-utero. Foodstuffs are broadly divided into categories, beginning with herbs and vegetables before moving on to fruit, animal flesh, fowl, fish, and white meats (dairy products), drinks, bread, rice, nuts, condiments, and spices. Familiar foodstuffs appear, although Humphrey makes certain observations that would strike a modern reader as odd, for example that garlic “is hurtful to the eyes and head” but “is good for the haemorrhoids, applied to the sore place” (p. 260). Also included are a number of foods that we would regard as strange, for example the sparrow and robin redbreast that Humphrey recommends “either roasted or boiled” (p. 284) and the preference for women’s breast milk over the milk of other mammals for adults as well as children (p. 289).

The section on foodstuffs is generally less discursive than the material on medicine, complexions, veins and so on, discussed above, with John tending to rephrase his questioning only slightly, for example “I would fain know what is chickenweed” and “What is sorrel” (p. 256). However, at one point in the dialogue the formerly spirited nature of John resurfaces when, in the discussion of pork, John questions what good may be reported of the meat, asserting “I think very little or nothing” (p. 277); when Humphrey praises pork John questions his advice, calling pigs filthy animals and invoking the biblical admonition against them. John later similarly gives his opinion of the damage done by conies to corn grown by English farmers. Like Elyot and Boorde, Bullein repeatedly comments on the English context when discussing certain foods and physical health, for example in chapters discussing the production of saffron, grapes, and salt. Where Boorde considered ale a proper drink for an Englishman, Bullein is similarly nationalistic in his warning against rotten hops imported from abroad (in the section headed “What is beer or ale”, p. 292). He recommends English almanacs for knowing when to administer a purge (p. 238) and warns that the temperate English climate means that Englishmen, unlike those living further south, should avoid eating raw herbs, roots, and fruits (in the section “what be cucumbers?”, pp. 259–60).

At one point in the dialogue John describes himself as one of the “plain men in the country” who “dwell far from great cities” and must rely on home-remedies when ill. R.W. Maslen suggests John is typical of the questioners in Bullein’s dialogues, poor men who have much to teach their wealthy superiors (Maslen 2008, 121), yet although John is a country-dweller who knows less about medicine than Humphrey and cannot easily get access to it, he is clearly not poor since he can afford to indulge his love of food and drink and he refers to his “servants and labouring family” (p. 246). Having received advice from Humphrey on “the precious treacle called mithridatum” he is presented with “a pretty regiment for the pestilence” (p. 299).

The prefatory material in *The Government of Health* is also of interest since it provides information about Bullein himself. In the epistle Bullein is defensive about the accusation that he had poisoned his patron, Sir Thomas Hilton. There is some prefatory verse signed R.B., that is probably by his brother, Robert Bullein (see above), as well as verse that is apparently by Bullein. There is also an address to the reader in prose where Bullein indicates his debt to the classical authorities he will cite at length in the main dialogue.

Bullein's second work, *The Bulwark of Defence* (Bullein 1562b) is mentioned in his *Government of Health* in the section on clysters when he states his intention to elaborate upon their use "in my next book of healthful medicines" (p. 240) and in a concluding address to the reader when he mentions his next work in recommending *The Government of Health*:

And thus, I beseech thee to bear with my rudeness, committing this book once again into thy hands, trusting that I have meant good will unto thee in the setting forth thereof so thou wilt thankfully embrace it and order thyself unto the rules thereof, which is all that I desire. And in the mean season, as I have begun, so, through God's help, I intend to make an end of another book of healthful medicines, which, like-wise, I trust thou wilt take in good worth and in that part that I make it for. (p. 302)

In the dedication to Lord Henry Carey, Baron of Hunsdon, in *The Bulwark of Defence*, Bullein describes the work as "this little fort . . . [a] worke of defence agaynst Sicknesse, or euill dyet" that has been influenced by Thomas Elyot's regimen, *The Castle of Health*, first published around 1537 (Bullein 1579, C2v). As Maslen pointed out, Bullein's debt to Elyot is also clear in his *Government of Health* since the title fused the name of Elyot's regimen with his political treatises *The Book Named the Governor*, first published in 1531, and *The Image of Governance*, first published in 1541 (Maslen 2008, 120). *The Bulwark of Defence* consists of four distinct works: "The Booke of Simples", which is a dialogue between Marcellus and Hilarius; "A Little Dialogve Betweene Soarenes, and Chirurgi [Soreness and Surgery]"; "The Booke of Compoundes", which is a dialogue between Sickness and Health; and "The Booke of the Vse of Sicke Men, and Medicines", also a dialogue between Sickness and Health. In the dialogue between Marcellus and Hilarius, Bullein expands upon the information given about various foodstuffs in *The Government of Health*; in the dialogue between Soreness and Surgery, Soreness asks questions about various physical conditions, such as wounds and ulcers, and how best to treat them; in "The Booke of Compoundes" Sickness enquires how to make specific medicines consisting of more than one ingredient (a "compound"); and in "The Booke of the Vse of Sicke Men, and Medicines" Health offers advice on when and how to use specific medicines and procedures as well as general advice regarding health. Bullein clearly thought the dialogue format from *The Government of Health* worked well and again sought to use it, fully exploiting its rhetorical advantages. He was also clearly still smarting from the accusations levelled against him by William Hilton, for in the section from "The Book of Simples" describing milk, butter, and cheese he discusses his persecution at the hands of Hilton "who accused me of no lesse cryme [crime] then [than] of most cruel murder of his own brother, who dyed of a feuer (sent onely of God) among his owne frends, fynishing his lyfe in the christen fayth" (Bullein 1579, O1v).

Bullein's next work was *A Regiment Against Pleurisy*, a short treatise, this time not in dialogue form, providing a history of the disease as well as a description of its symptoms and its causes, which Bullein claims is partly due to the drinking of cold water when good ale, beer, or wine is not available (Bullein 1562a). He provides instructions for various clysters, ointments, and plasters that will aid the patient. His final major work was *A Dialogue Against the Fever Pestilence*, which is not so much a dialogue as a narrative containing several dialogues between a number of different characters (Bullein 1564). These include a citizen and his wife who flee London in order to avoid the plague, the sick Antonius who is infected with the plague, Antonius's doctor and apothecary, and two lawyers who are after the dying man's money. Towards the end of the work the character Death comes for the citizen and Bullein provides this sinister figure with a chilling speech on death as the great leveller. It is the dialogue between Antonius and his physician Medicus about the nature of the plague, its symptoms and how to treat it, that is most typical of Bullein's other works.

The early editions and the present edition

Bullein's *Government of Health* was entered in the Stationers' Register amid undated entries that can from context be dated between 19 July 1557 and 9 July 1558 (Arber 1875, 1:77). The first edition – an octavo here designated O1 (STC 4039) – was printed early in 1558 but Bullein was unhappy about certain errors that appeared, something made clear in his address to the reader at the end of the work where he blames haste in preparing the volume:

because I have had no conference with others, nor long time of premeditation in study, but with speed have conciliated this small entitled Government of Health, it cannot be but many things have missed in the print. (Bullein 1558, S4r–S4v)

Bullein gives some examples of words he knows to be incorrect. The printer must have let Bullein see the printed sheets before they were gathered since he was able to comment on the book in an address contained within the book. (Had Bullein seen the sheets during the print run his corrections could have been applied to the type by stop-press correction.). Bullein anticipates *The Government of Health* being printed again:

And thus to conclude, I will, by God's grace, join another book called *The Healthful Medicines* into this Government, and at the next impression such amends shall be made that both syllable and sentence shall be diligently kept in true order to thy contentation, God willing, who ever kept thee in health. The first of March, the year of our salvation, 1558. (Bullein 1558, S4v)

Assuming that registration preceded publication, this first edition's address to the reader being dated 1 March 1558 makes that date the *terminus ad quem* for composition.

The other book Bullein refers to above as "The Healthful Medicines" is his *Bulwark of Defence*, first published in 1562. A second edition – O2 (STC 4040) – of *The Government of Health* containing corrections was published shortly after the first, and Bullein dates his address to the reader at its conclusion "the 20 of April 1558". We might suspect that the date 1 March 1558 written by Bullein in O1 was in fact 1 March 1559 by our reckoning if Bullein was the kind of devout person who

did not increment the year number until after Lady Day (25 March) whereas we increment it on 1 January. If this were true the edition here identified as O₂ might in fact (despite the title pages' dates) be the first and O₁ the second. However the possibility of such misidentification is eliminated by O₁'s Stationers' Register entry appearing amid a group that can be dated no later than 9 July 1558 and also by the textual relationship between O₁ and O₂: the latter's improvements, and Bullein's comments in both editions about making corrections show that it is a reprint of the former.

In this address to the reader at the beginning of the second edition Bullein claims that he looked over the first edition and mended "certain faults that were escaped in the print", for example he rightly claims that "Wenzoar" is corrected to "Avenzoer". O₂ seems to have been typeset from an exemplar of the first edition that had been marked up with corrections by the author and there are numerous examples of O₂ improving upon O₁ besides those specifically noted by Bullein. For example, in O₂ Humphrey (responding to John's "I pray thee tell me something of exercise") refers to the idle who "love meats of light digestion" (O₂, H₅r), a reading which makes better sense than O₁'s reference to the idle who "abhorre" such meats (since the idle would clearly like meats that are easy to digest); similarly Humphrey's rhyme on excrements corrects O₁'s "holler" to "choler" (O₂, I₁v). Although the spellings change, O₂ is a line for line and page for page reprint of the main text of O₁ up to the end of H₃r and it seems that after this point in the text the changes Bullein presented in his marked-up exemplar of O₁ were too many for the printer to retain the lineation and pagination of O₁. Collation of O₁ and O₂ bears this out: there are many more authorial changes after H₃r than before it.

A third edition (O₃, STC 4041) of *The Government of Health* was published in 1559, which collation shows to be a reprint of the second edition with no additional authority, and a fourth edition (O₄, STC 4042) was published in 1595 (Bullein died in 1576), which collation shows to be a reprint of the first edition with no additional authority. Because O₂ contains Bullein's own improvements upon the first edition it is the copy text for this modern edition.

This edition uses as its copy text for *The Government of Health* the British Library exemplar of O₂ (classmark Huth 76, wrongly dated 1559 by the British Library), which was collated against O₁, O₃, and O₄. O₃ and O₄ are derivative editions in which there are no signs of additional authority, although they might of course occasionally reproduce press variants from their copy texts (exemplars of O₂ and O₁ respectively) that are not present in the exemplars of O₂ and O₁ used for this edition. (No collation within editions to detect press variants has been undertaken.) From their knowledge of the work and of the beliefs of the period the compositors of O₃ and O₄ might also have departed from their copy texts to correct error and so produce good readings not available in O₁ or O₂. For these reasons, readings from O₃ and O₄ appear in the collation notes wherever they contain a rejected variant reading that might none the less be correct. The readings of O₂ are followed except where they are manifestly wrong. All O₁-O₂ differences are recorded in the collation notes, and O₂-O₃ and O₂-O₄ differences are recorded wherever O₃'s and O₄'s readings might be right but are not adopted.

Each collation note begins with a roman numeral and the reading (called the lemma) that appears in this edition, followed by a closing square bracket. Next comes

either the source for the adopted reading – indicated by its siglum *O*₁, *O*₃, *O*₄, or *this ed.* (meaning this edition, the editor's own invention) – or else, where *O*₂ is the source of the adopted reading, an alternative reading that has not been adopted and its sigla (*O*₁, *O*₃, or *O*₄), followed if necessary by an italic semicolon and another alternative reading not adopted and its sigla, and so on (italic semicolon, reading, sigla) for other variants from *O*₂. Where the collation note is recording a lemma that departs from *O*₂, the note next has an italic semicolon followed by *O*₂'s reading and its identifying siglum *O*₂ and the sigla of other sources that agree with *O*₂, followed if necessary by other alternative readings and their sigla, separated by italic semicolons. The collational notes for marginal notes follow this pattern but are included in the marginal notes themselves within square brackets – rather than appearing at the bottom of the page – and where the lemma is the entire marginal note it is omitted; explanatory notes to marginal notes also appear in the marginal notes themselves, again in square brackets and after the collational note if there is one.

NOTE ON THE EDITORIAL HISTORY OF THE DIETARIES

In 1970 John Villads Skov produced a critical edition of the first edition of Sir Thomas Elyot's *Castel of Health* from the only available copy, in Yale University Library (not available in EEBO). Skov's edition merely printed a photographic facsimile of the original text and so it is not a modern spelling edition, and, being an unpublished PhD thesis, it is not readily available. However Skov did provide a collation of the first six editions of Elyot's dietary (those published during his lifetime), useful introductory material, and explanatory notes.

Andrew Boorde's *Compendious Regiment* was printed in an abridged version, edited by H. Edmund Poole in a run of 550 copies in 1936 by the Garswood Press. It contains no explanatory notes but does include, without explanation, a random extract from one of Boorde's other works, *The Breviary of Health*. F.J. Furnivall's 1870 edition of Boorde's *Compendious Regiment* for the Early English Text Society is an original-spelling edition presented in the same volume as other works by Boorde, including extracts from his *Breviary of Health*. Furnivall reprints the first edition of Boorde's dietary, published in 1542, and collates it with another (undated) edition, probably published in 1554, the 1547 edition, and the 1562 edition. He provides only brief explanatory notes on Boorde's text.

William Bullein's *Government of Health* has not been published since the sixteenth century. This volume contains the first modern-spelling edition of this important work with a complete collation and full explanatory notes.

TEXTUAL ISSUES

In accordance with Revels Companion Library series practice, I have silently modernized spelling, expanded abbreviations and elisions (for example turning *lōg* into *long*), regularized *ij* and *u/v* to modern usage, and corrected non-substantive misprints (such as doubled or turned letters, extra spaces, inked quads and so on). The only exception is that when a marginal note in the early modern edition is indecipherable it is presented literatim and its possible meaning suggested by an explanatory note. Where possible the punctuation of the copy text has been retained but, as with many early modern texts, the dietaries' punctuation is often erratic and does not follow modern

grammatical rules, so the texts have been extensively repunctuated. On the rare occasion when it is unclear what letter or letters are intended by the copy text this is indicated by [...] and, where possible, the inferred meaning is given in an explanatory note.

The letter *y* is used in manuscripts and printed books to represent the lost Old and Middle English letter *þ* (called thorn), giving rise to the forms *ye* for modern *the* and *yt* for modern *that*; these are not collated as variants here. All the early editions use ¶ (the pilcrow) to highlight headings and the beginnings of paragraphs and (occasionally) significant points within paragraphs; Boorde's edition also uses manicules (☞) or a leaf symbol to direct the reader's eye. These have all been normalized to modern typographical forms, usually a new paragraph with its first line indented. Guidance on how to read collation notes is specific to each of the dietaries and is described above in the textual introduction for each text.

All Roman numerals (except when citing the Bible) have been converted to Arabic and Latin has been retained and explained in notes, except for persons' names which have been normalized to the canonical versions (such as Galen for Bullein's "Galenus"). In the marginal notes that appear in Bullein and Elyot all abbreviations (mostly of medical works cited) are silently expanded and a note indicates when expansion has not been possible because the meaning is unclear. Where marginal notes are clearly misaligned they have been moved to where they ought to be (never more than a few lines up or down); marginal notes are treated as headings and so there is no punctuation at the end of each one. In collation notes for the main text and its marginal notes, quotations from texts other than the copy text are not modernized.

When the author uses a word that requires explanation, this is given in the explanatory notes except for those words frequently used by an author, which are listed in Appendix 4. Works and authors cited in the main text and the marginal notes appear in Appendix 5.

When quoting from early modern English texts other than the three dietaries in this edition, specifically in the explanatory notes, the earliest edition is used unless a later edition is available as electronic text from the Text Creation Partnership (TCP) at the University of Michigan since these are easier to read, navigate and search than the early printed text, may contain text not present in an earlier edition, and are available to readers who cannot examine the rare books directly. Where possible out of copyright texts are cited rather than modern editions because they are freely available to any reader who can access the Internet. All longer (indented) quotations from early printed texts, in the introduction and throughout the volume, have been rendered into modern English by the present editor.

When the dietaries mention ancient authorities such as Galen I have not given precise references to these sources, although Elyot usually gives the name of the work, and the book in which it appears and often the chapter number. Even when it is clear which work is being cited it is not always clear which particular edition was consulted so I have not added to the references given except when works are directly quoted from (which is hardly ever) and are available in a reliable modern translation, which is not the case for much of Galen and other ancient authorities. Most obscure, rare, or obsolete words explained in the endnotes are indebted for their definitions to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), consulted online in the period 2013–15, and these definitions are often directly quoted; in such cases the OED is cited only when the

word concerned does not appear there as a headword. Authorities not glossed in the explanatory notes can be found in Appendix 5.

FINDING AIDS (INDEXING)

Ordinarily a volume like this would have an index, but the dietaries here presented provide such thorough finding aids (what the authors call “tables”, which are equivalent to a modern index) that an additional index by the present author is unnecessary and instead readers are encouraged to use the tables provided by the original authors to find material. The alphabetization in the original tables by Elyot and Bullein was incomplete and is here corrected with page numbers corresponding to this modern edition and not the original texts. Additionally Appendix 5 indicates where in the dietaries specific authorities and their works are mentioned.