‘John Ince His Booke’:
A previously unrecorded medical text of the sixteenth century

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis concerns a previously unpublished medical text, which takes the form of a manuscript note-book dating from the mid-sixteenth century. The original work is anonymous and untitled, but is known as the ‘Ince book’ after the later addition of the inscription ‘John Ince his Booke’ on the first page. The text contains 290 individual entries, all but a few of which are medical recipes. The contents of the book are considered in terms of the ailments to be treated and the range of ingredients included in the remedies, against the background of medical knowledge and practice in the period.

It is concluded that the work was compiled by a professionally trained medical practitioner, probably a physician, although it contains some ‘quack’ remedies in addition to mainstream medicine. The approach to medicine found throughout is in the Galenic tradition, although reflecting some modifications to this tradition typical of Reformation England. The exact function of the book remains uncertain, but it is suggested that the book represents working notes for an intended publication.
To Gareth, with love

How poor remembrances are statues, tombs,
   And other monuments that men erect
To princes, which remain in closèd room
   Where but a few behold them in respect
Of Books, that to the universal eye
Show how they lived: the other where they lie!

From J. Floria, ‘Concerning the Honour of Books’,
W.S. Braithwaite (ed), The Book of Elizabethan Verse
   (London: Chatto & Windus 1908)
I have a large number of individuals and institutions to acknowledge. This is testament to the kindness and enthusiastic support for this research project, which I have received over the years.

My primary duty is to acknowledge the debt of gratitude I have to the anonymous owner of John Ince’s Leech Book, and his wife, for allowing me the privilege of studying this extraordinary and rare manuscript.

My supervisors at the University of Birmingham, Professor Jonathan Reinarz and Dr Elaine Fulton have not only given me unstintingly the benefit of their considerable academic expertise but also patience and support above and beyond the call of duty for which I am most grateful.

The transcription work was most importantly supported by my palaeography tutor Mairi Macdonald at the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, who also provided assistance in identifying and dating the handwriting. I should also like to acknowledge and thank Dr. Dudley Fowkes, retired county archivist and now consultant, who spent some days with me checking the transcription work and also assisted also in dating and handwriting style. I was also assisted with the Latin by Arnold Burston, a retired classics teacher, who offered his expertise and time on a number of occasions. Dr Gareth Williams of the British Museum shared his knowledge of historical leatherworking, and produced a facsimile of the binding of the Ince Book for me. He also provided helpful comments and queries on earlier drafts of the thesis.

I should like to thank Dr. Peter Maxwell Stuart of St. Andrews University who corresponded with me regarding the magical content and also the Latin text for which I am most grateful as his opinion proved to be very important. Acknowledgement should also be given to Professor Keith Thomas of Cambridge University who took the time to speak to me personally about the work and offered enthusiastic encouragement. Professor Silke Ackermann, formerly of the British Museum, also provided helpful guidance on more than one occasion in relation to Dr John Dee. All of these are leading authorities in their fields and I am sensible of their kindness.
My interpretations of the medical content have been checked by the anonymous owner, a retired G.P., and given his own interest in the work, his support in this respect has been extremely valuable. I should also like to thank Dr. Jonathan Sheldon, Consultant Physician who has been extraordinarily supportive and enthusiastic about the content of the work. Mr. Tony Roberts, Consultant Gynaecologist and Obstetrician (recently retired), who was also fascinated and supportive of my work.

The Wellcome Library have been particularly helpful and I have been especially grateful for the on-line resource, living as I do so far from London. The Library of the Guild of Apothecaries have also provided valuable assistance, as have many other libraries such as the Lichfield reference library and the William Salt Library in Stafford. I am most grateful to all of these.

My colleagues Judith Collison and more recently, Joanne Pritchard have provided invaluable clerical support, accepting the rigours of typing and helping me to organise the constant changes that emerged as the thesis developed, and doing so with great patience.

Finally, I must thank my son, Henry Smith and my fiancé, Gareth Williams, without whom the journey would have been very much harder.
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**Conventions of transcription**

When addressing the transcription of the Ince book, it is important to recognise the condition of the manuscript. It is in generally good condition, particularly for its age, but there are some pages that are subject to fading, blackening and brown spot. This means I have not necessarily been able to interpret the whole text on each page, although the large majority of it is legible. A greater hazard to reading the work was the binding at the central gully which meant that quite a number of words only appear in part. There are also some instances where text has been crossed out by the author compiler and as a result is no longer clearly legible. The owner kindly provided high resolution images of every page, which means I have been able to enlarge greatly from the tiny script, of the original. The key below indicates how I have recorded where text is lost or partly lost, and also whether this was the result of physical problems such as blackening etc, or of the compiler’s own deletions.

With regard to spelling I have shown the work in the spelling as it appears. As would be expected for the period, the spelling is phonetic and the author does not keep a personal standard form of spelling which means the same word might appear in a number of ways. Much has been achieved by reading the text out loud.

Rubrication appears in red. However, it should be understood that in some cases it is not possible to tell whether the script is rubricated or merely subject to fade which can have the same visual effect.

**KEY**

......... illegible because of binding or poor preservation

......... illegible, crossed out by the author/compiler
INTRODUCTION

This thesis concerns a previously unpublished medical manuscript of the sixteenth century. The manuscript is handwritten, but the pages are sewn together to form a book of 46 leaves, or 92 pages of octavo paper, bound together with a cover of thin vellum. There is a separate loose cover of leather rather than the book being fully bound. The manuscript is divided into individual entries, giving the appearance of a notebook. The entries are primarily comprised of receipts, or recipes for remedies to treat a variety of medical conditions, although it also contains a few entries which do not fit this general pattern.

In this dissertation, I argue that the manuscript dates from the mid-sixteenth century and was a compilation by a medical practitioner of remedies (including charms and other items that would not normally be considered medical by modern standards), drawn both from the practitioner’s own experience, and from the authority of other cited individuals. Although a number of published books containing remedies from the sixteenth century survive, handwritten manuscripts of this date containing this type of material are exceptionally rare. The Wellcome Library archives house a few examples of leech books and other similar medical compendiums, but these are usually on vellum from a century prior to the manuscript discussed here, and in Middle English and/or Latin. There are also some examples of manuscripts and recipe books written in the seventeenth century and later.¹

My aim in this thesis is to consider the contents of the manuscript, to discuss how these fit into the context of established medical knowledge and approaches of the period, and to establish, in so far as this is possible, the likely authorship and function of the manuscript. Finally, I will consider what new or distinctive information is contained within this manuscript which has not previously been recorded from this period. I shall argue that the manuscript is a notebook

¹These include a range of late medieval and early modern texts, eg. Wellcome Library MS.404-11; Rylands Library MS 404; MS 1310; Cheltham’s MS Mun.A.3.127; Cheltham’s MS Mun.A.4.99.
compiled in the mid-sixteenth century by an English medical practitioner, probably a physician, practising in a rural environment. I shall further argue that the notebook was probably, although not certainly, a draft of a work intended for publication rather than for personal use or for tutelage. While I shall argue that the medical approach throughout the text is firmly in the Galenic tradition, alongside the continued use of magical charms and religion as part of the healing process, I shall suggest that the manuscript also contains new evidence of the application of ‘sympathetic’ principles to inanimate objects.

The note-book was found in 2002 among the papers of a retired general practitioner in Lincolnshire. The book is handwritten on paper, bound together with an inner binding of recycled vellum, and with a separate outer wrapping of leather. The GP’s family know nothing about the book, except that it had been left to his wife in the 1970s as part of her grandfather’s estate. Closer inspection revealed it was very old, handwritten and seemed to be made up of what looked like recipes. The doctor spent much of his early retirement studying the book and confirmed that it largely comprised medical recipes. On discovering my interest in early modern medicine, he and his wife approached me in 2007 to see if I might be interested in studying the book as part of a formal research project. The book has now been professionally conserved and is lodged in a fire-proof safe at the home of the owner, who remains anonymous at his request.

The discovery of a completely unknown, apparently very old handwritten book is always of interest. To discover a detailed, comprehensive medical book written by an English physician in the mid-sixteenth century would make it of considerable historical importance. The very scarcity of a work aged 450 years and in good condition is remarkable in itself, whilst the contents allow it to shed light on medical practice in this period.

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2 The retired GP prefers to remain anonymous, as he does not wish to be contacted directly about the manuscript, but has provided a full photographic record of the manuscript, reproduced here as Appendix 1, as well as providing me with direct access to the manuscript for the purposes of study. Appendix 1 also includes on facing pages my own transcription, based both on the manuscript itself and on the enlarged photographs.
The work has no title, nor does it contain any direct indication of the original authorship of the book. For the sake of convenience it is referred to as the 'Ince book' throughout this thesis, as the first page of the work has the words, 'John Ince, his booke' inscribed in ink. However, this has no bearing on the original authorship, as John Ince was merely the owner of the book approximately one and a half centuries after it was written. Later, his name appears again with more information: 'John Ince Born 1675' and, finally, 'John Ince 1731'. His name appears five times in total throughout the work. The appearance of his name gives evidence of both his ownership of the book and some details of his own life with birth year and the fact that, in 1731, he had reached fifty-six years of age. There are examples of similar inscriptions elsewhere, and one fifteenth-century medical manuscript has the marginal notations 'This is peeter Sherde his booke' and 'Peeter Shearde his Booke off Rosse 1609 1609'. Expressions of book ownership can also be expressions of education and therefore social standing and an opportunity to create a memorial for prosperity and certainly other books have signatures of owners, not necessarily authors.

The handwriting and ink of John Ince’s signatures suggest that these additions were made in a much later period than the book itself. It is hardly surprising that John Ince prized the book, as there was a fashion for collecting interesting artefacts, publications and antiquities during his lifetime. There was also a trend for collecting portions of any number of writings from various sources of interest to the owner, such as law, alchemy, ballads, theology and science. These items of information were often collated into commonplace books, which were rather like modern scrapbooks. Commonplace books flourished during the early modern period and well

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3 For discussion of the dating of the compilation of the manuscript, see pp. 5-9.
4 Ince. Margin of Recipe 1, Recipe 73, Recipe 199.
beyond. Francis Bacon (1561-1626), philosopher and statesman, is known to have owned a commonplace book, thought to date c.1593, indicating they were held by intellectuals and elite members of society. These collected ideas were not only found in the keep of the fashionable according to Ann Moss, but in academic forums too. Amongst humanist circles in the sixteenth century, some university lecturers ensured students had three books of plain paper, one for recording direct quotes from taught texts, another for standard phrases and the last, a compilation of the student’s thoughts and ideas. These last tended not to be highly structured, but more typically represented compilations of diverse subjects. In the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, commonplace books were being printed, such as John Locke’s noted 1706 publication, *A new method of making common-place-books*. Considering the genre, the Ince book does not appear to be a commonplace book as it is almost entirely about one subject - medicine - although a small percentage of the individual entries appear to be unrelated, or only indirectly related to medicine.

The Ince book can be described as pocket-sized, measuring just over 9.5 cm in width when closed (excluding the clasp) and 14 cm in height. The outer cover is plain, undecorated, and made of soft brown leather. M. M. Foot describes how very difficult it is to date fifteenth-century plain leather bindings and it is just as difficult for this sixteenth-century piece. It seems likely that the hardy, practical cover was to protect the work during compilation, perhaps prior to printing. There is no formal structure to the binding or spine as the leather has been simply wrapped around the folded stitched paper contents. There is nothing to indicate precisely the

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12 Ibid., p. 171.
14 Since the vast majority of the entries are medical recipes, I have catalogued the entries as 'Recipes 1-290', although some of these are not strictly-speaking recipes.
15 The outer cover is plain, undecorated, soft brown leather (probably cow hide from the texture and thickness). It is not known how old the leather is, and since it is not directly attached to the book, there is no way of telling whether or not it is of the same date. However, there is no particular reason to doubt that it is of comparable date (see Appendix 2.1).
date at which the papers were stitched together. However, many of the recipes continue over two or more leaves, indicating that the papers were already sewn before the notes were written. To ensure the book remained closed and protected when not in use, there is a leather fitting (itself in two pieces), apparently cut from the same piece of hide, and sewn on (although the stitches are no longer extant, and this fitting has become detached). It is slightly more decorative than the rest of the leather cover, and is looped so that a string, ribbon or leather thong could have been tied around the whole book to keep it closed. This would also enable the book to be hung from a belt, if not carried in a pocket or case. A type of book known as a *vade mecum* ('come with me') is known to have been carried by physicians, suspended from their belts, in the later Middle Ages. Such books are also known to have been carried by mendicant friars, and included religious as well as medical texts, possibly including almanacs and more general medical notebooks. The portable nature of the book lends weight to the view that it could have been used to take notes under a variety of circumstances, whenever opportunities arose to gather information of interest to the compiler. However, portable books were not restricted to friars or physicians, so the form of the book tells us nothing directly about the profession or gender of the individual(s) concerned.

Around the loop can be found a tough, coarse string tied tightly. As the string is rather crude, it may indicate a later repair to the original fastening, which might have been broken. This does indeed seem likely as, although the work is bound simply, the paper and ink are both of good quality and a length of coarse string does not sit comfortably with the rest of the fabric.

There are a number of means by which the book can be dated. First, the physical fabric provides evidence as methods of paper-making changed fundamentally over time, which can be

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17 A facsimile of the leather bindings, including the looped fitting, has been reproduced along with photographic images of the contents and forms part of the appendices (See Appendix 2.2). Dr Gareth Williams of the British Museum kindly made the facsimile of the bindings.

seen in the appearance of the paper itself. The paper throughout the book is of good quality and dates the work to before the end of the sixteenth century, as the paper-making process changed at the end of that period. Identification relates to the use of a grid mesh method of production which gives distinct lines on the paper from the mould known as ‘laid lines’ or ‘chain lines.’ These lines are not found on paper dating from the seventeenth century or later, as the process of paper-making advanced in such a way as to produce a smooth finish without the translucent lines visible from production using the mesh system. Paper was imported into England, predominantly from France. There was a small domestic industry in England described by Michelle Brown as ‘half-hearted’ and the paper was of a quality that was unsuitable for print.

The handwriting throughout is typical of sixteenth-century ‘secretary hand’, as is the use of a type of shorthand used widely in the sixteenth century. Most of the work is written in one hand, although a second hand may be the explanation for a slight difference in handwriting in the latter part of the book. There is at least one other hand present for a small part of the text and this is discussed in full in chapter three. However, all of the writings, with the exception of inclusions attributed to John Ince, are sixteenth-century secretary hand.

Within the leather outer cover of the book there is an inner binding (possibly the only original binding) of religious text, decorated and tightly written in English on vellum. It is typical of fifteenth-century manuscript production and clearly a century earlier than the main corpus of work. It is not unusual to find such an inner binding, as paper was an expensive commodity involving a complex production process, so was rarely thrown away, but re-used, often as

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The use of vellum with a religious content is likely to have been a deliberate choice, to ensure that the compiler of this work would be protected and guided by the hand of God. The vellum itself by the nature of the prayers upon it would be seen to have power in its own right. Papers inscribed with prayers were often laid on patients in some cases as a healing source. This was done not only in the British Isles, but in many other countries in Europe across centuries. However, it is also possible that the choice of vellum as a binding was purely practical, as vellum is more durable than the paper used for the main text. The dissolution of the monasteries in the 1530s led to the breaking up of large numbers of monastic libraries, and this may well have meant that pre-Reformation religious manuscripts were readily available as a source of recyclable vellum.

A number of individuals are mentioned in the book, and some (though not all) of these are helpful in dating the work, as well as giving a sense of the contemporary society from which it originates. Some, frustratingly, appear to be untraceable. The first names appear on page 1 (B1 001), one of the few damaged pages, although the names remain quite clear. They are ‘Thomas Englond, Wat Standfast, Hare Smythe’. Written phonetically, in the style of the time, these are ‘Thomas England, Walter Standfast, and Harry Smith’, or indeed ‘Smythe’. The name ‘Wat’ was a common abbreviation for the name Walter. I have been unable to trace any information concerning the individuals in this entry, so they provide no evidence for the dating of the work. The same is true of a ‘Master Otwell’ mentioned in recipe 246 and ‘Master Robart Wireyn’, although the title ‘Master’ may indicate professionals, scholars, or simply gentlemen.

Other names are more useful. The name ‘Gilbert Kymer’ appears in recipe 270 and is highly significant in fifteenth-century medical terms. Gilbert Kymer was a well-known physician, who also qualified as a lawyer. A renowned polymath of his day, he is referred to in the book as the Dean of Salisbury Cathedral, a post that was held by The Very Reverend Kymer from 1449

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28 Ince. B1. 001.
until his death in 1463.  

It is therefore safe to conclude that this page was written after 1449. A reference to ‘Lord Marcus Dorset’ appears in recipe 87. This is almost certainly a reference to Henry Grey (1517-54), 3rd Marquess of Dorset (1530-54) and Duke of Suffolk from 1551. The same spelling of ‘Lord Marcus Dorset’ is used in the journal of Edward VI for 1551, when he was appointed Lord Warden of the Scottish Marches. Dorset was one of the most important noblemen in the kingdom at this time, and although he is not recorded as being in any way a medical authority, his name may appear for the social cache lent by the use of an aristocrat’s name. It is conceivable that the title ‘Lord Marcus Dorset’ could apply to his father (1477-1530), or grandfather (c. 1456-1501) as both also held the title of Marquess of Dorset, and the reference to Gilbert Kymer indicates that the compiler was willing to cite 15th-century individuals, but the dating of the 3rd Marquess correlates better with the other dating evidence for the compilation of the Ince book, as does the documented use of the form ‘Lord Marcus Dorset’, and there is no reason to suppose that the other members of the Grey family are more likely authorities for medical recipes.

At the end of recipe 88 appears a comment by the author in a mixture of Latin and English, ‘... a noyent the pacyent & evry day the space of ix dayes hec doctor laughm mt’ cet’os valde neq.’ This sentence is amongst the most significant in the whole work as not only does it contain a form of Latin written in the hand of the main author, it also mentions the title and name ‘doctor laughm’, almost certainly Doctor Laughton. There are only eight individuals with the initial letter ‘L’ recorded in Munk’s Roll and who were received into the Royal College of Physicians during the sixteenth century. Of these, the only name which appears consistent with the spelling ‘Laughton’ is Langton, of which there are two College members: Christopher

32 Translates as ‘This, Dr Langton master, considers useless’.
Langton and Thomas Langton. On existing evidence, it is likely that the commentary relates to Dr Christopher Langton (b. 1521). Langton was elected to King’s College Cambridge in 1538, and published three medical treatises (two in 1547, another in 1552). He was admitted as a Fellow of Medicine of the University of Cambridge on 30 September 1552, and was expelled and struck from the roll of the Royal College of Physicians on 17 July 1558, and, subsequently, publicly humiliated in connection with his loss of status in 1563. If the identification with Christopher Langton is correct, this recipe must have been written after Langton’s graduation, and probably after the publication of his books of 1547. It is perhaps likely to date from before his disgrace in 1558, or before that disgrace became public knowledge in 1563, but his disgrace does not preclude referencing his opinion, especially if that reference is based on one of his publications. Dr Thomas Langton (b. 1546) may have been the son of Christopher Langton, but in any case had a luminous career and became President of the Royal College of Physicians (1604-1606). It is unlikely that Dr Thomas Langton is the person referred to in the Ince book, as his dates appear too late to be consistent with the other dating evidence for the book, although Dr Christopher Langton fits very well.

Recipe 170 is a ship’s manifest and holds an abundance of additional information. It names two individuals, Lenerd Sumter and Thomas Vesie of Bristol, one ship – the ‘Sonndai’ of Bristol of which Thomas Vesie is the Master, and three further place names in addition to Bristol, which are Cardiff, Ireland and Padstow. It describes a cargo of sawn wooden boards including

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those limed, Irish frieze cloth and a butt of wine which is specified as for delivery to Padstow. It also gives a date of the ‘iij daye of fabruare Anno dm Eduardi Sexti vi.’

Thomas Vesie may have been a ship’s captain, the ship having been based, according to the recipe, at Bristol. Another name that appears on the top of the page containing the manifest is ‘Leonard Sumter’, which could be Leonard Sumpter. I have not traced Thomas Vesie or Leonard Sumter, but this manifest, although a rather mysterious addition to the work, is very important as it provides a firm date, which is 1553. This is the only date included in the work, other than the later additions by John Ince already discussed, and again fits well with the fabric of the book and style of writing. This dating evidence provides a clear terminus post quem for the compilation of the book as a whole, although some of the entries may well have been written earlier.

These references thus show awareness of individuals dating back as far as the mid-fifteenth century, who have been cited to provide authority for the efficacy (or not) of particular medical recipes. The reference to Kymer aside, these authorities concentrate in the mid-sixteenth century, and the ship’s manifest provides a terminus post quem of 1553. If the identification of ‘doctor laughm’ with Dr Christopher Langton is correct, it is likely (though not certain) that it was compiled before 1558, or 1563 at the latest. This dating to the mid-sixteenth century is supported independently by the analysis of the handwriting and paper.

It is worthwhile considering whether the cover of the book and nature of binding gives further information about its intended use and how the work was compiled. By the sixteenth century, book binding was a trade in its own right. Unbound books would be brought to the binder for his skills which included the process of sewing together the leaves or codex and securing the gatherings between some form of protective covering.37 The term ‘gathering’ means

a single piece of parchment or paper, folded repeatedly to a required size.\textsuperscript{38} The standard of coverings would vary as one might expect according to budget or tradition associated with a particular type of work.

When examining the binding and layout of the manuscript carefully, two distinct sections can be discerned. The first section of the book contains 92 pages of octavo size, implying six gatherings, which would mean there were originally 48 leaves, and therefore 96 pages.\textsuperscript{39} Of the 48 leaves, two (and therefore four pages) are missing, these having been taken cleanly out at the centre binding. As it is not known how many recipes were on the missing pages, it is not possible to calculate the original number of recipes contained within this section of the work.\textsuperscript{40} The second section comprises 52 pages, which implies four gatherings (32 leaves or 64 pages). This on the octavo calculation indicates there could be as many as twelve pages missing, which means that six leaves are missing. The absence of these pages in the first and second sections could be for a variety of reasons; it is entirely possible that there was a mistake on these pages or perhaps something written that had to be torn out, perhaps not relevant to the book. If so, the compiler was inconsistent, as there are recipes in the book that are non-medical and not apparently relevant to the book, but remain intact. The two sections were clearly sewn together at the same time. I have numbered the recipes sequentially based on the order in which they appear, as there was no original numbering system in place or, apparently, an index. It is highly unlikely that the index would have fallen on one of the missing pages because they are situated in the main body of the book in both sections instead of at the beginning or end of the work, which are more logical index placements. The absence of an index could suggest that the work was intended solely for the personal use of the author/compiler. Equally, it could suggest that this was an early draft, with reorganisation and index intended to be added at a later stage, prior to publication.

\textsuperscript{39} Octavo is when a sheet of paper is folded into three to give eight leaves and therefore sixteen pages.
\textsuperscript{40} Ince. Recipe 234, Recipe 235, Recipe 237, Recipe 264.
The ink is of good quality borne out by the fact that it can be read today with only a little fading. 41 Some printers made their own ink and, the blacker the ink, the more expensive and higher quality it was. 42 The red ink appearing in the Ince book would, in a printed text, be the sign of a prestigious publication, not only because of the price of the red ink, but because the process of printing would then have required two colours, which would have meant a lengthier and more expensive process. 43 Even in a handwritten manuscript, the additional use of red ink was something of a luxury. Damage by blackening on a few recipes means a tiny proportion is unreadable, amongst which is the first page; although legible in part, it does have damage which, frustratingly, could have been the key to the whole work in terms of identifying the author. There is currently no process available to make the damaged script clearer and, along with the missing pages, this means we may never know the content of every recipe. 44

There is a significant change in the second section, as the handwriting differs slightly, but distinctly from the handwriting in the first section and evident in recipe 35. This may be for a number of reasons. It could indicate that the author was suffering from rheumatics or arthritis, which could change the handwriting; this is plausible for any work that has taken many years to compile where the author has aged since its commencement. A decline in eyesight may be another reason for the change in handwriting as seen in recipe 52. There are also two or three other handwritings in the corpus, particularly noticeable in recipe 35, the content of which is discussed more fully in chapter three. These other writings form small additions to the book at the time it was being compiled. Most of the first part has rubricated titles and numbering, but, in the second work from recipe 256, the compiler employed the same black ink for titles as in the body copy. Equally noticeable is that the content of the recipes late in the volume seems to

42 Ibid., p. 64.
43 Ibid., p. 64.
44 An opinion was sought of Dr Dudley Fowkes, Independent consultant archivist and historical researcher (and former County Archivist for Staffordshire) in May 2012.
contain less detail than the first book which becomes more obvious the later the recipe and these might possibly have been hurriedly written. Whilst the handwriting change could be accounted for with the author growing older and more decrepit, this does not necessarily explain why the standard of presentation found earlier in the work should have changed in so many ways. Arguably, it could be the result of another author taking over the work, perhaps a son or pupil of the original author, but the change in the handwriting itself does not appear to be significant enough for this to have been the case. Whilst it is worthwhile considering this as a possibility, it is also possible that the author had decided to finish the work, as the title of the final recipe, number 290, ‘A medesen for ye newe dysses’, is a generic cure, rather than a cure for a specific condition like most of the recipes in the book.

Thus, whilst much knowledge can be gained by analysing the physical fabric of the book and the time in which it was compiled, it does not give direct evidence of the identity or nature of the author or compiler himself. It is probable that the writer was a man as, according to David Cressy, literacy rates amongst women in some areas of England were between zero and fifteen percent in the 1580s, although James Daybell suggests that literacy amongst women of upper and middling groups in the early modern period is often underestimated as a result of failure to differentiate between literacy levels in different social groups. The possibility of a female author cannot be precluded entirely. Although female literacy was probably even lower at the time of the book’s compilation, a generation before the 1580s, and secretary hand was normally exclusively taught to men, the content could have been dictated by a woman to a male scribe. A slightly later example of such medical authorship is Lady Katherine Ranelagh (1615-91), described as having an international reputation as a medical and scientific authority. Although she is presented as the ‘author’ of a recipe book, containing 291 recipes, some of which included sophisticated medical

45 See Appendix 3.
46 I think that it is likely that the book was compiled by a physician, and therefore by a man, and I have therefore used ‘he’ and ‘him’ to describe the author throughout.
treatments, comparison with autographed letters penned by Lady Ranelagh shows that the recipe book was written in another hand, showing the direct influence of secretary hand. However, the fact that she did not write the recipes down herself is not seen as detracting from her authorship of the book. Furthermore, of the forty-three attributions in the manuscript naming sources of recipes, thirteen were women, of diverse social backgrounds, from other titled ladies to maids.

However, Lady Ranelagh was active more than a century after the compilation of the Ince book, and must in any case be regarded as an exceptional figure even by the standards of her own time, as she was considered one of the greatest female intellectuals of her day. Nevertheless, she was not unique amongst wealthy women in taking an interest in medical recipes, even at a much earlier date.

As early as 1535, Lady Honor Lisle (c. 1493/5-1566) provided a recipe for a cure for urinary stones to Lord Edmund Howard, while Lady Elinor Fettiplace (1570-1647) produced a domestic receipt book, which included several medical recipes. Other female authors of medical recipe books are recorded in the seventeenth century, such as the two recipe books by grandmother and granddaughter Ann Brockman (1616-60) and Elizabeth Brockman (d. 1687), the first of which was predominantly medical, while the second was predominantly culinary with some medical content. Ann Brockman’s book also cites external authorities for some of her recipes. Female authors were much less common in the sixteenth century, however, although it was not only potential authors who took an interest in medical recipes, since domestic treatment for many types of ailment was part of the usual routine of the housewife. The major text by the male author Gervase Markham was, after all, entitled The English Housewife, and aimed at a female audience.

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49 For more detailed discussion of both of these, see below pp. 37, 41-2.
Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that the Ince book was compiled by a woman. I shall argue in more detail below that the book is the work of a professional medical practitioner and, more specifically, a physician. While there were some licensed female medical practitioners in the sixteenth century (see chapter 3), women were not found amongst the ranks of physicians in England at this time.

The content gives information about the preparation and administration of a vast array of drugs and medical therapies, but does not provide information by which the success of the writer may be judged alongside his peers in the profession. There is no name or hint of the region where he might have practised. What is notable is that the writer very frequently records the proven success of a medicine or therapy. A sense of professional confidence permeates the entire work extending to the actual number of days a prescription took to cure a patient, and stating that recipes would make him or her ‘holl’, meaning ‘whole’, or ‘cured’.

The lack of tangible evidence about the immediate locality in which the compiler of the text practiced medicine means it is not possible to gain a clear picture of the patients who sought his professional care. Understanding the social environment and creating links might be achieved, in part at least, by analysing the condition that a recipe is designed to treat and also the type of drugs used. In a simplistic sense, some medicinal plants could grow only in particular types of soil peculiar to certain areas.51 Caution should be applied though as medical commodities could be bought from apothecaries selling from a spectrum of geographic sources and suppliers and therefore the plant growing environment only really applies to the poorer end of the social scale gathering from the immediate locality.52 The use of language employed within the text about the nature of medical conditions or illnesses might also be a useful source of information as an indication of a particular working environment. Narrative medical texts provide imagery about

health problems and medicine, and help with the understanding of attitudes towards sickness and healing.\(^5^3\) As Iona McCleery suggests, medical historians at one time were not interested in how medicine and disease were represented in their sources, but now scholars see the narrative texts as vital links to the reality of the time. Any attempt to relate to how society and individuals in the distant past responded to pain and sickness without imposing modern views is problematic. It is also accepted that some of the labels applied to diseases at the time were misdiagnoses.\(^5^4\) There are research methods available in palaeopathology that enable the medical historian to confirm the existence of diseases in the past. Recent developments in the field of archaeology, using skeletal remains, for example, have revealed metabolic diseases, such as osteoporosis and infections such as tuberculosis.\(^5^5\) Contributions by scholars working in bio-molecular archaeology have also tracked the presence of leprosy, syphilis and malaria in remains.\(^5^6\) As this specialist work often has a tight chronological and geographical focus, it is possible to confirm the presence of particular diseases in a particular time and also region of the British Isles, even allowing for population migration. Such analysis is beyond the remit of this study but the thesis is able to address direct textual evidence suggesting working and living environments appropriate to some of the recipes in the text.

Having identified this as predominantly a listing of medical recipes, compiled in the mid-sixteenth century, I will attempt to address a number of research questions in the course of this dissertation. First, I wish to establish more clearly the character of the book, and what it tells us about medical practice at the time that it was written. This includes considering how far the book relates to any specific branch of medicine and known models of medical practice, and also how far the medical knowledge contained within the book reflects ‘current’ thinking of the mid-

\(^5^6\) Ibid., p. 308.
sixteenth century, and how it compares to other known works of the period. Second, I wish to establish the function and intended audience of the book, including particularly whether it was designed purely for personal use or for a wider audience. Third, I will consider what if anything we can say about the individual(s) who compiled this book, including professional status and likely geographical location. Finally, I will consider what the book adds to current scholarship about the history of medicine, and whether it provides any new information not just about medicine, but about society, religion or politics in the sixteenth century.

Chapter one surveys the contents of the Ince Book by subject matter. Since the majority of the entries are recipes for medical remedies, these are discussed in groups relating to ailments specific to different parts of the body, ordered from head to toe, followed by more general ailments, and those affecting multiple parts of the body. The much smaller group of entries which are not medical recipes are then considered, along with the question of how these relate to the rest of the text. Chapter two also focuses on the contents of the book, but this time in terms of the materia medica, or ingredients, found in the recipes. These are considered in comparison with other selected collections of medical recipes, and against the broader background of ‘sympathetic medicine’, in which specific remedies were selected with reference to the humoral system articulated by Galen, his predecessors and his successors. The chapter also considers ingredients in their social and economic context, and what the choice of ingredients tells us about the ‘market’ for the remedies collected here, and about the geographical location of the author.

Chapter three then considers the significance of the book in more detail. It begins with a general background to the context in which the book was written, including the religious and political background of England in the mid-sixteenth century. It continues with a survey of the main branches of medical practice to which such a text might relate, and the type of education, training and professional regulation that pertained to each of these branches. Although the difference between the three main branches of medicine (physicians, surgeons and apothecaries)
have sometimes been exaggerated, and the lines between them seem often to have been blurred in practice, I will argue that the text is most likely to have been written or compiled by a physician.\textsuperscript{57} This is then followed by a brief survey of developments in medical writing up to the mid-sixteenth century. A final piece of context is provided by a discussion of the legal background to printing and publication at the time, and the market for published compilations of medical recipes. I will then consider the contents of the book, as revealed in the previous two chapters, against this contextual background, and will discuss what the contents tell us about the character and identity of the compiler(s), as well as the likely reasons why this fascinating collection of recipes was compiled.

The Ince book must be considered against the background of other modern literature on the subject of sixteenth-century medicine, as well as of other medical texts from the same period and earlier. There are no secondary works directly related to the Ince book itself as this is the first study of the manuscript. However, a number of other texts have been published in edited forms, which are useful for the purposes of comparison, in addition to the commentary and interpretation provided by the editors. Three of these texts are used directly as comparators for the materia medica in chapter two. These are the twelfth century work known as \textit{The Trotula}, the sixteenth century \textit{The Birth of Mankind} and \textit{The English Housewife}, written in the early seventeenth century. These will be discussed in more detail below.\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{57} See pp. 96-105.
CHAPTER 1: CONTENT BY SUBJECT

John Ince’s book comprises 290 individual entries of which 282 are medical and four non-medical with some magical content. There are, in addition to the recipes, four anomalies which are made up of a court proceeding, batter for fish, a ship’s manifest and an item giving advice on fishing and fowl catching. None of these are recipes, but are numbered as such for ease of reference. The entire numbering system has been imposed on the book and is not included in the original work. While some of the recipes are numbered in the original, there is no consistent system throughout the work. There are four damaged pages either torn in part (numbers 234, 235 and 237) or blackened (2 and 3) and it is possible there is at least one page missing before recipe 233 as it lacks a heading and appears a continuation of a previous receipt. Fragments in the spine suggest that there are pages taken out completely after recipe 248. These illegible or missing pages may explain why some parts of the body are not mentioned.

The medical recipes are not specialist, but represent general medicine, addressing a wide span of illnesses and conditions. The described symptoms range from the treatment of minor domestic injuries, such as how to remove thorns through to medicines and therapies for acute diseases prevalent in early modern England, including leprosy and plague. The vast majority of the items address internal complaints - minor, chronic and acute - with symptoms frequently indicating the severity of an illness, whether parlous (perilous) or less severe.

The recipes within the book are not consistently grouped together in a logical and systematic manner, although there are clusters of recipes on related subjects, such as recipes 121-7, all of which deal with the removal of thorns. Such groupings may indicate material borrowed from other sources, but I suggest in more detail below that the absence of consistent grouping throughout the work derives from the book representing working notes rather than a finished text. The fact that some groups of recipes have their own internal numbering while others do not
is also consistent with a draft rather than a final text. In any case, in the absence of a clear internal structure, I have chosen to follow the system used by the early modern anonymous author of *Aristotle’s Masterpiece* whereby the physiology section starts by describing medical problems associated with the head of a patient and then working down the anatomy of the human body ending with the feet.\(^\text{59}\) This approach of classification *a capite ad calcem* (from head to heel) was standard in the sixteenth century and graced the pages of medical manuals for many centuries and is thus an appropriate approach for this thesis.\(^\text{60}\)

In this chapter, I consider how the types of remedies compare with those found for the same ailments in other contemporary sources, as well as the historiography. Some of the recipes are shown in full to aid discussion. I discuss first the recipes starting with the head including the brain and conditions related to psychiatry, such as anxiety. The study then moves to eyes, ears, nose, mouth and dental issues. Section two discusses the recipes related to the upper torso, neck, shoulders, arms, lungs and heart. The third section focuses on problems concerning the digestion, bowel and anus. Then to the fourth section, which considers recipes for conditions that are gender related in men’s and women’s health. Diseases that affect the whole body, such as leprosy, dropsy and ague, make up the analysis of the fifth section. Finally, the sixth and last section of this chapter looks at injuries, mostly external, that have been caused by domestic or workplace accidents. The pie chart below gives percentages of the recipes discussed in relation to the body with a further breakdown shown in Appendix 4.

Table 1: ...

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\(^{59}\) *The Works of Aristotle*, (London: The Camden Publishing Co., Undated). During 1684 excerpts from two earlier texts were pasted together by someone unknown; one a guide to midwifery, the other a treatise on the secrets of nature and was published as *Aristotle’s Masterpiece*, though neither by Aristotle, nor a masterpiece.

The ancient medical philosophers and practitioners could not agree either on the significance or function of the brain and, although it may be astonishing to a modern observer that the brain is not specifically mentioned in the Ince book, Aristotle's view that the brain was primarily a cooling organ for the heart and therefore of secondary importance was still accepted by some sixteenth-century physicians. Aristotle also considered the brain to be the site where the human senses, also described as spirits of the body, could move about freely and congregate
The most influential of the medical philosophers, Galen, claimed that the brain was a cold and moist organ made up of sperm. Treatments for the cold complexion of the brain, if causing an imbalance of the humors (presenting as headaches, catarrh and melancholy), were in the classic humoral style of treatment by opposites, using ‘drying’ herbs. The anatomical beliefs of the ancients regarding the human brain largely remained unchallenged until 1664, when Thomas Willis (1621-1675) published (in Latin) *The Anatomy of the Brain*. Willis attempted to translate anatomic features of the brain into behavioural and neurophysiological functions.

The first recipes related to the head are 8 and 40, which show through their recommended pharmacology pure examples of Galenic humoral medical practice with the use of hot ingredients, including ginger and red mint, to drive out with heat any imbalance of watery cold humours in the brain causing rheumatics. This seems to contradict the idea that the brain was meant to be a cold, moist organ except that humoral theory was entirely about balance and correction of imbalance. Recipe 40 is a direct repetition of recipe 8, which is crossed through without any marginalia to explain this decision. Perhaps the author simply decided to move the recipe to another section of the book. Both recipes contain the same ingredients, with the exception that number 40 is careful to point out that the ale, although stale, was once of good quality. The reasoning behind such ingredients is discussed further in chapter two, which examines the pharmacology of the recipes. Angela Montford gives a view of what the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Dominican monks doubling as medical practitioners offered patients who suffered pains in the head. This was an expensive blend of saffron, myrrh and aloes taken with wine and rosewater which was guaranteed to cure headaches as it is described as stimulating the

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five senses and thereby curing pain by making the patient feel ‘young and happy’, which might explain why a patient might worry less about the cost of such a solution.\textsuperscript{65} Disorders of the brain were known to cause pains through the nervous system which, according to Galen, were settled in the marrow of the backbone.\textsuperscript{66} Recipe 57 addresses \textit{vamate} in the head, and although there does not appear to be any record of what this condition may translate to in modern medical terms, it does contain in its prescription a doctrine of signatures.\textsuperscript{67}

Recipe 88 is entitled ‘for ache in the bake or in the hede’. The remedy not only includes a poultice of roses, but also a ‘catt gelt or spayd’ stuffed with nettle-cleaned black snails and then well roasted to produce a dripping, applied to the patient’s head as an ointment over a five-day period. The significance of the cat being spayed or castrated is interesting as it shows that a medical practitioner believed that the nature of a creature could be changed in terms of its medicinal properties by removing its sexual organs.

There is only one reference for treating a patient apparently suffering from a stroke:

\begin{verbatim}
Recipe 197  ffor to make a water for the palsy wiche takyth away from man or woman speche & makes a man sodanly dumbe
Cap --- xxvij
Take bame herbe & lay ytt xxiiij houres in red wyne or claryd & styll yt in a stelatorye & gyve y pacient to drynk
& anoynte hys temples wyth all & so vse hym ij or iij dayes & hys speche shall cm to hem
\end{verbatim}


\textsuperscript{67} The doctrine of signatures as a medical philosophy is discussed in full within chapter 3, which examines the approaches of medicine used by the author of the book. Evidence of this philosophy is shown by the list of ingredients for treatment of the brain which includes a walnut chosen because it looks like the human brain and therefore thought to be designed by God to treat that organ. The recipe recommends that the mixture be massaged gently into the temples as a topical treatment which is not common in the work.
The recipe refers to some of the recognisable symptoms of a stroke, without addressing the cause, although the medical community and society more broadly believed at this time that the symptoms of a stroke suggested a patient had been ‘planet struck’.68 There existed some criteria for diagnosis, which indicated that if a patient appeared to be himself, but personality and responses were affected, then the patient had suffered a stroke. Hippocrates, in his work *Airs, Waters and Places*, writes ‘...render them paralytic when exposed suddenly to strokes of the sun...’69

It would be known that some individuals suffering a stroke could survive for considerable periods of time depending upon the degree and strength of the attacks. These degrees of reaction were dependant on the force of the planet concerned and the health of the patient at the time of attack.70 Some patients would have been known to recover fully and others to varying degrees of improvement.

It is difficult to diagnose what ailment recipe 196 seeks to treat, as the recipe describes shaking at the back of the head alone as a symptom. It is quite possibly what modern medical practitioners now recognise as Parkinson’s disease.71 The recipe has complex ingredients, including a black cat. Interestingly, there is some logic shown in the way the salve is applied to the patient, which involves rubbing it onto the patient’s shaven head. This suggests that some or all salves although prescribed as topical treatments were in fact believed to be absorbed through the skin and thereby able to work effectively inside the affected area. Creams and salves can be seen to disappear when rubbed into skin so that is understandable, but the writer of this work would have no understanding of circulation and bloodstream absorption as the work of Harvey was published over half a century later than the Ince book.72

71 Ince. Recipe 196. However, for discussion of the problems and value of retrospective diagnosis, see Arrizabalaga, J., ‘Problematizing retrospective diagnosis in the history of disease’, *Aulepiae LIV-1* (2002), 51-70.
Recipes for symptoms of anxiety, such as sleeplessness, feature five times in the work (recipes 59, 60, 61, 62 and 264). Three of these recipes (59 and 60, 61), all use the noun ‘patient’, appearing as ‘pacients’, ‘paschent’, ‘pashynt’ and ‘pacyent’, and represent three of only five occasions in the entire work (recipes 203 and 219 are for other conditions), in which the term is used, which may be significant as all three insomnia recipes appear together. This might suggest that these recipes have been plagiarised from another medical work published by physicians who had enjoyed some success in treating sleep problems. Recipe 59 promotes a particularly unpleasant, but inexpensive and readily available solution to insomnia; the patient’s own ear wax is offered as an oral treatment. There is no method suggested by which the ear wax is made up into a remedy, such as the use of hot liquid to melt it so that it could be drunk. Perhaps the compiler regarded this as too obvious to mention. The recipe is specific on one point which is that the ear wax used should be that of the patient. Recipe 61 contains a more attractive option with a rose and herb oil being blended which is then used to massage the patient’s head. The principle of this recipe seems to be the relieving of all or some of the pains in the head and inducing relaxation and sleep both by the use of scent combined with massage.

Epileptic fits can be a very dramatic and distressing condition to witness. As a result, a great deal has been written about it for over two thousand years, as the medical profession grappled with possible causes and cures.73 Considered a sacred disease by the ancients, it was believed in medieval Europe to be the outward and visible sign of an evil spirit or demon leaving the body. It is therefore hardly surprising that early modern medicine tackled this condition with great care and a high proportion of magic and prayers, as revealed in recipe 221 and analysed in full in chapter 3.

There are nine recipes (10, 14, 45, 95, 96, 98, 153, 188 and 202) that address treatments for eye conditions. Loss or reduction of eyesight is a matter for anxiety now, as in the sixteenth

century, but in England during the early modern period it could result not only in a significant drop in living standards but risk the afflicted person being cast out on the streets if he or she were dependent upon a good level of eyesight to be able to work and did not have family support available. Vivian Nutton quotes St Augustine of Hippo (AD 354-430), who articulated the importance of sight, describing it as ‘the principal sense by which knowledge is acquired...’

There is evidence that poor eyesight might have social implications, particularly for women, as some conditions might result in the sufferer appearing to stare. For example, women were considered to be lacking in modesty if they appeared to be staring at men. The iconography of female saints, particularly the Virgin Mary, very often depicted them with eyes downcast to emphasise their modesty and piety. Determining what a sixteenth-century physician understood about the anatomy and function of the eyes can be found in writings of the classical period. From as early as 300 B.C., the most consistent anatomical theory concerning the function of the optic nerve was that it was a hollow tube through which a form of visual spirit passed and obstruction of that hollow tube meant the spirit could not pass and therefore blindness or part blindness was inevitable. Following animal dissection, Galen produced a model for the ocular anatomy of the eye which continued to be taught to physicians throughout the medieval period, passing first into Arab-Islamic medical tradition and, finally, being translated into Latin from the eighth to the eleventh centuries. So important was the treatment of eye conditions that at least ten treatises were influential up to the end of the sixteenth century. Medical writings prove there had been some shifts in the understanding of the physiology of the eye. In the medieval period, physicians noted that a fixed lens meant the patient had a blocked optic nerve, but by the Renaissance,

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75 Gowing, L. Common Bodies (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 6, which refers to a seventeenth-century narrative: ‘A girl about ten years old, had got a trick of confidently staring in men’s faces when they were talking; for which her mother reproved her, saying: “Daughter, our Sex enjoins us Modesty, and you ought to be bashful and look downward when you are in men’s company ...”’.
physicians believed that the organ of vision was the optic nerve, not the lens. The optic nerve was regarded to be the axis of the eye and the acuity of the central vision at the optic disc was said to be the result of a concentration of visual spirit where the retina met the optic nerve. In the Ince book, remedies for eye conditions span eight recipes, which form 2.75 per cent of the whole work. The recipes offer preparations that clean and soothe scratched or sore eyes. Recipe 10 addressed gummed eyes, almost certainly conjunctivitis. Acute diseases of the eye are also described and, as in the rest of the work, remedies and therapies are very varied, including poultices, ointments, eye washes and ingredients that are highly complex to source and produce through to a simple recipe, comprising pounded raisins in black wool. The most logical reason for using black wool is to block out any light which may cause pain and allow the eye to rest. Considering all the recipes, it appears that the author of the work had a particular interest in eye treatments as there are many. It is possible that the range of choices is merely representative of a broad market of prospective clients, as well as existing patients. The range of recommended remedies reinforces this argument.

Recipes 183, 220 and 259 are all related to treatments for skin conditions, some of which are facial problems. The idea that a patient might consult a physician about a cosmetic affliction seems rather odd at first glance, as this would be expected to fall under the remit of an apothecary or, even more likely, a friend or member of the patient’s family. This assumption may be misplaced, as the three recipes for skin problems do not specify the type of blemishes revealed by the condition which could also be perceived to reveal potential flaws in an individual’s character or symptoms of a serious illness. Recipe 259 does state rather ominously, however, that if the recipe is used it should stop the patient’s face from rotting. Recipe 220, which mentions blisters on the face, could be caused by any number of conditions that present vacillating blisters, including chicken pox. All these symptoms could also produce facial disfigurement carrying great

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79 C. Reeves and D. Taylor, ‘A history of the optic nerve’.
stigma and potentially reducing earning capacity. The real difficulty for medicine was blemishes or blisters on the skin which could be signs of contagion. Smallpox, plague and syphilis all have rich histories and brought with them versions of skin symptoms that could well signal potentially fatal diseases. The idea of the body erupting from a sickness within a patient and shown on the skin was firmly established in society and the medical community as a whole. There is not a great deal published about the history of skin as an organ but recently Scratching the Surface edited by Jonathan Reinarz and Kevin Siena, examines the subject but in a slightly later period of the eighteenth century when it argues, skin became to be understood.80 Two treatments (recipes 67 and 68) are given for another skin condition, ringworm.81 It is clear from the term ‘sleye the ryng worm’ that it was thought to be a living creature rather than a form of fungus. Gervase Markham (1568 (?) – 1637) has only one reference to ringworm in his work, and none at all in the papers of Dr John Hallow of Stratford-upon-Avon (1575-1635), which suggests it was not considered a major problem or perhaps largely dealt with by domestic medicine.82

There are three recipes for treating ear disorders and hearing difficulties (93, 130 and 133). Deafness is specifically mentioned in recipe 130. There appears to be little research carried out on the historical treatment of ears, but there are references to the deaf to be found in medieval and early modern sources. Deafness is a matter of degree and although the gradual loss of hearing is part of getting old, the elderly are not mentioned in the symptoms or treatments for ears. Medieval authors maintained the Aristotelian idea that hearing was crucial to procuring knowledge, believing that hearing conveyed the vehicle of thought. In some parts of Europe,

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81 Oxford English Dictionary: ‘a contagious itching skin disease occurring in small circular patches, caused by any of a number of fungi and affecting chiefly the scalp or the feet. The commonest form is athlete’s foot. Also called tinea.’ Ring worm is now known to be a highly contagious form of fungus. In the sixteenth century and much of the twentieth century, it was believed to be a living creature curled beneath the skin.
82 Best, The English Housewife, p. 28.
including Spain, the custom amongst aristocratic families of hiding any children described as ‘defective’ included the deaf.  

Recipe 131 describes a patient who almost certainly worked in agriculture as it is a treatment for either sheep’s louse or a quick-worm in the ear. This is likely to be a problem related to shearing sheep, since the process involves the shearer holding the sheep’s head pressed close to his face as the body of the animal is held, almost sitting up, tightly between the shearer’s legs. This stance keeps the sheep steady and in a position that is still used today. The proximity of the patient’s face to the sheep could well facilitate the passing of parasites. Despite this, it would be a mistake to deduce that the text was developed exclusively for patients who worked and lived exclusively in rural environments, as animals were regularly brought to market through urban districts and into the very hearts of towns and cities. Recipe 131 includes wormwood as an ingredient, and according to the principles of sympathetic medicine, wormwood would have been a logical choice to treat a worm or louse. Wormwood is a poisonous plant used in many medicines, regularly prescribed to kill parasites, or alternatively, as an abortifacient.

Moving down the human face, problems with the nose, whilst not mentioned in the Ince book, should be discussed here in terms of the olfactory system and the medical theories held about the sense of smell in the early modern period. Physicians of the mid-sixteenth century held the notion that nostrils contained small pap-like glands situated near the bridge of the nose that were attached to the brain. As vapours came into direct contact with the brain they were believed to directly affect the balance of humours. Renaissance anatomists were influenced not only by the centuries of classical medical philosophies, but by theories of cause and effect. Sweet smelling herbs in nosegays were believed to have prophylactic properties as they disguised foul stenches

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84 Riddle, J. M., *Contraception and Abortion from the Ancient World to the Renaissance*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 48. Artemisia absinthium L., A.sp., along with Myrrh, is mentioned as an ingredient by Dioscorides, who said that it expelled the menstrua. Wormwood is known today as a poisonous plant that causes abortions.
when held before the face and consequently held disease at bay. Animal-based perfume commodities, such as civet musk and ambergris, were thought to be heavy and therefore able to counter miasma by weighing it down and stopping it from travelling through the air. Oxford-educated medical writer Bartholomaeus Anglicus (1203–1272) claimed that smell was a smoky vapour. How medical practitioners of the early modern period used the sense of smell in medicine is certainly worthy of consideration, as diagnostics was largely a sensory experience and could give immediate evidence of contagion. In the case of halitosis, it was known that the smell may be evident on the breath, but centred in the stomach or gut. Foul breath was the outward evidence of an inner sickness or contagion. Medical practitioners frequently used the Hippocratic miasmic theories of diagnosing diseases, recognisable by the symptom of foul stenches believed to be emanating from decaying tissue within a living or dead body. As a result of this concept, bad odours were viewed as potentially dangerous to public health, but particularly threatening were those coming from the human body. Stinking vapours were seen as invisible enemies in the air that could travel some distance and were treated with great caution.

Recipe 28 considers methods to treat halitosis which recommends the content of the recipe to be introduced into the nostrils of the patient after retiring to bed. This method, according to the author of the Ince book, worked ‘with God’s grace’. Causes of the condition, other than consuming strong smelling foods, including garlic, were not due to poor oral hygiene alone. The lack of a cleaning regime implies potential unpleasant odours being caused by bacteria between the teeth and on the gum line, but halitosis can also exist as a result of disorders in the nasal cavity, throat, lungs, stomach or gut. Early recorded evidence of halitosis in society is referred to by Hippocrates, who advised on sweetening breath. Sweet smelling herbal remedies,

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86 Ibid., p.109.
89 Dugan, Ephemeral History, p.108.
such as peppermint, were used to treat halitosis three thousand years ago.\textsuperscript{90} There were marital issues of concern related to foul breath. \textit{The Trotula} suggests that a patient should hold laurel leaves and musk under the tongue to avoid a sexual partner being repulsed by smells.\textsuperscript{91} This was particularly recommended during sexual intercourse, because, if intercourse was disgusting to a spouse because of foul breath, this might cause the partner to commit mortal sin through adultery. To provide a more contemporary comparison for the Ince book, Gervase Markham, in his book \textit{The English Housewife} also includes two recipes for bad breath (p.16) one a drink, another a plaster, which is laid across the stomach.\textsuperscript{92} This process demonstrates the belief that bad breath resulted from deep internal complaints.

Treatments for diseases of the mouth and dental problems are significant features of the Ince book, with a total of eight recipes (15, 27, 28, 212, 217, 244, 250 and 251). Recipe 217 is interesting as it is one of the only references to child health. The recipe addresses what is described as a canker in the mouth. Closer examination of the contents suggests the affliction could be an ulcer or even an extreme form of thrush which is still common in infants.\textsuperscript{93} Thomas Phaire, a sixteenth-century writer on children’s health, discussed canker in his work \textit{The Boke of Chyldren} (1545), which contains a whole section on the affliction. Phaire states that canker is caused by ‘corrupcion of the milke, venomous vapours arising from the stomake...’ and then, with a note of caution, adds ‘...& of many other infortunes there chanceth to breede a canker in ye mouthes of childre...’\textsuperscript{94} Phaire also discusses other oral conditions, including ulcers, which he describes according to the texts of ‘the Grekes and auncient latynes...’\textsuperscript{95} A comparison of contents of the Phaire recipes with those of the Ince book reveals a distinct difference which indicates that medicine for a child, particularly if it has to be held in the mouth, should be

\textsuperscript{90} www.ualberta.ca/~feggert/BREATH_2.HTM. Eggert, M. F. Accessed 11 November 2013.
\textsuperscript{91} Green, \textit{Trotula}, p. 123.
\textsuperscript{92} Best, \textit{English Housewife}, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{95} Ibid., p.40.
palatable. The main contents include rose, honey, violet and myrrh for a breast-feeding infant and a stronger version containing pomegranate and red coral with the area of the canker washed with wine or warm water and honey prior to application. The Ince version is less sweet and more acidic, with little attempt to make it palatable to a child, despite its stated purpose.

Amongst the oral recipes are some for whitening teeth. The Trotula also includes recipes for the whitening of teeth, which was presumably cosmetic rather than medicinal. The process, if not the content, is similar to the Ince book in recommending an abrasive, made up of burnt white marble and date pits, white natron, red tile, sale and pumice to be rubbed on the teeth, inside and out, applied with damp wool wrapped in a cloth, presumably on a finger. The Trotula offers another recipe for whitening that also recommends chewing fine herbs and plants to sweeten breath: ‘…let her chew each day fennel or lovage or parsley, which is better to chew because it gives off a good smell and cleans good gums and makes the teeth very white.’ Public concerns relating to dental problems were substantial, as demonstrated by mortality bills of the early modern period. One such bill for London dated 1680 records that during one week in July there were no fewer than 29 deaths attributed to ‘teeth’. The remainder of the same bill attributes nine deaths to dropsy, one to ‘french pox’ and 57 to ‘griping in the guts’. Although these bills may now be medically inaccurate, society certainly believed that 29 people died from teeth conditions. Markham also offers advice about dental care and teeth whitening. Markham’s remedy 64, ‘To make teeth white’, mirrors the Trotula process of five centuries earlier: ‘Take a saucer of strong vinegar, and two spoonfuls of the powder of roche alum, a spoonful of white salt, and a spoonful of honey; seethe all these till it be as thin as water, then put it into a close vial and keep it, and when occasion serves wash your teeth therewith, with a rough cloth and rub

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97 Green, Trotula, p. 112.
98 Ibid., p.122.
them soundly, but not to bleed.100 Dental recipes 15 and 27 in the Ince book are the same recipe in terms of usage and content, which initially suggests an oversight by the author, but also lends credence to the argument that there are two authors. The key process of these recipes involves polishing through the use of a paste made up of rye flour mixed with abrasive salt, with a honey content to make it more palatable. Recipe 244 for toothache is particularly interesting, if not optimistic, in that it suggests that a simple herbal treatment applied topically to the tooth will ensure a cure for seven years. The text often refers to other periods of remission or cure with great confidence. Markham, in comparison, offers three recipes for toothache, one of which has an unusual method of application, but shows an understanding that the nose, throat and mouth are anatomically joined. For the toothache, take a handful of daisy roots, and wash them very clean and dry them with a cloth, and then stamp them, and when you have stamped them a good while, take the quantity of half a nutshell full of bay salt, and strew it amongst the roots, and then when they are very well beaten, strain them through a clean cloth: then grate some cattham aromaticus, and mix it good and stiff with the juice of the roots, and when you have done so, put it into a quill and snuff it up into your nose, and you shall find ease.101

Markham offers a non-surgical option to extraction of teeth described as ‘To draw teeth without iron’, which means without the use of instruments, the dreaded tools of a barber-surgeon or ‘Toothright’. This recipe refers to the use of ‘green of the elder tree or the apples of oak trees rubbed upon the gums and teeth...’ which it is claimed would make them loose, allowing them to be pulled out easily.102 Like the remedies of Markham, those in the Ince book underscore that dental care should avoid the shock and brutality of tooth extraction. When teeth could not be saved, the Ince book suggests it is worth considering the use of raven’s dung (recipe 251). This indicates the author’s belief that particular animals or birds of certain colours had intrinsic values

100 Green, Trotula, p. 19.
101 Best, English Housewife, p. 16.
102 Ibid., p.19.
to medicine, thereby demonstrating the subtleties of the use of animal products (see also recipe 196). Unlike the remedies in Ince’s work, Dr John Hall in his patient notes often provides detailed descriptions of the humoral principles of medicine, including dental treatments such as recipe 68, which was administered to William Compton, first Earl of Northampton. Dr Hall writes that the Earl was ‘cruelly tormented with Pain of his Teeth, and very much molest ed with swelling of his gums…’ The patient’s symptoms of swollen gums were attributed to phlegm, the cardinal humour generated in the head, therefore explaining why gum disorders were described as wet and cold.\(^{103}\) The author who translated Hall’s patient notes from Latin into English, James Cook, added his own observation from Thonerus on how to deal with a painful hollow tooth with the use of ‘Camphire and Vinegar’ held hot in the mouth.\(^{104}\)

The upper torso, including heart and lungs, features in the next two sections of analysis. While modernity recognises the heart as a major organ, its treatment is only mentioned briefly in recipe 66, which offers a simple drink to ease the heart. It should not be assumed that people of the early modern period recognised the heart as a significant physical organ; it is important to set the work in the medical context of the time in which it was written. As with all studies, it is those items left out of a work that pose as many questions as those found within it. The heart according to Renaissance physicians working under humoral principles was the organ which held all emotions and passions. Alberti argues that understanding this point is crucial to understanding early modern ideas of cardio-physiology.\(^{105}\)

Unlike the heart, the lungs are well represented in the volume. Respiratory conditions such as coughs and breathing problems feature in nine recipes (29, 30, 101, 112, 114, 167, 271, 272 and 273). Three of these recipes offer treatments for various coughs, just as modern pharmaceuticals

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\(^{103}\) Lane, J. (ed.), *John Hall and his Patients* (Stratford upon Avon: The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 2008), p.123.

\(^{104}\) Thonerus was the Latin name of Augustus Thoner (1567-1655) who was a director the College of Medicine at Ulm. Thonerus was a follower of Galen and Galenic therapy, except bloodletting.

distinguish between dry tickly coughs and bronchial or mucus coughs. Andrew Wear discusses the medical community of the sixteenth century’s understanding of the human respiratory system, citing the description of lung disorders by German anatomist Wirsung (1589-1643). Wirsung offered an explanation of consumption or lung disorders as the organs being damaged or corroded by extremes of heat, cold winds or onions causing excess blood. The force of the blood was believed to cause a broken vein which formed an abscess in the lung, thereby causing wasting in a patient. The function of the lungs within the humoral theory was described as being like bellows, cooling and firing the furnace of the human heart. This description indicates a mechanistic understanding of their operation. Galen wrote in his description of the lung’s physicality and purpose, ‘It has all the properties which make for easy evacuation; it is very soft and warm and is kept in constant motion... and Blood passing though the lungs absorbed from the inhaled air, the quality of heat, which it then carried into the left heart.’ By the time of the English Reformation, physicians understood the connection between the lungs and respiration without having any concept of how oxygen is carried through the bloodstream, just that breathing was essential to life and that the lungs were made of unusual tissue. There was some confusion as to the psychological impact lungs could have on human emotion, shown by the 1497 writings of physician Alessandro Benedetti, a contemporary of Leonardo Da Vinci, who suggested anger could be controlled by the lungs, which fanned the fires of rage without which the anger would be ‘otherwise implacable’. It was not until the sixteenth century that this view was challenged by Paracelsus (1493-1541). In his On the Miner’s Sickness, Paracelsus identifies lung disorders, such as silicosis, caused by miners inhaling dust. The Ince book does not identify consumption amongst the cough recipes, which is interesting as it was well known in the sixteenth century and definable, but patients often presented with a collection of symptoms.

106 Ince. Recipe 29.
107 Wear, Knowledge & Practice, p. 145.
108 Ibid., p. 145.
109 For more detailed discussion of Paracelsus, and the impact of his new approaches, see pp. 67-8, 96-7.
Recipe 30 which addresses a ‘chen kowhe’ is particularly intriguing. This might mean a ‘chink’ cough which can be heard as a metallic rattle or perhaps ‘chen’ means ‘chien’, the dry dog-like bark of whooping cough? A third possibility might be that it represents a ‘chin’ cough, meaning a cough in the throat rather than in the chest. One of the challenges of working with a newly discovered text is that it may include terminology which is not fully explained, and which is not directly paralleled elsewhere. In some cases, it may be possible to arrive at a diagnosis on the basis of clearly described symptoms. That is not possible in this case, so one can only explore possible interpretations of the name itself. However, there is no means of ascertaining for certain which, if any, of the above interpretations may be correct, and recent approaches within the history of medicine in any case question the value of this type of ‘retrospective diagnosis’, on the grounds that perceptions and descriptions of disease can only be fully understood against the background of the social context in which they are described, rather than purely as biomedical conditions. In the words of Jon Arrizabalaga, it is “difficult to imagine that any medical label of disease can be fully understood outside its relevant representational framework —always defined in terms of specific space-time coordinates.”

Recipe 114 employs sympathetic ingredients including the dried lungs of a fox, crumbled into potage for administration to a person who has difficulty breathing deeply. This snatched form of breathing may have been the result of hyperventilation or acute heart and lung conditions. It does not seem likely that this recipe addresses asthma, as it is breathing out, not in, that is the difficulty afflicting asthma sufferers. Again, it is worthwhile drawing comparisons with Markham’s *English Housewife*, as there are some parallels in treatments offered for a new cough. Note in particular the recommendation to stay warm in bed during the time of treatment.

‘For a new cough
For a cough or cold but lately taken, you shall take a spoonful of sugar finely beaten and searced, and drop into it of the best aqua vitae, until all the sugar be

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110 Arrizabalaga, ‘Problematising retrospective diagnosis’, p. 57.
wet through, and can receive no more moisture. Then, being ready to lie down to rest, take and swallow the spoonful of sugar down; and so cover you warm in your bed, and it will soon break and dissolve the cold.\textsuperscript{111}

For an old cough, Markham points out the cough’s potential to keep the patient awake during the night, thereby showing an awareness of different stages and types of cough when at their most irritating. ‘For an old cough...And in the night when the cough or rheum offendumeth you, take as much of the juice of liquorice as two good barley corns, and let it melt in your mouth, and it will give you ease.’\textsuperscript{112} Lady Elinor Fettiplace (1570-1647) produced a carefully written domestic receipt book, which offers an extraordinary number of treatments for coughs compared to the Ince book.\textsuperscript{113} There are eleven different cough syrups, including gargles for the throat, a chest rub and five different types of cough drop. Fumigation is also listed, with Elinor Fettiplace suggesting that a bronchial patient should inhale sage, hyssop and pepper laid ‘on a hot tylestone’, while a combination of spices and frankincense placed upon flax and secured between brown papers was otherwise known as a Cap for the rewme and was worn on the head like Jack and Jill of the English nursery-rhyme.\textsuperscript{114} The abundance of choice provided by Elinor Fettiplace, although not by the author of the Ince book, again re-enforces and deepens the understanding of gender boundaries when it came to health care. Cough remedies were in the realm of female domestic medicine and not necessarily for an expensive physician to dispense. A note of caution is also appropriate here; just because the recipes refer to ‘him’ in the copy, does not necessarily mean that the recipient of the recipe was exclusively male. Markham’s The English Housewife has some directly comparable recipes to those in the Ince book but it is important to appreciate that Markham’s book was written for a female audience, reflecting the importance of domestic medicine. Taken as a whole,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[111] Best, English Housewife, p. 15.
\item[112] Ibid., p. 15.
\item[114] Ibid., p. 64.
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the recipes within the Ince book combine ailments within the sphere of domestic medicine with those that might more typically be addressed by a physician.

The stomach and concerns about digestion feature quite strongly in Ince’s work. There are four recipes to heal or relieve symptoms of digestive disorders (23, 46, 70, and 77). Medieval and early modern anatomists seem to have had a fairly accurate broad physiological knowledge of the structure of the digestive system. Named in the Ince book are the stomach, colon and the intestine. The stomach was viewed as a cold, dry organ situated in the centre of the body and acted as the distribution centre for food.115 As yellow bile was seen during the process of vomiting, the stomach was believed to be a vital link in balancing the humors of the body, as diet and ingestion were crucial forms of humoral control. People were seen as having personal humors and so remedies were often personalised according to their perceived balance in each patient. Forced purging by the use of emetics and laxatives was one of the primary steps an early modern physician took to cleanse a patient of ill humors.116 A particular interest from the four recipes covered in the Ince book is recipe 23, entitled ‘Ffor the stomike’. This recipe does not suggest that it should be taken following the presentation of symptoms, so it is likely that the cure was designed to be a prophylactic against stomach disorders, which is common in other works.117 Recipe 70 recommends a poultice to draw out any evils from the stomach. It is not stated how the evacuation of the ‘evils’ might work, whether through the skin or inducing some form of purge.

There are ten recipes (42, 48, 49, 103, 163, 168, 179, 193, 203 and 222) directly related to the bowel, including for rectal bleeding and others describe blood being expelled with urine. These suggest the author recognised the separation of internal organs with regards to excretion and urinary tracts, although some of the rectal bleeding might refer to haemorrhoids or internal

injuries following a trauma. The types of treatments with the exception of a suppository recipe are almost entirely made up of various draughts. These are predominantly herbal, served in wine or ale, and one comprises simply scraped tree bark that produced a violent purge ‘up or down’ specifically stated for a man or woman (recipe 168). Recipe 203 is for ‘the blodye flyxe’ which in modern terms suggests acute evacuation involving bleeding. This treatment is probably severe diarrhoea, but may also be a remedy for haemorrhoids, although blood in a bowel movement can also appear as a result of a more sinister condition, such as cancer of the bowel.118 Conditions of the lower bowel and anus feature in two recipes. Haemorrhoids are swollen veins at the lower portion of the rectum or anus. Symptoms include rectal bleeding and the condition is painful and particularly debilitating during a time when horses were such a common form of travel, certainly for the wealthier members of society. Both recipes 219 and 280 claim to dry up haemorrhoids through the use of a salve, in 219 the patient is advised to introduce the salve into the anus.

Cleansing the system of illness through the use of an emetic or laxative was a popular method of medical therapy in the sixteenth century, also appearing in the work of Dr John Hall for example. Joan Lane notes in her introduction to Hall’s casebook that ‘The majority of his treatments began with a purgative preparation…’ This method of cleansing was also designed to expel from the body any excessive humours which were believed to be the cardinal cause of ill health. As some plants had particular qualities to expel a specific humour, such as agarics for excessive phlegm, it explains why there is such a wide variety of ingredients to be found in the recipes (39, 48, 49, 103 179 and 193).119 Recipe 39 employs just powdered bay leaves and stale ale as a simple oral remedy, whilst recipe 48 details the contents of a suppository as an alternative form of administration.

There are no recipes that address conditions or illnesses in the hips or legs, but there are seven recipes for the treatment of gout (11, 22, 52, 53, 87, 97, 136 and 158). Although gout can

119 Lane, John Hall, p. xxxi.
strike elbows, wrists and fingers, it is very usually expected to affect the feet, particularly the great toe. Porter and Rousseau’s study *Gout: The Patrician Malady* is pertinent to this study as it gives an indication of the type of patient who would be treated for gout. Gout was viewed to strike only the rich and over-indulgent who chose to eat rich food and drink to excessive levels. This rare insight into at least one social strata of patients is significant as there are so few other clues about patients in the Ince book. Gout presents as red and extremely sore joints accompanied by a fever and can be very debilitating. The seven alternative treatments for gout between them represent a substantial part of the whole work. The remedies provided in these recipes are almost entirely designed to be rubbed onto the sore area as a salve or ointment. The use of fox oil is discussed in full (see pp. 73 -74) but there are other interesting ingredients for the treatment of gout, such as wormwood (a known purgative, and toxic when used in excess) and old olive oil contained within a sealed pot that is put in a dunghill to cook for a period of nine days (recipe 53). The Marquess of Dorset, according to recipe 87, used a more expensive range of ingredients to treat his gout. As was commonly the case in recipes with costly ingredients, the word ‘soffrand’ is used in the title, indicating a ‘sovereign’ remedy, made of the finest quality, thereby justifying a high price. There was a commercial aspect to medicine and marketing tools were employed to justify the expense by giving such a title.

Whilst most previous remedies could be dispensed to both sexes, the following paragraph deals exclusively with recipes intended purely for men. Men’s health is described in 13 recipes (12, 20, 38, 74, 106, 107, 108, 109, 109a, 112, 177, 182 and 284), including issues relating to urinary retention, stones and problems with the penis and testicles. Urinary retention is dealt with in a number of recipes, including recipe 12 entitled ‘To make a man to pesse’. Although this recipe does not specify the cause of the difficulty in urination, one possible cause for this

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121 Ibid., p. 2.
122 Ibid., p. 1.
problem is stones in the bladder or kidneys, also mentioned (without being specific as to whether these were in men or women) in recipes 180, 190, 191 and 249. Stones in the bladder were a preoccupation in the sixteenth century, which is evidenced by the proliferation of lithotomists, early surgical specialists who operated on patients with bladder stones. Hippocrates (400 B.C.) specifically mentioned bladder stones, which were included in the Hippocratic Oath historically taken by newly qualified doctors: ‘I will not use the knife, not even on sufferers from stone, but will withdraw in favour of such men as are engaged in this work.’ Lithotomists, from the middle ages, travelled around Europe with operating equipment and carried out surgery on sufferers from bladder and kidney stones. This surgery was so painful and dangerous that even as late as the late seventeenth century, surgery for the removal of stones was considered sufficiently dangerous that not all sufferers chose to take the risk. In light of this information about the surgical landscape and bladder stones, it is hardly surprising that a physician was likely to be the preferred choice of healer in men’s health and indeed women’s health. However, evidence for neighbours, including women, providing guidance on such matters without reference to a physician is found in a letter from Lord Edmund Howard to Lady Lisle, included in the important collection of sixteenth-century papers known as the Lisle letters, transcribed and analysed by Muriel St Clare Byrne:

I have this night after midnight taken your medicine, for the which I heartly thank you, for it has done me much good, and hath caused the stone to break, so that now I void much gravel. But for all that, your said medicine hath done me little honesty, for it made me piss my bed this night, for the which my wife hath sore beaten me, and saying it is children’s parts to be bepiss their bed. Ye have made me such a pisser that I dare not this day go abroad… wherefore I beseech you to make mine excuse to my Lord and Master Treasurer for that I shall not be with you this day at dinner.’

124 Wear, Knowledge and Practice, p. 18
Unfortunately, there is no record of what was contained in the medicine that Lady Lisle gave or recommended to her friend that had such singular results.

Recipe 38 and recipe 109a address the painful condition of orchitis, an affliction causing the testicles to swell and look like orchid bulbs, described in the book as ‘ffor Swellyng balloks’. Besides swollen testicles, orchitis is characterised by blood in the semen and pain in the groin. Both these recipes specify identical treatment for the condition, namely barley meal and honey fried together into a hot plaster, placed on the testicles lukewarm. Further examination of the handwriting suggests it to be the same author so may be an error. Recipe 108 is interesting in that it is specifically for men who almost certainly have the condition of ‘haematuria’, which is the appearance of blood in urine. This recipe is entitled ‘ffor a man that pysseth blode’ and the recommended prescription is quite simple, calling for herbs and parsley seeds stamped together and served in milk, taken orally. Recipe 109 deals with urinary retention ‘ffor hem that may not well pes’. This also involves the use of herbs served as a drink, but in the more expensive menstruum, white wine. A condition of the penis is described in recipe 177, which addresses a swollen appendage, under the title ‘ffor swellyng of the y(thorn)yerde [penis]’, which again involves a fried poultice, including leeks and boar’s grease laid on the swelling.\textsuperscript{127} Both the shape of the leek and the fact that the grease of a boar (a common symbol of masculinity because of its tusks in addition to being specifically male itself) suggests the use of sympathetic medicine here.

Thomas Phaire’s work also advises on the procedure to help children with swollen testicles, which insists that, under no circumstances should plasters or poultices be laid on the testicles if hemlock is present, for it would stunt growth of the testicles.\textsuperscript{128} Although a penis

\textsuperscript{127} Hughes, G., Encyclopaedia of Swearing, Social History of Oaths, Profanity, Vulgar Language and Ethnic Slurs in the English Speaking World (New York: M.E. Sharpe Inc., 2006), p. 197. Although now an obsolete term for penis, the word ‘yerde’, derived from Old English, was widely used in this period and is similarly recorded in other medical texts.

\textsuperscript{128} Phaire, T. The Boke of Chyldren, p. 59.
swollen by an erection is entirely natural, the type of swelling brought by a medical condition is described as an ‘evil’ and therefore an acute condition.

In addition to recipes specific to men’s health, there are also 17 recipes which seem at first sight to be specific to women. However, a note of caution should be applied when considering recipes for the womb, such as recipe 37 ‘ffor wormes in the womb’. While the term ‘womb’ could be applied to the uterus in the sixteenth century, the word was also used more generally to describe the lower abdomen in men and women. The uterus, confusingly, could also be described as the womb, mother or matrix. It seems likely that recipe 37 is a prescription for the patient to clear a parasite from the lower gut, whether thread or tape worms. The description of evidence that the worms are dying as a result of the hot wine drink is engaging, as the sensation of what was believed to be the worms dying may actually have been caused by shifting matter in the bowel, which can be very painful. Barbara Duden’s study of German patients, although eighteenth century in origin, describes how individuals were able to detect changes through feeling the body, however subtle, and thereby gauge ills or developments, including pregnancy.

Leaving aside such ambiguous references to the womb, women’s medicine is discussed in 14 recipes (115, 116, 117, 118, 187, 215, 226, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277 and 278). These are notable because most are grouped together in two main sections; other groups of related complaints tend to be dispersed throughout the volume. This may indicate that the two groups have been borrowed directly from other works, although there is no evidence of exactly where they come from. The first of these 14 recipes addresses issues related to menstruation, while the second (274) provides advice on lactation, or breast ailments, such as mastitis. Regular menstruation was recognised from ancient times as being an essential part of fertility and was the


outwardly visible sign of a woman’s ability to bear children. Interestingly, John Hall’s book has 14 separate references to menstruation and Markham’s only contains three and yet was aimed at a female market.

Diseases or conditions that strike the whole body of a patient rather than being centralised in one area included the infectious diseases. Although a matter of debate, a number of medical historians argue that syphilis was fairly new to English shores at the time the Ince book was compiled. Rashes feature prominently as a symptom and the disease was confused with leprosy, pestilence and plague. The disease swept across Europe in the 1490s. In 1496, Albrecht Dürer produced a woodcut of a syphilitic aristocrat, which became one of the most enduring images of public health and contagious disease in the late Middle Ages (see Appendix 4). The image reminded individuals who saw it that the pox could take hold of anyone, including the rich. It also depicts the victim standing below a zodiac chart upon which the date 1484 is visible. When syphilis first appeared at the Hotel-Dieu in Paris in 1496, a multitude of patients were turned away by medical practitioners who thought this new disease was a form of leprosy. Rumours later circulated that Henry VIII had caught the disease by a kiss from Cardinal Wolsey. Despite these myths, people finally came to understand that the disease was sexually transmitted. As the effects of catching Morbidus Gallicus or the French Pox, as it was popularly known in England, were so distressing with the body covered in pustules that any possible recommended cure was taken very seriously indeed. The dramatic visual impact of advanced syphilis was considerable as the body could be seen to be eaten away by the disease leaving, in some cases, great holes through which the inner workings of their organs could be seen. Recipe 284, one of the simplest forms of treatment involved only fumigation.

135 Ibid., p. 13.
Dropsy and swelling of the limbs are other general afflictions and are discussed in recipes 7, 111, 113, 194, 211 and 240. Within Galenic medicine, dropsy was considered to be caused by a feeble liver which was not able to make blood properly, making water instead, the overflow of which filled the lower limbs and feet, which swelled. Dropsy was known to be the cause of swelling in other areas too, such as the abdomen; physicians considered the severity of the attack by listening to the sound of water in the patient’s abdomen.\textsuperscript{137} Whilst astrological medicine hardly features in the Ince work (see p. 103), there was a strong school of thought in the sixteenth century related to the idea of the pull of the tides and movement of certain planets affecting fluid in the human body. Each cycle of the seasons brought its own dangers, such as the second half of the year, when black jaundice, dropsy and kidney stones were rampant.\textsuperscript{138} The content of the recipes in the Ince work employ herbs that are ‘hot’ by virtue, chosen to dry out the excess water from the sufferer. The medicines are administered both orally and as poultices, applied directly to swollen areas. There appears to be some logic in this therapy, as herbs were applied on a wet cloth which would be comfortable for the patient. Recipes 7, 194, 211 and 240 suggest imbibing herb and spice drinks at varying temperatures again in an attempt to dry out the excess fluid in the body through the use of ingredients believed to possess qualities of heat. This is further evidenced in recipe 194, where an oral medicine is offered at the same time as the patient is required to sit upright, with feet off the ground, situated over hot coals for a period of five or six hours, with the coals being regularly changed to ensure a constant heat. The therapy of hot coals and sweating found in recipe 194 was to be continued the next day if the patient was to be ‘hole’.

The remaining recipes discuss the treatment of diseases or conditions that supposedly affect the whole body. Recipe 181, for example, deals with the body of a man or woman wasting away from a condition that is not described in any great detail and could thus be any number of illnesses, including cancer or tuberculosis. The recipe reveals hot ingredients used to stir up or

\textsuperscript{137} Wear, \textit{Knowledge and Practice}, p. 88.
revitalise the humours. So confident is the author in this recipe that he boasts that the patient will be restored, without doubt, should the sufferer eat the compound morning and night. No doubt recipe 185, ‘an oyntment for all maner of aches’, and recipe 279, which offers treatments for aches anywhere in the body, would both be popular as they offer comfort from a cooked salve made up of inexpensive domestic herbs. A physician who offered such a simple recipe as a cure-all may have raised some suspicions, as such a medicine was more often found in the market stall of a quack rather than prescribed by a licensed medical practitioner or university-trained physician. Porter suggests quacks flourished and epitomised ‘medical entrepreneurship’ in a society riddled by sickness. They took their place jostling for a market share as purveyors of healing alongside physicians and other healers in an early modern consumer society.¹³⁹

The great challenge to understanding the Ince book is breaking down groups of ailments by description and to understand that there were blanket terms such as ‘ague’, which could be symptoms of a multitude of illnesses from influenza to malaria.¹⁴⁰ Part of the human body’s physiological response to an infection is to elevate the temperature of the body in an attempt to kill off the bacteria or virus. It is appropriate to consider cases resembling malaria in sixteenth-century England, as it was fairly common according to historian Mary Dobson, particularly near marshy areas or estuaries. Pockets of virulent and repetitive strains of malaria have been mapped by Dobson from records of the day.¹⁴¹ However, she argues that some historians have published papers regarding epidemics of malaria, stating that the plasmodial infection was never indigenous or common in Britain. This indicates how difficult and conflicting it can be for the researcher interpreting contemporary descriptions of diseases.¹⁴² The term ‘malaria’, or miasmic marsh fever, is taken from the French and Italian and translates as ‘bad air’.¹⁴³ There are nine recipes detailing

¹⁴⁰ Oxford English Dictionary ‘malaria or another illness involving fever and shivering, a fever or shivering’.
¹⁴³ Ibid., p.310.
treatments specifically for ague, including 4, 5, 6, 75, 76 and arguably number 270, which is to treat fevers both hot and cold and one that involves the symptoms of severe shaking and trembling. This is the recipe which cites the authority of Gilbert Kymer.144 There are also a number of recipes which describe fevers, but interestingly not the other common name for a fever at the time, which was ‘quartain’.145 Some of the treatments are unremarkable, such as 43 and 78, which are made up of vinegar and honey or treacle or alternatively elder and sugar boiled up to make a medicine. Recipe 189 includes an intriguing title, ‘ffor the swetynge & burnynge a regina anglia’; perhaps a Queen of England was known to have suffered from this feverish condition. The span of recipes related to sweating are, as might be expected, almost entirely for conditions of profuse perspiration resulting from high temperature. Recipe 267 conversely, is offered for the man who cannot sweat and gives a remedy for a spicy foot salve containing cumin, perhaps to draw fluid evenly through the body.

The painful condition of sciatica, still notoriously difficult to treat, is mentioned in recipe 248, which suggests a foaming concoction and includes the use of black bay leaves. It is particularly interesting that the author describes treating the passage of sciatica as the pain can stretch from the lower back right down the leg to the ankle and foot, suggesting that the author had anatomical knowledge of the nervous system, or suffered from the disease himself. Sadly, the ending of the recipe is illegible.

Yellow jaundice was believed to be caused by a patient having too much choler, or yellow bile, in the stomach. For followers of humoral medicine, the sight of the bright yellow skin, or bile beneath the surface was one of the most extraordinary visible signs of humours out of balance, making the patient desperately ill and, in some cases, bringing death. The use of yellow products, such as saffron and turmeric, are again indicative of a sympathetic medical philosophy in the book’s materia medica and can be found in recipe 260 for the treatment of ‘Jaloue Jandys.’ A

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144 See pp. 7-8.
145 Wear, Knowledge & Practice, p. 114.
yellow discolouration of the skin is not necessarily caused by jaundice, but can also be found amongst the symptoms of an acute malarial infection. An emetic infusion can be found for the treatment of fever with dropsy and jaundice, calling for the usage of saffron and turmeric in the writings of Dr John Hall. One of Hall’s patients was Joseph Jelfes, who was suffering with yellow jaundice and tertian ague. Thomas Culpeper (1514-1541), the English physician and herbalist, recommended milk thistle for jaundice. Donald G. Barceloux states that milk thistle has been used in the treatment of hepatobiliary diseases, including jaundice, for over 2,000 years. Black jaundice is not mentioned in terms of treatment and expected to appear in the second revolution of the year and caused gouts, rheums, dropsies and black jaundice according to astrological medicine. A very clear description of medieval treatment for yellow jaundice can be found in the first section of Bald’s Leechbook.

From bile disease, that is from the yellow one, comes great misery. It is the most powerful of all diseases; then an excess of humor grows internally. These are the symptoms: that his body all becomes bitter and turns yellow like good silk and under his tongue strongly black and bad veins and his urine is yellow. Let him blood from the lung vein, give him often a stirring potion, stone baths (that is, saunas) frequently. Prepare for him then a calming drink of dock in wine and water, and every morning in the bath let him drink a mulled drink; it will alleviate the bitterness of the bile.

The Ince book also addresses what was the most feared disease of the early modern world. Plague was a word that could instil fear into every household as it had struck with biblical proportions in the fourteenth century. The great pestilence of 1348 was considered the most terrifying, although there was a second epidemic wave from 1360 to 1364. Deaths caused by

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146 Lane, John Hall, p. 209.
149 Cameron, M. L., Anglo-Saxon Medicine, p. 14.
plague reached 25 per cent of the Eurasian population, or nearly 100 million people. It killed with what historians such as Ann Carmichael have described as ‘unimaginable speed.’ Mortality figures for London alone were 30,000 between 1405 and 1407, and it would appear again in England every generation for the next three centuries. There were attempts to control the onslaught of the disease. It was recognised in the sixteenth century that contagion was all about distance and locality. The smell or miasma arising as a foul stench from churchyards, filthy alleys and common ale houses was believed to signal hazards that could lead to serious illness and death. Actually touching the clothes or body of an individual who was suffering from the plague was considered the greatest risk. Society was taught that plague could be lessened if homes were kept clean, cooking pans purged and the air sweetened through the use of perfumed flowers and herbs. Bubonic plague killed half its victims within eight days of infection, whilst some survived as long as a month. Symptoms were vomiting, headaches, blindness, pain and delirium and the tell-tale buboes which appeared in the armpits and groin area, along with black gangrenous patches and subcutaneous haemorrhages. It is hardly surprising that society was terrified of such a dreadful disease given its symptoms alone. Medical professionals across Europe tried desperately to control plague, the greatest protection being isolation. In the 1665 outbreak, physicians from Montpellier University experimented with drawing fluid from the buboes of the dead and injecting this into animals and volunteers, including convicts. Few remedies came from such experiments. Three, however, are included in the Ince book (171, 204, 207), the first suggesting that three of four figs pickled in vinegar and one half taken each morning would act as a prophylactic. There is a prophylactic virtue in recipe 204, but also as a

153 Wear, Knowledge and Practice, p. 325.
154 Ibid., p. 326.
155 Dobson, Contours of Death and Disease, p. 29.
157 Ibid., p.65.
drink to calm the symptoms of someone who has contracted the plague. Recipe 204 also seeks to keep the afflicted awake for sixteen or twenty-four hours. Perhaps there was a fear that if a patient slept, he or she would not wake again. Considered one of the greatest preventatives of the plague, the herb rosemary grew in such abundance in England and was readily available and inexpensive, making it a state-sponsored preventative even in the poorest of neighbourhoods.¹⁵⁸

Leprosy, another global scourge, is mentioned in recipe 256. There is no cure or comfort treatment offered for people suffering with leprosy, but five different ways in which the disease might be recognised. These systems of diagnosis are fully explored in chapter 3, which examines professional approaches.

The last section of this chapter considers the treatment of injuries caused by accidents, starting with torn sinews. Sinews, attaching muscle to bone, can be extremely painful if ripped or pulled. Interestingly, there is little reference to healing sinews in contemporary works. Dr John Hall’s case notes do not mention a single treatment for torn sinews, perhaps leaving this work to the barber surgeons. Markham includes three remedies in his book, two of which are for shrinking the sinews by the use of herbal rubs and a third to staunch blood and draw sinews together if ripped.¹⁵⁹ The Ince book also contains three specifically for such a condition (44, 82 and 128). Sinews are mentioned in recipes other than these but combined with descriptions such as bruising. Recipe 82 suggests a bright green poultice made of fried up watercress fried with camomile, wheat and honey and laid on the sore place. The author describes then enthusiastically ‘I done marveluslye in such causes’ which also proves he has directly treated people with this injury, and with success.

Like many other recipes in the book, those for accidents and injuries largely appear randomly batches (10, 47, 121-127, 129, 159, 161, 165, 206, 238, 242 and 252). A cluster at 121-27, all concerned with the removal of thorns (see below) may represent a single borrowing from

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¹⁵⁸ Dugan, Ephemeral History, p.18.
¹⁵⁹ Best, English Housewife, pp. 46, 52.
another text, or simply a more concentrated approach to gathering information at the point at which that section was compiled. Amongst general injuries and the staunching of blood, more specific injuries are also addressed, such as pulled or torn muscles and also broken bones. Whilst bones were broken following accidents among all walks of life, the pulled or torn muscles were often caused by heavy lifting and other labour-intensive activities. Recipes 184 and 242 treat broken bones with the use of hazel tree, ‘cat’s tails’ and red docks, pounded once dried out, and administered to the patient in a drink which is unspecified. The nature of the drink was considered inconsequential as the recipe confidently states that the broken bone will knit in five or six days. All the recipes that are designed to heal broken bones do so through the use of medicines, poultices and plasters with no reference to the process of bone-setting by manipulation. Although the administration of potions and compounds varies from poultices to pills, one would imagine a stiffening plaster or at least a wrap of some form would be used to support a break. However, only an oral medicine is suggested in Ince’s book. The direct treatment of a broken bone remained in the hands of the barber surgeons, some of whom would have possessed bone-setting skills.160

Recipe 229 is titled ‘for a man that ys brokyng in hys bellye’. This is a strange phrase, making it difficult to position this recipe not least of all because there is nothing but the title to consider. I suggest it could mean bleeding in vomit, urine or from the bowel and may be caused by illnesses such as cancer, but equally it could be as the result of an accident, or rupture. It could be referring to a patient who suffers chronic and/or acute difficulties with the stomach or abdomen and that patient had their health ‘broken’ in that part of their anatomy. Finally, it might refer to a hernia.

Ince’s book contains ten recipes for the removal and treatment of thorn injuries combined with remedies for any subsequent skin infection that might occur (10, 121, 122, 123, 160 Wear, ‘Medicine in Early Modern Europe’, p. 293.).
Gathering roses amongst the leisured classes and displaying them in homes as well as using them in remedies, was very fashionable by the 1530s. The Tudor rose, made up of the white and red rose jointly, represented the fall of the Plantagenets and rise of the Tudor dynasty, and appeared in the gardens of the rich and leisured classes. In 1529, when King Henry VIII took over Hampton Court from Cardinal Wolsey, he greatly expanded the collection of pleasure gardens there, which included a rose garden. Thorn injuries in skin imply domestic or agricultural types of accident, but are not exclusive to those sectors of society as may have occurred as a result of rural activities amongst land-owning classes. Countryside pursuits for the rich often resulted in thorn injuries; sports such as hunting were immensely fashionable in the sixteenth century amongst yeomen, aristocracy and royalty. Recipe 121 offers a very simple remedy for thorn removal and has just two ingredients, red rose root and bacon fat, both readily available and inexpensive as well as having almost no preparation time. However, recipe 127 is very different as it is made up of a complex blend of domestic herbs and saffron pounded together before simmering the blend in cat or pig fat, prior to cooling and application to the wound to draw out the thorn. The recipe also offers aftercare for the wound by recommending the use of powder of almonds once the wound has drained. Remedies for removal and treatment of thorns appear in other contemporary works, such as Gervase Markham’s *The English Housewife*, which lists two recipes.

Accidents involving bleeding are addressed in recipes 238 and 252. What is unclear is the severity and type of wound that would benefit from these recipes. There is no reference in the Ince book to treatment of people who suffered injury or harm by acts of deliberate violence by others. Most cut injuries of the sixteenth century, such as knife and sword wounds, would be part of the medical remit of the surgeon with his suturing skills. There would remain, however, the

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161 Ince. Recipe 10, Recipes 121-127, Recipe 129, Recipe 206.
162 Dugan, *Ephemeral History*, p.46.
163 Ibid., p.46.
need to treat infections following such injuries. Surgeons worked closely with apothecaries and
gathered a range of commercial products to sell from their treatment rooms.⁶⁶⁵

The book contains only one recipe for the treatment of burns (recipe 94), which is
surprising as these would be common enough injuries with open fires, candles and spit-roasting
forming part of everyday life. It is quite possible that burns were expected to be dealt with by the
housewife as many homes contained a full domestic production of general cooking, including
bread and spit-roasted meats, and also brewing both of which required the use of heat and open
fires. It would be reasonable therefore to expect the housewife to collect a range of domestic
remedies for burns, rather like today. It is also possible that the wealthy, who may have suffered a
candle or fire burn, could have been treated by a family physician. The choice is likely to have
been based on cost, but also the degree of burn injury.

In addition to a small group of anomalies, dispersed randomly throughout the
manuscript, and which do not seem to relate in any way to medicine (1, 2, 166, 170, 232), the text
also contains a group of apparently non-medical recipes found together (33-6) which relate to
magic and to fairies. These are collected in a single group, apparently in a different hand, and
spread over three pages and the beginning of a fourth. Since these fall outside the main content
of the text, these are considered separately below (p. 104) in chapter 3 as part of a wider
discussion of the integration of magic and medicine.

Within this chapter, I have surveyed the content of the Ince book moving from top to
toe. With a few exceptions, the book is composed of medical recipes. The remedies and therapies
suggested are varied, and cover a broad spectrum of medical practice from minor injuries, such as
thorn removal, to some of the most challenging and deadly diseases of the sixteenth century,
including plague. The range of injuries and ailments addressed suggest that the work was
intended to be used within the boundaries of general medical practice, and there is no suggestion

of medical specialisation. Although in a number of areas there are multiple remedies suggested for the same or similar ailments, these are only occasionally found grouped together, and are more typically found distributed randomly throughout the work. This suggests either that the text was not intended to be a structured work, or that it was an early and incomplete draft for something that was intended to become more structured. Some groups of related material are found together, however, and there is evidence for internal numbering in some of the recipes, especially in the early part of the book, and this indicates that some attempt at structure was at least considered, even if it was not carried through consistently throughout the work.

The groups of related recipes may indicate a structured approach to compiling recipes from multiple sources on those particular topics, or the borrowing of whole sections from one or more other works. However, there is no clear evidence that the work was plagiarised. Whilst some of the remedies can be found in different or similar forms in the many other known contemporary works, there is nothing significant that proves the content has been directly lifted in portions from other texts, and authorities are cited on a number of occasions for the efficacy of particular recipes. As noted in the introduction, the author/compiler refers on several occasions to his own experience with specific recipes, leaving little doubt that he was a medical practitioner. The absence of surgery, with the exceptions of bloodletting and thorn removal, does suggest that he was very probably a physician, although it must be recognised that not all medical practitioners adhered in practice to the broad theoretical distinction between the focus of the physician on ‘internal’ medicine and that of the surgeon on ‘external’ medicine and surgery, and it is recorded that some surgeons certainly also addressed medical rather than surgical issues.166 Nevertheless, the recipes within the Ince book are overwhelmingly concerned with medical issues within the province of the physician, for whom the core of their work was concerned with

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166 Pelling, M. and Webster, C., ‘Medical practitioners’, in C. Webster (ed.), Health medicine and morality in the Sixteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1979, pp. 165-235, at p. 165; Wear, ‘Medicine in Early Modern Europe’, 293-5. The distinctions between the different branches of medicine, and the training and education which underpinned them are discussed more fully below, at pp. 81-6.
preventative medicine, and with illnesses and their cure.\textsuperscript{167} There is also evidence throughout the work that the writer was well educated, and perhaps university trained, which is indicated by classical references and the formalised system of writing and numbering in both Roman and Arabic numerals. This is also consistent with the scientific approach to ‘proving’ the efficacy of recipes, as indicated by forms such as ‘provy’ or ‘pbatm’ at the end of many recipes, although these are occasionally qualified by caveats which refer to the influence of God’s will. Again, learning alone does not necessarily indicate a physician. Some surgeons were highly literate, as were some apothecaries and cunning folk.\textsuperscript{168} Equally, many who claimed the title of physician lacked any formal qualification, and many self-proclaimed physicians would have been regarded as quacks by the College of Physicians at the time. However, there were relatively few university-trained physicians in the mid-sixteenth century even in London, while outside London, licensing was not restricted to the College of Physicians, and by the beginning of the seventeenth century the majority of medical practitioners in rural areas were licensed through less formal means.\textsuperscript{169} Nevertheless, on balance the evidence for some learning and at least a pseudo-scientific approach appear more typical of physicians than of other types of medical practitioner.

A few recipes make other reference to religious belief and, as mentioned, the text also appears to contain a small number of magical charms which might seem to be at odds with the evidence suggesting that the text is the work of a professional physician. However, the relationship between medicine, religion, magic and the supernatural, and the issues of medical education and training, will be considered more fully in chapter 3.


CHAPTER TWO: INGREDIENTS AND REMEDIES

The Ince book is an important and detailed contemporary source indicating how a wide range of medical commodities were used in the mid-sixteenth century as remedies. This research adds to scholarship as there are, in some aspects of the history of medicine from the early modern period, gaps in understanding of how important remedies were to society as a whole. Early modern historiography largely looks at the broad picture of the history of medicines, such as training and pan-European medical philosophies, rather than a more concentrated analysis of the first steps in medical treatment during this period. Michael Best in his edited version and analysis of the domestic handbook, *The English Housewife* (1615), writes about the medical recipe content of the book but only as one chapter in a work that also includes substantial sections on brewing, cookery and garden design. Remedies, both professional and those developed through custom in the domestic kitchen, formed the very basis of practical healing across society. It is safe to say that everyone in society at some time would have taken remedies even for minor complaints such as scratched skin or a cough.

Although analysis of remedies can provide evidence on matters such as practitioner overlap, shared ideas and medical commodities, the field of remedies still remains in need of more research. Andrew Wear agrees, writing that this field is important and yet has ‘often been ignored’. The dynamics of the wider picture of medicine both in terms of national economic and political structures has tended to engage historians over recent years along with the relationship between medicine and religion. Wear’s book, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine 1559-1680*, gives clarity as to the importance of understanding the development and response to remedies in early modern society, although there are still many more questions to ask such as

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172 Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 47.
evidence of regional shifts in terms of ingredient popularity and economic patterns. There remains considerable scope for additional scholarship on known works, whilst the Ince book gives an opportunity to work with a previously unknown mid-sixteenth-century medical text, with particular focus on the remedies themselves.

The aim of this chapter is to consider the selection of ingredients found in the Ince book against the background of shared knowledge amongst different types of practitioners, and of different medical traditions, as well as what the ingredients may tell us about either the geographical environment in which the book was compiled, or the wealth of the compiler’s prospective patients. The chapter begins by discussing the range of remedies that existed across a spectrum of medical providers at various levels of expertise and how medical knowledge was exchanged. I will then discuss the difficulties of setting boundaries between medical professionals and domestic medicine in the production of remedies. I go on to consider the response from the commercial medical market-place made up of the physicians, surgeons and apothecaries to amateur and quack remedies. The text then discusses what was understood about medical ingredients and where professional practitioners and lay people alike might source knowledge about plants and their uses. These points have been the subject of much discussion amongst medical historians such as Porter, Wear, Pelling and Webster, with an emphasis on the passing of medical information amongst both literate and illiterate medical practitioners, from housewives to physicians to quacks, through a variety of conduits including printed and handwritten texts, but also oral transmission and tradition. 173 Throughout the sections mentioned above, I shall discuss how the materia medica, or corpus of ingredients found in the Ince book, relates to this wider background of knowledge exchange concerning potential ingredients and remedies, and I shall also discuss whether the materia medica is largely Galenic in content or whether the influences of Paracelsus are evident. This discussion aims to show not only the continued impact of the

173 Ibid., p. 65.
teaching of Galen but also helps to date the Ince book. The next section briefly considers the availability of medical commodities made up of local and international trade, availability at the time of the Ince book and the import of drug commodities into England. The fourth part of this chapter gives an account of the use of animal ingredients in the work, including human products and how animal products work within the book’s recipes. The chapter goes on to explore what is typical about the remedies found in the Ince book against other medical books both for the professional and literate domestic household markets. Whilst examination of other known medical works has taken place it has not always been in depth and certainly has not been carried out on the Ince book. I shall conclude by arguing that the range of ingredients places the work firmly in the Galenic tradition, with little evidence of the influence of Paracelsus, and that the range of ingredients is consistent with the mid-sixteenth-century date suggested for the manuscript in the introduction. I shall further suggest that the spectrum of ingredients is larger than those found in most other comparable works, including both expensive imports as well as common native ingredients, and that this might either reflect a broader than usual knowledge of pharmacology, or that the text represents a work in progress, which might have narrowed down the list of materia medica further in the process of excluding recipes which could not be demonstrated or ‘proven’ to be effective.

Medical knowledge in the sixteenth century was circulated in a number of ways. By the time of the sixteenth century, the extension of medical advice texts, including medical recipes, was part of a plethora of domestic housekeeping books. These collections of remedies had cultural, social and economic implications and are essential to the depth of our understanding of sixteenth-century medicine today. Despite a marked increase in domestic and medical advice books, the oral tradition remained the dominant form of knowledge transmission. According to Daniel Woolf, such information comprised the memories of individuals who learned from their

174 See above, pp. 7-10.
175 Wear, Knowledge & Practice, p. 48.
own experiences, as well as observing sickness and treatments in their local community.\(^{176}\)

Eventually some of this knowledge, which included health-related advice, would be recorded by literate members of the community and consequently a number of works were published, usually in the vernacular.\(^ {177}\) The impact of such change in disseminating knowledge meant that whilst the illiterate would continue to draw on oral traditions, the literate had ever increasing access to printed texts, but may well have used them in conjunction with their own folk remedies.\(^ {178}\) Some medical practitioners realised that popular knowledge at times had an element of accuracy, although they often stated that popular herbal medicine was in need of enlightenment to protect their own authority and status in the medical world.\(^ {179}\) The Royal College of Physicians proposed in 1585 to produce a pharmacopeia for the use of apothecaries across the country, although it was not until 1618 that the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* eventually appeared.\(^ {180}\) Although this was published for the benefit of apothecaries rather than general readership, the publication of such ‘authorised’ texts would also have informed practice in literate households and could thus have entered folk tradition. It was not until the eighteenth century that true testing of the efficacy of remedies preserved through folk knowledge began in England, but such investigations indicated that folk remedies could indeed be effective. Edward Jenner (1749-1823), in an effort to test the value of local folk-wisdom, found a revolutionary cure for smallpox.\(^ {181}\) Although this is much later than the period of the Ince book, the nature of folk medicine means that much of the folk knowledge current in the eighteenth century was likely already to have been widely known in the sixteenth century, and the fact that the Ince book, apparently collated in the mid-sixteenth century, was still preserved by John Ince in the early eighteenth century directly reinforces the impression of long-lived medical traditions.

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\(^{177}\) Curti, *English Almanacs*, pp. 27, 154.

\(^{178}\) Ibid, pp. 161-78.

\(^{179}\) Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 60.

\(^{180}\) Pelling and Webster, *Medical Practitioners*, p. 172

The female culture of domestic medicine was not necessarily entirely excluded from the printed word, as some women were becoming literate. It is also probable that some books were read to individuals within households, whether the reader was male or female, extending access to book-based learning to individuals who were not themselves literate. Some women even produced domestic handbooks of their own, although very few of these have survived. Both men and women cultivated herbs and plants in their own gardens that were gathered and used in the manufacture of medicines. Specialist ingredients, for those who could afford them, could also be purchased from apothecaries.

A basic understanding of the art of physic and plant lore was expected to form part of the practical expertise of the English housewife. Markham suggests an ideal housewife had to care for ‘the “health and soundness of the body” of her family’. Physician Andrew Boorde (1490-1549), from the highest level of the medical community, recognised the value of domestic medicine, suggesting that ‘A good coke is halfe a physycyon.’ Boorde may not only have been referring to the preparation of remedies, but also to a housewife’s ability to serve a diet that was able effectively to balance the individual humours of family members and thereby ensure their good health. There are obvious links between the preparation of food and medicine in the kitchen and, therefore, the making of medicines was largely seen as a female skill.

The term ‘housewife’ in the sixteenth century was generally applied to be someone of a social status who employed servants. Housewives were generally the wives of men who owned

182 Wear, Knowledge & Practice, p. 51. For the transmission of written knowledge to and by individuals who were not themselves fully literate, see also p. 00 of this thesis.
185 Wear, Knowledge & Practice, p. 55.
187 Ibid., p. xxix.
188 Furnivall, F. J. (ed.), The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge A Compendyous Regiment (Boston, USA: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005), p. 277. This work provides analysis of the published work of Andrew Boorde (1490-1549), a leading English physician of the sixteenth century who published a number of books on health.
189 Ibid., p. 300.
190 Wear, Knowledge & Practice, p. 53.
Widows were allowed upon the death of their husband to retain fully all goods left to them by their husbands, but otherwise they were denied full rights of property. For the poor, home treatment by a housewife was likely to be the only form of medicine employed when illness struck. A patient being treated by a housewife would often be treated by the use of ‘simples’. The word ‘simple’ refers to an uncomplicated remedy preparation that usually comprises just one ingredient and is employed in domestic medicine. Households with a little more disposable income had access to ‘cunning women’ who were available to ply their trade, very usually in rural environments. Remedies could also be procured from healers, or empiric practitioners who might be regarded to possess particular skills of healing and a repertoire of medicines. Sometimes, these individuals came from a line of family practitioners who passed on their skills and knowledge directly to the next generation so they could trade their medical knowledge. This lower order of healers was also joined by practitioners known by the pejorative titles of witches and quacks. It is important, however, to appreciate that anyone working outside of the licensed sectors of medicine ran the risk of being accused of quackery, and Porter argues that the line between the practices of what was considered orthodoxy and that which was seen to be quackery was not necessarily clear. Patients who could afford to spend more on treatment could choose from the full scale of medical practitioners, from itinerant pedlars to university-trained physicians. While this might suggest that only the well-to-do had access to physicians, the case notes of Dr John Hall provide direct evidence for the professional medical treatment of servants in the early modern period. Lane in her analysis of Hall’s notes, argues that valued servants of households

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195 Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 49.
196 Ibid., p.24.
197 Ibid., p.31.
had their medical bills paid by the family they worked for.\textsuperscript{200} There may be many reasons why an employer would be so generous, the most pressing of which is that perhaps these servants made such an important contribution to the household they worked for that the doctor’s bill was happily paid to ensure the servant could return to their usual tasks as quickly as possible.\textsuperscript{201} This evidence does not suggest the practice was widespread, but does demonstrate that the practice of employers paying medical bills for servants was not unknown in English society. This point enables my analysis of Ince’s book to cover a wide range of demographics and not to assume that every patient who consulted a medical practitioner was wealthy.

Apart from unlicensed quacks, there was a range of different licensed professionals involved in dispensing remedies. The bottom rung of the orthodox ladder was occupied by the apothecary, who could be consulted and dispensed medicine, and the surgeon. Occupying the highest rung on the professional ladder and ruling, if not policing, the medical marketplace was the more expensive university-trained physician, generally employed by patients who could afford to purchase such luxury.\textsuperscript{202} All of these groups prepared therapeutics and remedies for a fee to society at large. The author Nicolas Culpeper argued that there were too many medicinal remedies, many of which were duplicated, and he went on in his own recipe book to condense vast numbers of recipes down to the one hundred he considered the most important.\textsuperscript{203} This desire to correlate remedies in groups of logical form to avoid duplication shows that literate medical practitioners, such as Culpeper, were aware of the vast array of remedies available. By reducing the number of remedies, Culpeper both reduced overall duplication and the different permutations of ingredients, making it more convenient for his readers to obtain the more limited range of ingredients required for a smaller number of recipes. Culpeper’s approach probably consciously weeded out many quack references which he felt were of dubious value.

\textsuperscript{200} Lane, \textit{John Hall and his Patients}, p. 31. It is not certain who Mary Heath was ‘but her lack of title suggests a humble social status.’
\textsuperscript{201} Ibid., p.xxx.
\textsuperscript{202} Best, \textit{The English Housewife}, p. 51.
\textsuperscript{203} Wear, \textit{Knowledge & Practice}, p. 81.
The emphasis on ‘proven’ efficacy in the Ince book also implies a desire to weed out recipes with no demonstrable value.204 However, the very last recipe in the book, number 290, is challenging as it does appear to be a quack remedy that seems to resemble a cure-all, and yet the handwriting is that of one of the main two authors/compilers. The title is ‘A medesen for ye newe dysses’ and it contains rue, broom, bay leaves, elder leaves, bark, blackberries, white wine and white vinegar. The ingredients are held in a closed pot and the recipe suggests two spoonfuls should be taken each morning prior to breakfast. No symptoms that would be alleviated by this remedy, oddly enough, are offered in the recipe. Recipe 290, therefore, seems distinctive from almost all the other recipes in the book as the style is that of a cure-all and therefore quackish. The recipe may not be a comfortable find for this research project but has to be acknowledged, and adds weight to Porter’s argument that the illegitimate sectors of medicine sometimes gave ideas to the legitimate.205 One should further note that it was perfectly possible for people in the past, as in the present, to hold seemingly contradictory views. Wear also states that some professional medical teachings used elements of folk knowledge in their practices.206 However, the recipe is not one of those described as proven. If the Ince book is considered not as the working tool of a medical practitioner, but as a draft or notebook in preparation for publication, it may be that this recipe, together with others which did not meet the standards of ‘proof’ found throughout much of the work, might subsequently have been removed, as part of the editing process.

Compared to general, simple household remedies, some professional recipes contained scores of ingredients. Lane details how one of Hall’s recipes contained 43 ingredients, made up of 23 drugs in decoction which were then mixed with syrup, including chicory, and plants such as

204 See pp. 15, 63, 77, 103.
mugwort.\textsuperscript{207} This complex polypharmacology was designed to allow the patient’s body to select from the ingredients ingested and only absorb those required to restore the patient back to health.\textsuperscript{208} This proves not only that Hall worked within the Galenic tradition, but that his clients could afford to buy such an expensive preparation.\textsuperscript{209} Compound remedies were much sought after, and practitioners recognised the commercial benefits of dispensing exotic remedies; so too did merchants involved in exploration and the discovery of these new medicinal plants.\textsuperscript{210}

Physicians demanded substantial fees and there existed a degree of protection surrounding the university-trained physicians through their writing of prescriptions in Latin. Hall wrote all his patient notes in Latin, but these were not intended for publication, and the use of Latin ensured his patients enjoyed confidentiality, which was important as his case notes often included personal professional observations.\textsuperscript{211} Laurent Joubert, Dean of Montpellier (1525-1583), said that ‘If prescriptions are published in the simple tongue, the mob will take them and trade in them.’\textsuperscript{212} The charitable view of that comment would be that Joubert was concerned about harm being caused if individuals, or ‘the mob’ as he called them, set themselves up as doctors before being fully trained. A more realistic view is that such competition would almost certainly have resulted in fees that were considerably lower than those charged by trained physicians and this would have posed a financial threat to orthodox practitioners. Nonetheless, complete secrecy was not the answer either, as that was to employ the methods of the quack who peddled in protectionist ‘secret’ nostrums.\textsuperscript{213} Joubert’s warning apparently did not extend to all the writers of popular medical books. Culpeper held a firm view that the vernacular should be used, citing historic precedents such as the works of Hippocrates and Galen.\textsuperscript{214} However, Culpeper amongst

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{207} Lane, \textit{John Hall and his Patients}, p. 171.
\item \textsuperscript{208} Ibid., p. 171.
\item \textsuperscript{209} Ibid., p. 171.
\item \textsuperscript{210} Wear, \textit{Knowledge & Practice}, p. 69.
\item \textsuperscript{211} Lane, \textit{John Hall and his Patients}, p. xiv.
\item \textsuperscript{212} Copeman, \textit{Doctors and Disease}, p.139.
\item \textsuperscript{213} Porter, \textit{Health for Sale}, p. vii.
\item \textsuperscript{214} Tobyn, G., \textit{Culpeper’s Medicine: A Practice of Western Holistic Medicine} (London: Element Books Ltd, 1997), p. 50.
\end{itemize}
others was heavily criticised for publishing in the vernacular, and physician Jonathan Goddard (1617-1675) refers to him as a ‘foul mouth’d scribler’. The Ince book and many others were written in English, contained only occasional references in Latin. Court physician Andrew Boorde published a number of works, some of which may have been bought by literate members of the general populace. Boorde wrote in English, with only a few comments or titles appearing in Latin, perhaps to give the work an added sense of academic gravitas. Surgeons such as Thomas Gale (1507-87) and William Clowes (1544-1603) contributed towards the ever increasing number of vernacular texts on surgery. Like Boorde, Gale showcased his expertise by using some elements of Latin in his work Certaine Workes of Chirurgerie (1563).

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, animals, plants and mineral ingredients were central to therapeutics. Everything which was created by God in his world was seen to have a medicinal use of some form and it was up to man to discover those uses. As herbs form by far the greatest volume of ingredients in the Ince book, it is important to consider the form of herbals and question whether the text was intended to be one such work. Herbals as a literary genre were predominantly written by literate medical practitioners and were most prevalent in the sixteenth century. Some early universities, such as Padua, created their own botanic gardens, enabling students to gain practical experience of plants. However, in London it was not until 1673 that the Royal Society of Apothecaries established the Chelsea Physic Garden, although this quickly became acknowledged worldwide as leading the research into new medicinal plants.

219 Wear, Knowledge & Practice, p. 78.
220 Ibid., p. 62.
While gardens were physical catalogues of medicinal plants, herbals were the foremost source of information about the horticulture and medical properties of various plants.\textsuperscript{222} Plants were seen to have cleansing as well as humoral balancing properties and were believed to draw out impurities and the corruptions of disease.\textsuperscript{223} Herbals had a specific style of presentation which runs through all existing works in one form or another. This style can be loosely described as a book containing a wide list of plants, with each plant being represented by illustration and local details, including where the plant was grown or found, a detailed botanical description, names, virtues and growing pattern in terms of a calendar for planting and harvesting.\textsuperscript{224} Martti Mäkinen argues that herbals were not all alike, with some containing recipes, not just botanical information.\textsuperscript{225} Sometimes there was also a specific paragraph on the dangers associated with a plant or the hazards that came from mixing with other plants, or alternatively when a patient was suffering with a particular condition and the plant was contra-indicated.\textsuperscript{226} One of the greatest of these works was \textit{Bancks' Herbal}, published in London in 1525.\textsuperscript{227} It was the inspiration of the many works to follow at a time when plagiarism in medical publishing was rife.\textsuperscript{228} Amongst those that followed was a work of particular interest to this research, \textit{Gerard's Herbal}, first published in 1597.\textsuperscript{229} Gerard was born in the Cheshire town of Nantwich in 1545 and descended from a younger branch of the Gerards of Ince in Lancashire.\textsuperscript{230} This connection between the name of the Gerards’ place of origin and the name of the owner of the Ince book is likely to be just a coincidence and there is no apparent connection. However, the name Ince is most unusual and, in

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\textsuperscript{222} Wear, \textit{Knowledge & Practice}, p.46.
\textsuperscript{223} Ibid., p. 92.
\textsuperscript{226} Ibid., pp. 37-39.
\textsuperscript{227} Best, \textit{The English Housewife}, p. xxx.
\textsuperscript{228} Ibid., p. xvii.
\textsuperscript{229} Woodward, \textit{Gerard's Herbal}, p. xvi.
\textsuperscript{230} Ibid., p. ix.
\end{footnotesize}
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view of the contents of the Ince book and the fact that Gerard was both a famous gardener to Lord Burleigh and a medical practitioner, does make the link more than a little intriguing.\(^{231}\)

The Galenic principle of remedy content drew almost exclusively on herbal and natural treatments, whereas the popular German-Swiss physician Paracelsus advocated the use of chemical medicines.\(^{232}\) Significantly, there are only three mineral-based recipes in the entire Ince book, which suggests that its remedies were almost entirely from the Galenic tradition, which in the mid-sixteenth century was still the most influential medical philosophy in England, if not Europe.\(^{233}\) This could mean that the work was written well before the impact of Paracelsus’ mineral and toxicology philosophies; as such theories did not begin to make a significant impact in English medicine until the late sixteenth century.\(^{234}\) This lends weight to evidence that dates the book to the 1550s. Alternatively, the author could simply have been opposed to the new Paracelsian ideas, in contrast to intellectuals such as Sir Walter Raleigh and Bacon who wrote with approval of these new chemical ideas.\(^{235}\) There is, however, evidence that suspicions about the new chemical drugs ran across the medical marketplace, as many clung to the more established Galenic principles.\(^{236}\) Webster, citing Shakespeare as evidence, refers to medical practitioners of the late-sixteenth century seeming to be polarized into two distinctive camps, supporting either Galen or Paracelsus.\(^{237}\) Despite their differences, practitioners often agreed when attacking those who were deemed as uneducated and unskilled competitors.\(^{238}\)

Notwithstanding the Ince book’s Galenic leanings, mineral-based recipes are not completely excluded. Recipe 89, entitled ‘a plast’ to hell all swellyng & ulcers of leggs y’ comyth of mallancoly

\(^{231}\) Ibid., p. x.
\(^{232}\) Wear, Knowledge & Pratice, p.85. See also pp.96-7 for Paracelsus and his philosophies.
\(^{233}\) Ibid., p.76.
\(^{234}\) Ibid., p.39.
\(^{238}\) Wear, Knowledge & Pratice, p.57.
ewmers or het causys w’ out breken of skene’ is a rare example from the book of a mineral-based recipe, which includes white lead. This would have been expensive, though mined in Northumberland from the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{239} White lead was also widely used as an ingredient in cosmetics in the sixteenth century. The overlap between medicine and cosmetics has already been noted (see pp. 27, 32), and may perhaps have influenced the use of this particular mineral by practitioners who were either not exposed to or convinced by the work of Paracelsus.

Of particular interest in terms of the contents of the Ince book are references to the use of imported medical materials, alongside primarily indigenous plants grown in domestic physic gardens all over England. A degree of caution has to be applied when considering the home-grown varieties of plants, for there were, as there continues to be today, likely to be soil variations and differing weather conditions which impacted on the growth of some species.\textsuperscript{240} Foreign imports were a significant addition to commercial medicines in the sixteenth century, both for the retail trade and for direct use by medical practitioners.\textsuperscript{241} England, by the early modern period, was a vibrant place with the interests of Renaissance scholars extending to all manner of things found in the discovered world, from arts to science and particularly travel and exploration. The celebrated sailors of England, such as Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh, navigated the globe bringing back to English shores their bounty of unknown cultures and climates.\textsuperscript{242} These voyages of discovery, particularly in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, introduced a host of new medicinal herbs and drugs that were included in English remedies.\textsuperscript{243} The introduction of medicinal drugs was also quickly assimilated by physicians into the traditional teaching of humoral theories.\textsuperscript{244} Some of the cargoes contained plant samples that would have a significant

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\bibitem{243} Wear, \textit{Knowledge & Practice}, p.67.
\bibitem{244} Ibid., p. 72.
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impact on pharmacology, including tobacco. *Gerard’s Herbal* demonstrates this point with no fewer than five and a half pages dedicated to the newly discovered plant.245 This contrasts with a single page dedicated to the very useful ‘wilde marjerome’, which was believed to have qualities to cure those poisoned or stung by venomous creatures; an antidote to opium to ‘cleanse away old coughs’.246 Tobacco, which is described as having the potential to cure many difficult and complex medical conditions when administered in a variety of ways, is not even mentioned in the Ince book. This may well be because the work was compiled prior to tobacco appearing on the shores of England in 1565.247

Examination of the imported drug market into England gives evidence of the most valuable ingredients. The importation of commodities that could be used in both the drug and food markets attracted considerable sums of money. Port books show that in 1565-1566, London imports of Moroccan sugar were valued at £18,000 and represented approximately 5,400 cwt.248 Smaller quantities of sugar also passed through lesser ports, such as Great Yarmouth in 1559-1560 and Hartlepool in 1593-1594.249 The history of English economics reveals that much of the sugar reaching southern parts, such as Southampton and the south west, was the product of privateering and therefore making it difficult to calculate total volumes accurately. Sugar and wine appear in many of the recipes in the Ince work, although they were predominantly imported as foodstuffs.250 At the top of the drug import list dated between 1566 and 1610 was theriac. This was a pre-made medical compound, which was believed to cure all poisons and contained 64 ingredients including various minerals, herbs and animal flesh combined with honey.251 Theriac was not always of the same content and is therefore vague and unhelpful in this study’s research

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246 Ibid., p. 152.
249 Ibid., p. 314.
terms. The second most important ingredient in terms of value of import was sarsaparilla, followed by senna, wormseed and china roots. Closer examination of the drug commodities import market gives evidence that the impact on medicines bought and sold in England is not as broad as might be expected. The value of imported drugs in 1567 and 1588-89, for example, ranged between £1,000 and £2,000 a year. Some of the commodities came from unexpected sources. For example, one might expect saffron to have been included amongst expensive imports, but saffron crocuses were also grown in great quantities in Saffron Walden. This meant that saffron could be obtained without the need for import, but it was nevertheless still something of a luxury. Apothecaries imported raw materials and traded in indigenous plants grown in all soils and weather conditions. Wallis, in his work on drug movement through port books, states that whilst household accounts and inventories reveal that some imported drugs were being consumed in the sixteenth century, the volume was small. The product senna has a similar status. In the late sixteenth century, it was one of the most commonly imported drugs, although ships’ manifests give evidence that imports only provided enough of the commodity to treat a matter of a few thousand people.

It is reasonable to assume that the compiler of a physician’s book might be expected to have a core of ingredients that he considered to be particularly successful or readily obtainable. Therefore, those ingredients would appear more often in their writings. This is borne out by the substantial matrix to be found in Appendix 6, which should be treated as an extension to this chapter. The matrix charts the use of materials in key medical works of influence in the mid-sixteenth century: The Trotula, The Birth of Mankind and The English Housewife. The Trotula is the first of the medical works selected for this matrix, the background of which has been the cause of much debate. According to scholars, the texts are said to have been compiled in the eleventh or
twelfth century in the most important centre for medical teaching in Europe at the time, Salerno, in southern Italy. The manuscript appeared first in Latin and was later published across Europe in the vernacular. The book is known widely as *The Trotula*, with the name being drawn from the alleged female author of the work, and its texts comprising largely those relating to women’s medicine. Whilst much speculation continues to surround the work, and the possibility of female authorship for such a text is interesting in itself, it is undeniably one of the most influential books of medieval medicine and served as a cornerstone of medical training throughout the late medieval period. In the work, alongside recommended therapies for very serious medical conditions, there are various recipes for cosmetics and dentistry, as in the case in the Ince book. The use of medical magic, including charms, also appear in the recipes as they do in the Ince text, and these direct correlations of type of content are significant, showing continuous usage.

The next work chosen for the matrix, chronologically, is *The Birth of Mankind*, published in England in 1540. The book was an international bestseller running to thirteen editions, although that number is debated. This text was chosen for the matrix because it was popular, has some comparable recipes and dates closely to the Ince book. The original work was written by leading German physician Eucharius Rösslin. It was first published in German, then in Latin and, finally, in English. As a publishing journey, this genealogy is interesting as one might have expected the German translation to follow the Latin, and subsequent to the English version. Perhaps the Latin version was printed in order to heighten its appeal to university-trained physicians across Europe, given the book was an international bestseller. Thomas Reynald,
recognising the success of the work in other countries, revised the text and published the book in English in 1545, probably for the professional medical market.\textsuperscript{264} Reynald was a self-styled physician.\textsuperscript{265} He was an example of a publishing opportunist, as such a published work would have been very lucrative over a long period of time. This detailed examination of one work demonstrates the level of success a medical book could enjoy in the mid-sixteenth century. It also indicates the academic credibility that writing such a work could bring to a medical professional, especially one who was keen to be noticed in a competitive environment.\textsuperscript{266}

The last choice for comparison is \textit{The English Housewife} (1615), written by Gervase Markham.\textsuperscript{267} This work was written and published for the domestic market as an advice handbook.\textsuperscript{268} This is an example of a non-medical professional publishing a popular work containing medical advice. Markham published a number of works, mostly on animal husbandry and particularly horses.\textsuperscript{269} I have chosen this work precisely because it was not intended for the professional medical market. \textit{The English Housewife} is also appropriate because it follows the Ince book by about fifty years, and the author was born in a similar period. The publication is made up of chapters, each devoted to a particular skill deemed necessary for a good housewife, from cookery to home medicine, including surgery. It was a very successful work, running to a number of revised editions, and Jennifer Munroe states that it was one of the most commonly recorded books shown in the logs of ships destined for the New World.\textsuperscript{270}

The matrix included in the Appendix offers some interesting comparative results, as illustrated in the following condensed charts. Among noticeable trends, they reveal that the Ince book has the most remedies containing herbal ingredients, and the fewest with mineral content.

\textsuperscript{264} Hobby, \textit{The Birth of Mankind}, p.xix.
\textsuperscript{265} Eccles, \textit{Obstetrics and Gynaecology}, p.12.
\textsuperscript{266} Ibid., p. 12.
\textsuperscript{267} Best, \textit{The English Housewife}, p. xi.
\textsuperscript{268} Travitsky and Prescott, \textit{Making Gardens of Their Own}, p. xviii.
\textsuperscript{269} Best, \textit{The English Housewife}, p. xv.
Out of the 84 conditions or individual diseases named in the Ince book, there are 290 recipes. Simple mathematics indicates that, in many cases, there is more than one treatment recommended to treat a condition. This range of options could be because the patients had financial restraints and there is no doubt that some of the choices offered to treat a particular disease were considerably more expensive than others. For example, in the case of recipe 121, it is suggested that the root of a red rose be steeped in bacon fat in order to ease out a thorn. Both bacon and roses were available to the majority of the middling classes at this time. Recipe 122 is for the same complaint, but offers a more expensive option, containing agrimony and polopde, steeped with boars grease and honey and then made up into a plaster that could be laid on the skin over the thorn. Bears were no longer indigenous in the British Isles by the sixteenth century and products from them would therefore have been imported, thereby increasing the ingredient
costs. For the treatment of ague, there are twelve different recipes, yet no suggestion as to why each choice might be offered, whether for different types of the sickness, regional variations or costs. Additionally, it is worth considering what an early modern physician might have meant by an ‘ague’, with the modern interpretation being symptoms of fever and shivering notwithstanding. There is bound to be subjectivity in early diagnoses, and many sicknesses involved sweating and trembling and may have been confused with general fever. The recipes for coughs in the Ince book are more helpful in suggesting the range of choice available, as it offers recipes that increase in strength when a patient is seen to be in decline. This increase in the strength of remedies is indicated by the statement that the recipe is for a serious cough. There was also the possibility that a patient might not have responded to one recipe if his or her humours change as a result of the illness; therefore, the recipe was a response to the changed balance of humours in the individual. The author is also keen to provide concise information about the preparation of recipes, with instructions that ingredients, such as ale, should be either fresh or stale. This attention to detail proves the author was a man who believed that the subtleties and intricate detail of this work could determine the potency of a recipe.

The vast majority of animal-based ingredients to be found in the recipes would have been easily accessible. These include fox, cat and pig fat, whilst non indigenous animal products would have been sourced from specialist traders, as would exotics, such as unicorn horn. Unicorn horn was believed to have had properties that permitted users to both detect and cure against poisons and is likely to have been sourced from the narwhal. Recipe 11 is of particular interest and features a fox. The remedy reputedly offered relief for aching joints and limbs for those presenting symptoms similar to those encountered with rheumatics or arthritis. The choice of a fox as the main ingredient is very interesting when one considers the nature and lifestyle of the fox and the animal’s likely virtues. Foxes do not hibernate as is common among so many other

271 Oxford English Dictionary ‘malaria or another illness involving fever and shivering, a fever or shivering’.
272 Copeman, Doctors and Disease, p. 143.
creatures. To early modern observers, the fox also possessed humoral qualities that were hot, confirmed by the red colouring of its fur. The recipe specifies that the fox should be found and killed by placing it in boiling oil. I would argue that this process sought to catch the very life essence or humour of the fox by killing it quickly, and in a manner involving heat, rather than adding such properties after death through the addition of other ingredients. Also significant is the type of pot specified for the manufacture of the remedy. Described as bright and shining brass, the vessel was able to take on all the heat of the fox and fire. The use of olive oil rather than water is also pertinent. Water, when it ‘seethes’, would be seen to evaporate into the air and the use of oil means hardly any of the essence would have been lost, either in the cooking process or after bottling. As unpleasant and cruel as the preparation of recipe 11 seems, the logic of how and why a fox would be used for such a recipe is clear on consideration of the system of humoral medicine. In the sixteenth century, animals were considered part of God’s apothecary shop, and could be used as humans saw fit.

Human products are also listed in the recipes, including breast milk. These are listed in the matrix under the heading of animal products, although clearly distinct from other animal ingredients. It is not uncommon to find breast milk in early medical recipes for the medieval and early modern period and into the eighteenth century. Copeman, on the other hand, gives a more gruesome example of human products contained in recipes. He refers to the use of a man’s skull, powdered and used as part of a professional remedy for epilepsy. Temkin also refers to the use of a human skull in the early treatment of epilepsy and points out that using a human product was not believed to be occult in nature by sixteenth-century physicians. One can see

273 The Holy Bible, Authorised Version. Genesis Chapter 1 vv 24 and 25. ‘And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind: and it was so. And God made the beast of the earth of his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and God saw it was good.’
274 Lane, John Hall and his Patients, p. 39.
275 Copeman, Doctors and Disease, p.141.
the rational basis for such a product in the treatment of this specific condition, which was believed to be centred in the brain of a patient, despite almost no research to back this up. Under the humoral system, the powdered skull was also alleged to hold qualities that were cold and dry, and therefore balanced and neutralised the excessive cold and wet properties of the brain which allegedly caused epilepsy.277

In conclusion, analysis of the ingredients listed in the 290 of recipes produces some significant findings about the contents of the Ince book. The author of the work was firmly of the Galenic tradition, with its pharmacology made up almost entirely of herbal preparations. There are hardly any references to those mineral preparations that might have been found in later works sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works, and representative of the philosophy expounded by Paracelsus. The contents are squarely of the humoral philosophy, which again reinforces evidence of the classical Galenic tradition. The nature of remedies largely overlaps with those found in the publications of university-trained physicians. This is not true of all the remedies with some, such as recipe 290, appearing to be similar to the work of a contemporary quack. The author recommends the usage of some imported drugs, such as cumin and the purgative senna, as well as costly home sourced commodities, including white lead, although other recipes feature much cheaper ingredients and, in some cases, alternative recipes for the same complaint would vary considerably in cost. The book therefore potentially addresses an audience of varied financial means. Ingredients of red and white wine are mentioned throughout as menstruums for preparations which were readily available in England, but certainly more costly than ale, which was more often brewed at home by the housewife.278 Although it is unique, it is very much a book of its time. The list of materia medica is just as would be expected to be found in a published medical book of the mid-sixteenth century, with the caveat that it is slightly more varied and comprehensive than other contemporary medical works published for either

277 Copeman, Doctors and Disease, p.141.
278 Best, The English Housewife, p. 207.
housewives or physicians at the time. The span of ingredients, both the expensive imported ones and the cheaper domestic forms, shows that this man was very familiar with an expansive range of *materia medica* and familiar with their medical uses.

The inclusion of some quack remedies is at odds with the general pattern which indicates a reasonably learned, thorough and pragmatic mind, at least by the standards of contemporary medical practice (see further discussion of context in chapter 3). As noted in this and the preceding chapter, the dividing lines between ‘professional’ and ‘quack’ were not always as clear in the sixteenth century as they might appear to modern eyes. However, the presence of these remedies should perhaps be considered against the background of the references to various authorities for specific recipes, and to some such evidence being ‘proven’ by the individuals cited, or by the compiler himself. This may indicate that some of the material which does not appear to meet the high professional standards of the rest of the work had been copied down out of interest, but was not regarded as highly by the compiler of the work as those items which had been demonstrated to be effective. One possible context for this would be that the text represents working notes, effectively an early draft, rather than a finished work, and this would be consistent with the uneven approach to the structure, and to the grouping (or not) of related recipes as discussed in chapter 1.
CHAPTER THREE: CONTEXT AND INTERPRETATION

Having considered the contents of the Ince book in the previous two chapters, I will now discuss the book in its historical context. I will begin by providing an overview of the political, social and religious landscape of the mid-sixteenth century in which the author would have lived. I also look briefly at the history of the medical book, showing growth and development over the centuries up until the time of the Reformation. Some legal aspects of publishing in the mid-sixteenth century are also discussed, as restrictive legislation profoundly affected both publishing in England and the distribution of printed matter. Finally, the contextual section of this chapter considers the markets in which books were bought, read and collected and how they were perceived both as educational texts, as well as desirable objects to own. I shall then consider how the contents of the Ince book fit into this broader context, and I will argue that the work is likely to have been compiled by a physician, drawing both on his own experience and on cures attested by others. I will further argue that, while it cannot be proven, it is likely that the manuscript is a draft in preparation for publication, rather than for purely personal use or for tutelage.

The Ince book was compiled during the height of the English Reformation. There are few times in the history of the British Isles that can match the dramatic upheaval found within all sectors of society during this period. In 1533, English political and religious tensions with Rome had come to a breaking point after Henry VIII divorced his queen, Katherine of Aragon, so that he could marry the marchioness of Pembroke, Anne Boleyn, making her the new queen. Following the divorce and re-marriage, England fully broke away from Rome, and Henry declared himself head of the Anglican Church in every sense. Many, but not all of the English bishops and other clergy broke with the Roman Catholic faith and accepted the new Anglican order. Henry’s personal position on faith was not entirely consistent. In his youth, he had received the title ‘Defender of the Faith’ from the Pope for his involvement in the rebuttal of
Luther’s tracts, but in 1534 legislation supporting the introduction of the Royal Supremacy over the Church of England specifically sought to limit the importation and circulation of pro-papal literature. Henry’s own beliefs remained predominantly Catholic throughout the remainder of his reign, but tended to fluctuate in response to the religious and political alliances surrounding his successive marriage ambitions. As a consequence, the new Church of England did not become Protestant overnight, nor was there a straightforward linear progression towards Protestantism in Henry’s later years. Nevertheless, England became increasingly Protestant throughout the remainder of his reign, and Protestant ideas, not least the active encouragement of literacy and the widespread use of the vernacular, had a wider impact on society. Henry was succeeded in turn by his three children: Edward VI (1547-53), during whose minority his regents adopted a more overtly Protestant approach to both Church and state; Mary (1553-8), who reintroduced Catholicism; and Elizabeth I (1558-1603), who reintroduced the Protestant reforms of her brother, although less aggressively. As discussed, the physical evidence of the book suggests a mid-sixteenth-century date, while references within the text provide a *terminus post quem* of February 1553, and a possible *terminus ante quem* of 1558 or 1563. This thus places the book at a time of significant religious and political upheaval, while either Catholic or Protestant influences (or both in succession, in either order) could plausibly have been dominant at the time during which it was compiled.

To set the Ince book in the medical publishing landscape of its day, it is important to address the challenges faced by modern researchers of mid-sixteenth century medical writings. These challenges may be broken into three groups: conceptual, sociological and textual. Whilst the titles of some of the texts give a sense of the intended readership, they do not in themselves

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281 See above, pp. 5-10.
reconstruct the actual situation in which they were used. Therefore, the nature of how medical conditions were perceived by the writer and user remain little more than a concept. Patients then, as now, had symptoms that approximately matched those that typically occur in people with a particular disease. However, the ways in which specific illnesses were considered, as well as the ways in which society as a whole perceived sickness, medicine and healing are also challenging, as the nature of conceptual representations is likely to be controversial and dependent upon factors such as expectations of health, acceptance of pain and religious beliefs, and a full discussion of these issues lies beyond the scope of this thesis.282

A picture does emerge, however, of changing attitudes of how Church and state were coming to see the field of medicine and medical practitioners in the mid-sixteenth century. This is evidenced by the founding of the Royal College of Physicians in 1518 by Henry VIII and The Company of Barber-Surgeons in 1540.283 These institutions saw the royal seal of dignity bestowed on both professions, which gave an indication that their work, suitably governed by appropriate professional standards, was considered desirable for society as a whole.284 At the same time, the regulation of both professions under royal, rather than ecclesiastical, authority indicates a secularisation of the role of medical professions, in keeping with wider trends in early-modern Europe.

By contrast, the remainder of medical practitioners in society, such as midwives and medical traders, mostly continued to be licensed by bishops through the ecclesiastical courts.285 There is evidence that concerns existed about the legitimacy of some medical practices in the mid to late sixteenth century relating to the use of magic and witchcraft in healing.286 Ecclesiastical courts had the power to revoke or limit the range of a medical licence if it was felt that the

282 Wear, Knowledge & Practice, p. 3.
practitioner had strayed into undesirable approaches. This again indicates that licensing was felt to be an essential tool, offering at the very least protection against unwholesome or dangerous practices. 287 There are extant letters from individuals detailing their views, both good and bad, about the treatment they received at the hands of medical practitioners. 288 Whilst views might change from one person to another, in principle such correspondence provides us with an important insight into real events.

It is important to consider from which branch of medicine the compiler of the Ince book may have come. Medical practitioners were commonly broken down into three professional groups: physicians, surgeons and apothecaries. 289 This excludes other groups such as cunning folk, midwives, etc. who were also involved in forms of medical practice but without the same formal status. The Bishop of London and the Dean of St Paul’s Cathedral were empowered by Act of Parliament in 1512 to issue licences to any physician or surgeon living within seven miles of the City of London. Members of the Royal College of Physicians were exempt from licensing. 290 The first step in understanding the sixteenth-century English physician is to look at the training available within the profession. Physicians were scholarly, university-trained individuals who, prior to the Reformation, were drawn entirely from the ranks of the Church. In the fourteenth century, following the Council of Tours, Pope Innocent III had decreed that no ecclesiastics should shed blood. 291 This prohibition led to the rise of two distinct branches of the medical profession, the educated physicians and the unlettered surgeons. 292 The distinction between surgical and physical medicine was not absolute but in simplistic terms it may be described as physicians caring for the inner workings of the body and surgeons for bones and the outer body. The two branches of the profession would eventually work side by side and would be

287 Wear, Knowledge & Practice, p.27.
288 Lane, John Hall and his Patients, p.xxvii.
289 Wear, Knowledge & Practice, p.23.
290 www.rcplondon.ac.uk/about/history. Accessed 14 August 2013. Founded in 1518, by a royal charter from King Henry VIII, the Royal College of Physicians of London is the oldest medical college in England.
291 Copeman, Doctors and Disease, p. 30.
292 Ibid., p. 30.
joined by the apothecaries, or dispensers of medicines.\textsuperscript{293} For example, records of physicians reveal them to have been classical scholars and, to a degree, linguists; these were essential elements of medical training and virtually all of the texts used for reference appeared in Latin or Greek. Records of the better known sixteenth-century English physicians provide a fuller understanding of how the profession had evolved. Boorde was one of the most respected priest-physicians in Tudor England. Educated at Oxford prior to becoming a Carthusian monk, he was appointed Suffragan Bishop of Chichester in 1521. Boorde then left the priesthood and trained at Montpellier medical school where he studied Galen and Hippocrates (see below).\textsuperscript{294} In his writings, Boorde offers an important insight into how closely physicians engaged with the beliefs of classical medical philosophies in day-to-day practice: ‘If doctors of Physicke should at all times follow their books they shall do more harm than goode… such practising doeth kill many men’.\textsuperscript{295} This clearly shows that Boorde did not accept all theories as dogma, but adapted them to individual cases. The work of John Caius (1510-1573) demonstrates that Boorde was not alone in this view. Caius was a great humanist scholar physician who gave the view that not all classical medical teaching was accurate.\textsuperscript{296} It might be argued from these examples that some physicians were challenging ideas that had been considered the pinnacle of medical thinking for nearly two millennia. However, it is also possible that physicians had always picked over the training they received and adapted it for their own use and beliefs.

The system of education for a physician usually commenced with seven years studying what was known as ‘The Liberal Arts’, which refers to the seven courses of university study that were offered during the Middle Ages and into the early sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{297} The word ‘liberal’ in

\textsuperscript{293} Lane, \textit{John Hall and his Patients}, p. xv.
\textsuperscript{295} Copeman, \textit{Doctors and Disease}, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{296} Ibid., p. 22.
\textsuperscript{297} Giuseppe, R.A., ‘The Arts’ various authors. www.history-world.org/arts.htm. Accessed 7 January 2014. The liberal arts, for instance, refer to the seven courses of university study that were offered during the Middle Ages: grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. The student who finished these courses received a Bachelor of Arts degree.
this usage comes from the Latin *liberalis*, meaning ‘suitable for a freeman’, and intended for someone with superior intellect. After achieving this initial training, an individual with ambition might decide to attend a foreign medical institution. Italy was culturally the centre of medical humanism at this time.\(^{298}\) According to Margaret Pelling and Charles Webster, the sixteenth century was not a good time to study medicine in Oxford or Cambridge, as the major European universities were the main choice for aspiring and wealthy physicians.\(^{299}\) A desire for medical training in early-modern England is proved by the appointment of the first Regius Professor of Medicine at Cambridge in 1540 and at Oxford in 1546.\(^{300}\) A medical qualification required another three years at university. Subjects covered on the medical curriculum were: philosophies of the ancients (including anatomy), uroscopy, astrology, bloodletting, biblical texts and lectures on spiritual intercession, such as the appropriate patron saints of particular conditions, as well as practical subjects including the study of herbals.\(^{301}\) Even after the Reformation, which was a time for challenging previously held ideas, a true understanding of the pathological or anatomical basis of their subject was still in its infancy but the first anatomical text books were starting to appear.\(^{302}\) The early modern physician, despite possessing what might be described now as anatomical ignorance and afflicted by the vagaries of popular belief that surrounded his work, was still one of the influential figures in society. There existed a sense of confidence in the university-trained scholar and particularly so if he was one of the more progressive aspirants and had studied in one of the overseas universities. To become a physician involved a heavy commitment, with the whole process taking no fewer than seven years.\(^{303}\) In fact, a substantial

\(^{298}\) Pelling and Webster, ‘Medical Practitioners’, p. 165.

\(^{299}\) Ibid., p. 165.


\(^{303}\) Copeman, *Doctors and Disease*, p.62. By the early seventeenth century, Oxford and Cambridge had risen up the ranks of European medical schools, but it still took 14 years to become a doctor of medicine at Oxford and 11 years at Cambridge.
proportion of a man’s adult life would be spent in training before winning the much-prized physician’s cap and belt. The value of a physician in society as a powerful and learned individual remained throughout the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century where, particularly in rural practices, a fully qualified physician was generally considered a rare commodity in the community. Whilst it is difficult to be precise, there are some statistics available about the concentration of medical practitioners in rural and urban environments. There was an estimated population in London in 1600 of 200,000 served by 550 members affiliated to the College of Physicians, 100 surgeons and 100 apothecaries with a further calculation of 250 unlicensed practitioners. No doubt there were many more quacks of unknown numbers plying their trade. Meanwhile the picture was somewhat different in rural communities, as Dr John Hall was the only physician practising in three counties, Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Gloucester.

The term ‘surgeon’ traditionally described a person who carried out medical procedures with the use of surgical instruments. Surgeons were often educated and apprenticed before being licensed or accepted into the Company of Barber-Surgeons, ensuring a level of informed and experienced standards. Surviving records list individuals described as ‘physicians, surgeons and midwives’, issued with ecclesiastical licences between 1529 and 1767 in the city of London. Ecclesiastical licensing was put in place in an attempt to safeguard patients, by ensuring all those holding a licence had been first approved at the highest level of the Christian Church and deemed worthy to practice. None of the persons listed hold the name of Ince, which is worth considering as the work may have been handed down in the same family. This does not allow for

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304 Ibid., p.35.
305 Pelling and Webster, ‘Medical practitioners’, p. 188.
306 Lane, John Hall and his Patients, p. xlii.
307 www.history.ac.uk/gh/. Accessed 17 December 2012. Guildhall Library manuscripts record licences issued by the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's Cathedral, 1700-13; none survive for other dates. The Bishop of London and the Dean of St Paul's were empowered by Act of Parliament in 1312 to issue licences to any physician or surgeon residing within seven miles of the City of London. However in practice, very few, if any of the licences issued by them were to persons living south of the Thames.
the fact that even if Ince was the same name and family of the author, he may have worked outside of London where records are sparse. In fact, the Ince book contains few references to surgery, just bloodletting and thorn removal and so it is safe to assume that the work was not written by a surgeon. Both member and apprenticeship records of the Company of Barbers and Barber-Surgeons exist from 1522 to the nineteenth century. These records show young people bound to a master, who were likely to be members of the company practising around the city.

Apothecaries were often educated and then apprenticed for a number of years prior to opening their own practice. The word ‘apotheca’ describes a place where spices, herbs and wines were stored. In the mid-thirteenth century, an apothecary was a merchant or shop owner who bought and sold such goods. London apothecaries were originally members of the livery of Grocers, who in turn had developed from the Guild of Pepperers, who had a London association as early as 1180. In 1316, the Spicers joined the Pepperers. Finally, the spicer-apothecaries started trading and, by the sixteenth century, had become in some ways the equivalent of modern-day community pharmacists, dealing almost entirely in medical preparations, as well as cosmetics and perfumes. Lane gives evidence that some practitioners were both apothecaries and surgeons. Authority over their medical practice lay with the College of Physicians.

There is one intriguing piece of trading evidence in recipe 170 in the Ince book which is the record of a ship’s cargo. It is likely that this manifest was never intended to form part of the text if it were to go to publication. However, it is entirely possible that the content of the ship’s manifest could well indicate goods for a spicer-apothecary. The wine which is listed as forming part of the cargo could have belonged to a merchant spicer-apothecary, as wines had traditionally been stored and sold, although not exclusively, by this branch of medical practitioners.

310 Pelling and Webster, ‘Medical practitioners’, p. 179.
Despite these systems of training for various forms of medical professionals, there are still gulfs between what a modern critical observer would view as superstitious practices, whilst medical practitioners of the early modern period would see as simply another form of medical treatment. The outcomes, causes and effects recorded in the Ince work thus need to be considered against the background of the prevailing medical philosophies, together with whatever training the writer had received, and the material with which the writer would have been familiar from practical therapeutic texts, which might have been drawn from a wide range of literature.

In this context, it is important to consider ramifications of the Reformation on the book publishing trade which was heavily affected. The greatest impact on English publishing came in 1534. During that year, Parliament introduced three protectionist acts, one of which was designed to protect English stationers and binders from the activities of alien traders. The act ensured there was a complete ban on imported books and other reading material for retail, resale, or any other form of circulation. This ban was directly related to the 1534 Treason Act, which made it treasonable to accuse the king or queen of heresy or tyranny either by word of mouth or in any printed form, with the intention of reducing the risk of uprisings against the monarch. These acts had come about following a war of words with Catholic countries in which printed material was used extensively as a form of negative propaganda. Much of the printed matter was very bitter with insulting tracts, leaflets and illustrations published from both sides of the religious divide. Meanwhile in England, a number of families, many of whom were highly influential, remained Catholic. The king, realising this potential problem from within the body of English society, ensured that any sedition if not completely quashed through clandestine means, was at least to be heavily controlled. By the summer of 1535, the king was again exerting control over

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314 Sowerby, T. A., '1535'.
printed matter with an order passed in June, declaring that the name of the pope should be abolished and erased completely from all books used in churches and from the memory of the English people in perpetuity. These controls bred an atmosphere which encouraged inhabitants to buy English products.

One of the great benefits as a direct result of the ban on imported published books was to the English publishing trade, as the edict brought a great surge in sales of domestic and vernacular books. That surge included medical books both specialist and popular. The change also enabled the literate populace to tap into a wider range of published works, for if a book was printed in the vernacular then naturally its potential market was much broader. This background is crucial to the interpretation of the Ince book as it was written around 1550 (see pp. 5-9) and it is possible that the work was produced for the purposes of publishing in a response to more favourable market opportunities. Although similar printed works had been distributed prior to the Reformation, including one of the first English popular medical books In this tretysye that is cleped Governayle of belthe: what is to be sayd with Cystis belpe of some thynges that longen to bodly belthe, printed by William Caxton in the 1480s, the change by the 1530s in terms of widespread accessibility is undoubtedly marked.

By the sixteenth century, medical texts had enjoyed a long and varied history in Europe and also across the Mediterranean in North Africa. The earliest known, the Kahun papyri of Egypt, are dated to around 1850 B.C. However, the greatest influences on medicine in the medieval and early modern British Isles stem from the classical world. The most influential of the classical physicians were Hippocrates of Cos (c. 460 – c. 370 BC) and Galen of Pergamon (AD 129 -c. 200/c. 216). Hippocrates collected the medical philosophy of the humoral system and

316 Sowerby, ‘1535’, p. 538.
319 Riddle, Contraception and Abortion, p. 66.
Galen later shaped and refined the doctrine on which medicine would be practised as a theory for over 1,500 years. The natural, rational medicine of Galen worked on the basis that the whole universe was caught up with opposing forces of cardinal humours. The humours were believed to be made up of the elements of earth, air, fire and water. These elements possessed qualities of hot, cold, wet and dry, setting one humour against the other for domination making the human body, and universe, a battleground that needed constant balancing and re-balancing with opposing treatments and regimens. Treatments were based on diagnosis not only of the symptoms of the patient but also the natural humoral propensity of an individual by their age and even what star they were born under. Colours in terms of organ excretions were fundamental to diagnostics in the Galenic philosophy, which worked on the basis of recognising the balance of fluids in the human body. Red was blood associated with a sanguine temperament and represented the season of spring and youth in man; yellow was bile or choleric which was also of the season of summer and manhood; black bile was the melancholy humour of autumn and old age, whilst white represented the phlegmatic state of Winter and the decrepit man. The secret to good health was to achieve humoral equilibrium, (see Appendix 7). There are no fewer than 16 volumes of Galen’s work, all of which were copied by scribes and distributed and studied within the great medical schools of Europe. Galen was a prodigious writer accounting for approximately ten percent of all surviving literature in Greek prior to 350 A.D. His work spanned the entire range of practical medicine and its basic sciences. Medical educational foundations grew and flourished in the early medieval period through, in some cases, to the modern day. Works in Latin, including translations of the Greek masters, provided the main teaching platform for the training of medieval medical professionals, as well as being part of

325 Bylebyl, ‘The School of Padua’, p. 335.
printed collections found in libraries of the good and the great. Thus the tradition grew of medical textbooks for physicians and medical practitioners appearing in Greek or Latin, often with some additions in Arabic, usually with the numbering system running alongside, or even Roman numerals. The Ince book, following this style, has both Arabic and Roman numerals in the text. The approaches found in the Ince book, and how these medical theories compare with classical texts are discussed below.

Alongside the classical works there was also a growing body of vernacular texts by the sixteenth century. English medical texts in the vernacular can be traced back to the tenth century. The appearance of these texts during the Anglo Saxon period was unique to England, as these were the only extant medical texts at that time in Europe to be written in the language of their people, namely Old English. Much of the material has direct parallels in the material associated with Salerno, the main centre of medical learning in the early Middle Ages, with texts derived directly from the Latin and Greek traditions taught there. However, the Old English texts also include uniquely Anglo-Saxon medical approaches not found in the Salernitan tradition. Some of these texts were later known as leechbooks, as ‘leech’ was a modernised form of læc, the Old English word for physician, and texts of this kind have been gathered together and studied as a group since the 1860s. The two most important medical works in Old English are Bald’s Leechbook (c.950 A.D.) and the Lacnunga (tenth century). It is not known who Bald was, but it is known he employed a scribe or compiler by the name of Cild. The work is a series of ailments and conditions listed under key headings, with each entry suggesting specific materia medica or

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327 See below, pp. 95-99.
therapies to heal or ease symptoms. This system of organisation provides a precedent for a structured approach to the grouping of ailments, followed by a single or series of treatments and/or therapies for the disease or condition.

Early English leechbooks often contain references to magic charms, spells and amulets, presented in such a way that they are clearly part of medical practices. Significantly, there are also references to the use of complex religious narratives, almost like charms, which again can be found in the Ince book (see pp. 104-105). The comparison of the leech texts with the Ince work provides a sense of continuity with an unbroken line in the use of religious rituals and charms for over 500 years of medical practice. During the later medieval period, medical schools such as Salerno produced key medical texts including specialist works.

Sixteenth-century medical books form three main groups: domestic handbooks for the popular market; general medical books largely for medical practitioners; and specialist interest works for the professional market, focussing on fields such as obstetrics. Specialist works also included books by surgeons, such as Thomas Gale (1507-1587) and William Clowes (1544-1603) both of whom contributed towards the ever increasing number of vernacular texts on surgery. Gale’s most famous publication was Certaine Workes of Chirurgerie (1563). It is easy to see why some specialist books were particularly successful, such as works on human reproduction. This success is no doubt a result of the preoccupation of influential early modern families with marriage and inheritance, set in a social landscape which used children as chess pieces on a board of power. Some of the published works proved lucrative over a long period of time for the publisher, author, or both, going on to be re-published frequently and very often across

332 Cameron, Anglo-Saxon Medicine, pp. 30, 100.
334 Pollington, Leechcraft, p. 50.
335 Green, Trotula, p. 78.
Europe. One such specialist work mentioned earlier in this thesis was *The Birth of Mankind*, which was an international bestseller in Europe appearing in a number of languages and went to at least twelve further editions after appearing for the first time in the English language in 1545. The frequency of reprinting provides some sense of the success of other notable books. By 1660, Thomas Moulton’s *Myrrour or glasse of belth* (1536) went to 23 editions; His *Regimen sanitatis Salerni* (1528) which went to 19 editions; Sir Thomas Elyot’s *The castell of helthe* (1537) went to 17 editions; and his *Erra Pater* (1540) went to 16 editions. It is entirely possible that both specialist and general medical books were read by people who were not necessarily medical practitioners, but merely interested in medicine. Equally, it is reasonable to assume that doctors also read domestic handbooks.

Mary Fissell points out that, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, an increasing number of books about general medicine for interested members of the public began to appear. However, these were not the only books to include medical recipes. Fissell has previously defined popular medical books as those that advise on the three R’s: ‘regimen, recipes, and religion.’ The Ince book addresses all three R’s, although by far the greatest emphasis is placed on the recipes. It has been calculated that 20% of the content of all medical books published between the invention of the printing press and the middle of the seventeenth century were in the form of recipes. Some other forms of popular published works overlapped with medical works in terms of content to a greater or lesser degree, and it is important to consider these categories in order to establish whether the Ince book might have been intended as a medical book, or to meet some other market need which also included a medical component.

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340 *The Birth of Mankind*, translated by Richard Jonas from *Du partu Hominis*, which was itself a translation by Christian Egenolph from the German original (published 1513), *Der Swangern Frauen und Habammen Rastgarten* (in itself believed to have classical and Arabic roots) by Eucharius Rösslin, the state physician of Frankfurt-am-Main and Worms.
341 See Appendix 8.
343 Ibid., p. 419.
344 Ibid., p. 421.
One such body of works were almanacs, which were very popular and widely distributed in early modern England.\textsuperscript{345} By the 1550s, almanacs began to be printed in London in large numbers, virtually all of which were translations of European publications.\textsuperscript{346} They typically contained calendars marking events such as religious festivals, lunar cycles and prophesies about social issues including public health. All of the prophecies were calculated against the movement of the heavens and written up by ‘stargazers.’\textsuperscript{347} Almanacs often provided more specific information related to sectors of society, such as those engaged in certain occupations or who lived in a particular region. The authors who provided medical advice in their almanacs often identified themselves as practitioners of mathematics, drawing on a broader definition of mathematics as any arts which included calculations, including astrology.\textsuperscript{348} Medical material in such works is firmly rooted in the orthodox system of Galenic medicine, which is largely consistent with the Ince book. However, these books stressed the astrological and Zodiac based elements of the Galenic tradition which, as discussed on p. 00, are almost completely absent from the Ince book.\textsuperscript{349} Almanacs also typically promoted an overall regimen of good health based on preventative medicine, diet, exercise, good air, sleep and emotional stability to retain a proper balance between the humors.\textsuperscript{350} This is again very distinct from the emphasis on individual remedies found throughout the Ince book.

Popular printed works, including almanacs, were often small in size, octavo, which is the same size as the Ince book, although this may not be particularly significant. The small size of octavo made such works easy to carry and cheaper to produce, so there were practical advantages to the format irrespective of content.\textsuperscript{351} However, almanacs, both in design and usage are not

\textsuperscript{346} Curth, L. H., \textit{English Almanacs} p. 36.
\textsuperscript{348} Curth, \textit{English Almanacs}, p. 65.
\textsuperscript{349} Ibid, p. 131.
\textsuperscript{350} Ibid, p. 153.
directly comparable to the Ince book, which only contains a single chart (recipe 69) which advises
on the appropriate months of the year to let a patient’s blood, whereas charts were a common
feature in almanacs. What is noticeable about these best-selling works is their inclusion together
of what the modern observer may consider to be material with no logical associations, such as
advice on agriculture and weather predictions. There is even a calendar of fairs and a
chronological list of kings and queens of England in one work.352 While the Ince book is also
largely unstructured in as much as recipes for associated ailments are not routinely grouped
together, and the work contains a few items not related to mainstream medicine, it clearly lacks
the breadth of subjects as well as the chart-based format of the almanac.

Within its medical coverage, the broad span of ailments clearly suggests a general medical
book rather than a specialist text. As such, it could have been compiled by an apothecary, as
some members of the profession were literate, with evidence of individuals having collections of
books.353 There is more than one precedent of such works written by apothecaries and herbalists.
*Gerard’s Herbal* (1597) is a particularly well known example, and in the seventeenth century,
*Culpepper’s Complete Herbal* (1652) would also prove very popular.354

The broadness of socio-economic availability and distribution of popular books is
interesting, as the mid-sixteenth-century market fed itself. The more popular a book was, the
more copies were printed and the greater the economies of scale. As a result, publishers could
reduce their prices, as could the traders in a competitive and vibrant market in which publishers
jostled for maximum market share. There has always been an interest in public health issues
because there was a desire to control factors above and beyond death, such as pain. Conversely,
the desire to prevent pain has to be seen in the context of religious doctrine in the medieval and

2006), p. 27.
early modern periods, which frequently advised the devout to suffer for their faith and the good of their souls.\textsuperscript{355}

The significance and impact of book ownership is a subject that has been extensively researched, but there is currently a revival of interest amongst scholars, particularly on English private libraries owned during the early modern period.\textsuperscript{356} Whilst much of the latest research concentrates on the seventeenth century, data about book ownership in the sixteenth century can be found in Elisabeth Leedham-Green’s edition of Cambridge probate inventories and private libraries in Renaissance England.\textsuperscript{357} Another valuable source of information is Jayne Sears’s \textit{Library catalogues of the English renaissance}.\textsuperscript{358} The catalogue records not only titles of books, but also tracks how fashionable books and book ownership had become. There are some celebrated collections to be found in the catalogue dating from the early seventeenth century, when 3,000 books would have been considered a vast private collection. By the end of the century, John Moore, Bishop of Ely, had a library that was estimated to comprise of an astonishing 30,000 books.\textsuperscript{359} This comparison is important in understanding the nature of the Ince book, because it is from a time when there was a considerable increase in the ownership and collecting of books. Studies of libraries reveal that collections varied by type. A physician’s book collection in the sixteenth century would not have comprised medical books alone, but also volumes on divinity, history, geography and literature, to set the specifically medical material within the context of human knowledge. Most of those books would be made up of continental learning and written in classical languages, constituents of the education of physicians at this time.\textsuperscript{360} In the seventeenth century, catalogues list many more books written in the English language. Medical practitioners or drug retailers in the provinces can also be found in probate lists as owning books. John Parker,

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{355} Kuiper, \textit{The Church in History}, p. 223.
\bibitem{357} Ibid., p. 381. Probate inventories are not necessarily helpful to researchers of early printed books, as they do not always list books’ titles, often just their value or the size of collections.
\bibitem{360} Nutton, V. and Porter, R., (eds), \textit{The History of Medical Education in Britain} (Amsterdam:Rodopi, 1995), p. 6.
\end{thebibliography}
an apothecary from Lichfield, born at the end of the sixteenth century, had a collection of sixteen books when he died. They are described in his probate inventory as both ‘little and big’, but few other title details are given.\textsuperscript{361} The scale of this collection probably represents a more typical ‘professional’ library than that of John Moore cited above.

The mid-sixteenth century was a period which saw a heightened market demand for popular medical books written in the vernacular, not only as a guide to medical practices but also as items that people wished to own within the wider context of learning. This provides a clear context for the possibility that the Ince book was written for the purposes of publication. The focus on medical material suggests that it should be seen primarily as a medical book, rather than a herbal, or a general household book, while comparison with other books of the period shows that the inclusion of material that would not normally be considered part of medicine from a modern perspective was not in itself a barrier to its primary function. The inclusion of ‘magical’ material can be seen to be part of a vernacular English medical tradition that dated back over 500 years by the time that the Ince book was written, although much of the Ince book is also rooted in classical approaches to medicine. Within the main branches of medicine, which were formally recognised at the time it was written, both the subject matter and the level of learning displayed by the author(s) suggest that it was probably the work of a physician rather than a surgeon or apothecary, although an apothecary also remains a possibility.

As discussed above, much of early modern medicine remained rooted in the humoral principles of Hippocrates and Galen.\textsuperscript{362} However, other cultures, such as the Arab-Islamic world, also played a major role in European medical schools.\textsuperscript{363} As a result, medicine had evolved to some extent during the 1,800 years between Hippocrates and the writing of the Ince book, but many classical principles remained widespread, if not unchallenged. Many of the new

\textsuperscript{362} See above, pp. 87-9.
ideas were simply additions or extensions to existing ideas, such as astrological medicine, numerology, urinology and magic, all jostling for favour in the medical communities and taught in medical schools as part of the curriculum. Fashions for various approaches waxed and waned. The professional medical practitioner was very cautious to avoid incorporating any element into his practice that might be considered akin to quackery. Good reputations were imperative, not least of all because of the high fees such repute could command. Among the most important challenges to the classical school was the work of the German-Swiss scholar and physician Paracelsus (1493-1541), whose full name was Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus Von Hohenheim, who was prepared to court controversy by challenging previously held ideas about medicine, and who invited the medical profession to revolutionise its way of thinking. Paracelsus considered that disease could be localised within the body, and rejected Galenic principles of the humours, in which imbalance in the humours upset the balance of the entire body, although symptoms might be localised. He replaced this concept with the idea that the body’s functions were dominated by harmony between specific parts of anatomy and related minerals and chemicals. He also promoted the use of poisons in medicine claiming that evil could drive out evil and that small amounts of poison could therefore assist the healing process. For this reason he is thought of as the father of toxicology. As a result of his unique philosophy, born of chemical and mineral based therapeutics (particularly employing salt, sulphur, mercury and water), Paracelsus brought about great changes in medicine. This throwing down the gauntlet by Paracelsus caused a great deal of animosity amongst some sectors and

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365 Wear, Knowledge & Practice, p. 355.
366 Copeman, Doctors and Disease, p. 57.
367 Wear, Knowledge & Practice, p. 22.
admiration from others. The split between those supporting Galen and Paracelsus extended beyond the medical profession and could be detected across society.

The main author of the Ince book was almost certainly university trained, but it is not possible to determine a medical philosophy specific to the medical curriculum of a particular university. Claims have been made that medicine was likely to have been taught at the University of Cambridge well before 1540, while similar training commenced at Oxford by the fourteenth century. The Ince book includes references to classical literature, including some Latin, both Arabic and Roman numerals, rubricated titles, disease or condition group titles columned in the margin, and a style of handwriting known as ‘secretary hand’. Some of these skills were not found exclusively amongst university graduates, as reading and writing and some classical works and references were taught at grammar schools in the sixteenth century. Collectively, however, the range of education the author displays strongly suggests a university education. As there is no reference to an alma mater, other place names, or even a dedication to respected instructor, it is not possible to be more specific about the author’s education or institutional affiliation.

The Ince book contains both Roman and so-called Arabic numerals, the latter of which are broadly the numerals used today. Despite the long history of their use, Roman numerals were cumbersome, especially for large figures, with the added problem that the numerals also doubled as letters. Arabic numerals (actually ultimately derived from India or beyond) were simpler and less ambiguous. A twelfth-century English translator and alchemist, Robert of Chester included Arabic numerals in a Latin translation, and thereafter Arabic numerals gradually became a standard part of Western measurement culture. Despite this, Roman numerals continued to be widely used, and both are found in late medieval and early modern documents, including other

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370 Wear, Knowledge & Practice, p. 39.
371 Shakespeare, W., All’s Well that Ends Well (1603-4), act II, scene iii, p. 1 – 22.
text books.\textsuperscript{375} It is therefore unsurprising that either should be found in the Ince book, but the presence of both together, including both systems duplicated in the internal numbering of the early recipes is more unusual, and may indicate that that the compiler was more comfortable with one system of numerals than the other. However, it does indicate that this person had enough learning to be familiar with both systems.

The text demonstrates familiarity with the humoral principles, but does not directly explain these or comment on them. It is possible that the work was intended as a tutelage piece for a student, possibly the author’s own student assistant. If this were the case, it would have been known that such a person was acquainted with the systems of Galen and Hippocrates. However, it seems more likely that this was not as a work intended for the use of the author and a student alone, but rather as a draft for a medical publication. It is didactic by nature, with many sub-headings enabling the reader to dip in and out of sections. It assumes a level of medical knowledge on the part of the reader, including anatomy, and does not take the trouble to explain many basic terms. There are reference to patients (with various spellings), implying that it is for the use of doctors, and the vast majority of the contents relates directly to medical treatments. Although a few of the individual entries are not medical recipes (see p. 18), this is consistent with published medical texts of the time.\textsuperscript{376} According to Natasha Glaisyer, didactic literature published throughout the early modern period regularly offered readers shortcuts to help them assimilate complex information in the form of charts and tables.\textsuperscript{377} There are no diagrams or illustrations of any form in the Ince book, although they are found frequently in earlier medieval manuscripts.\textsuperscript{378}

\textsuperscript{376} Fissell, M., ‘Popular Medical Writing’, pp. 417-30.
professional. If the book was being prepared for print, illustrations or diagrams might have been considered for inclusion later.

The professional practice recipes are amongst the most intriguing in the Ince Book, as their very presence gives a strong indication that the author is a trained physician. The use of medical terminology is not necessarily as compelling evidence as the professional standard references that appear in the text. Recipe 69 states that despite perilous days for bleeding, a particular diet to balance humours is recommended to support the patient through the process of bloodletting. There are recommendations in the same recipe that directly relate to the diet of a patient during bleeding in certain months (as might be found in an almanac calendar), such as particular types of wine or meats and ‘warts’ (cabbage). The iron content of green leafy vegetables would have been helpful for those suffering with anaemia, but was known only in relatively modern times.379 The month of November in the recipe is of particular interest, as, in this month, patients would be *garýd*, which means ‘lanced’ and then subjected to *ventosýd*, or cupping.380 This recipe provides yet more evidence that the author was Galenic in his approach. Recipes 71 and 72 discuss methods for recognising a patient’s predominant humour, and recipe 18 gives a regimen to ensure good health consisting of a modest diet, good behaviour, rest and prayer. The text of all three recipes lack detail, which suggests the theories were so much part of his medical practice that he hardly needs to be reminded of such detail. The same would apply to the prospective readers of the book if the intention was to sell the published work to qualified doctors. Therefore, the only reason for their appearance in the pages of his book was for the benefit of others to be reminded of the basic principles by way of an aide memoir. There are 24 recipes in this section, including the regimen.

380 Green, *Trotula*, p.101. Cupping is the process by which a small glass bowl about the size of a golf ball has a flame put in it to remove the air and create a vacuum, whereupon the glass ‘cup’ is placed on the patient’s skin at a recommended point and the vacuum causes the flesh to rise up into the cup and the cup to adhere to the body.
The general narrative also contains methods of recognition through presented signs, in order that the medical practitioner might determine advancing death. This is professionally important, for if the physician states the patient is in a critical condition and the disease incurable then this absolves the physician of any suggestion of incompetence or blame, an idea advanced by historian Peregrine Horden.\footnote{Horden, P., ‘What’s Wrong with Early Medieval Medicine?’ Social History of Medicine, 24. (1) (2011), pp. 5-25, at p. 15.} Westerhof explains how the Hippocratic tradition of prognosis was used to form an authoritative list of death-bearing signs. This list enabled those present in sick-rooms to identify with the prognosis given, warning them of the patient’s inevitable fate.\footnote{Westerhof, D., Death and the Noble Body In Medieval England (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2008), pp. 26-27.} In view of how vital the good reputation of any physician across history is, this seems a logical theory and it is arguable that recipe 257 titled ‘To knoue yff a seke man shall leve or dy’, affords the practitioner the opportunity to slip away from a dying patient’s room, free of negative criticism in the face of the unavoidable. It may also offer the family of the patient an opportunity to prepare themselves for this loss and perhaps call upon the services of a priest in those last hours. There were concerns in society that the dead might be hostile to the living and therefore proper preparation for the soul of the dying individual was of vital importance to ensure they had a peaceful death and smooth passage to judgement.\footnote{‘Gordon, B. and Marshall, P. ‘Introduction: placing the dead in late medieval and early modern Europe’, in B. Gordon and P. Marshall (eds), The Place of the Dead (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1-16, at p. 7.}

There is very little surgery advised in the book and the only section that might be vaguely considered in a modern sense as a surgical procedure, other than the removal of thorns is bloodletting. The disciplines of surgery and bone-setting are the work of a completely different branch or branches of training and there was a general distinction between the work of surgeons and physicians, both in terms of learning and also in the areas of medicine that they practiced.\footnote{Pelling and Webster, ‘Medical Practitioners’, p. 165.} Despite the development of formal institutions for both physicians and surgeons, distinctions remained blurred to some extent and the Royal College of Physicians was granted four corpses a
year on which to perform dissections.\textsuperscript{385} This implies that physicians had the surgical skills to carry out dissection, even if this was not a usual part of their duties.

There is clear evidence of trained professional standards in terms of the approach to weights and measures in the Ince book, which are unusually precise by the standards of medical publications of the period, and are presented in the form of a series of charts. There is also a structured approach to the administration of drugs or therapies. Recipes often state that the medicine should be taken at certain times of day, such as on rising in the morning and the delightful word ‘bedward’.\textsuperscript{386} Recipes 64, 182 and 229 provide evidence of how important precise measurements, including timings, are to the author, ensuring that the prescription will work in the most efficacious manner. Recipe 229 details an impressive twelve separate measurements and is amongst the most complex of all the recipes. This is quite pedantic by sixteenth-century standards, as recipes for medicines found in handbooks of the day rarely showed any form of accurate measurement. An example can be found in \textit{The English Housewife}, where Markham advises the reader for a swelling in the mouth to ‘take the juice of wormwood, camomile, and skirret, and mix them with honey, and bathe the swelling therewith, and it will cure it’.

\textsuperscript{387} Whilst all the ingredients are clearly identified by Markham, he does not indicate a single specific measurement which presumably meant the treatment varied from one housewife to the next.\textsuperscript{388}

In contrast, the charts in the Ince book bear out the idea that ingredients for pharmacology were carefully weighed, not only because of financial restraints, but because accuracy mattered. Recipe 89 demonstrates this in greater detail as it describes how to prepare a plaster for ulcerated legs caused by ‘mellancoly ewmers’. The preparation is described in precise detail with the weights of oil of elder, wax and white lead being ground in a mortar and boiled until black as pitch. The recipe states that the mixture should then be laid on a smoothed cloth

\textsuperscript{385} Porter, R., \textit{Bodies Politic}, p. 49.
\textsuperscript{386} A word not used now, but just as in ‘homeward’.
\textsuperscript{387} Best, \textit{The English Housewife}, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{388} Ibid., p. 18.
on the ulcerated leg for twelve days. The cloth should be changed a fortnight later, the recipe states, making sure the cloth is rubbed smooth and the process repeated as needed. The attention to detail in recipe 89 is noteworthy, and in my opinion suggests a professional practitioner.

The recipes also provide some sense of the environment in which the author practiced, or with which he was familiar. Thorn injuries are one such example as there are twelve recipe variations dealing with this condition. Although it is entirely reasonable to suggest that thorn injuries are likely to be suffered in a domestic urban environment (for those wealthy enough to have an urban home with a garden), or sustained on a hunting trip, the sheer volume of described injuries and subsequent infections suggest that this is a medical practitioner linked to a rural area. Conditions found almost exclusively in those engaged in animal husbandry can also be found in recipe 131, which offers ways to deal with a sheep tick in the ear. Only a farm worker grasping a sheep between the knees and pulling wool backwards towards the worker’s face for the purposes of shearing or veterinary care could reasonably end up with a parasite in their ear. In addition, there are references to other geographical regions or districts in which the author is likely to have practiced, such as marshy areas. Malaria, which is mentioned, was prevalent in estuaries and marshy areas commonly found in England prior to vast areas being drained off for building and agriculture, particularly in the eighteenth century. As a large majority of the early modern public lived and worked away from the towns and cities, it seems highly likely that a sensible physician, who did not necessarily expect to make his way at court, could be sure of a good living in the countryside, or near a thriving market town.

There are a group of recipes that can be described as a glossary of professional medical terms. These give definitions of various forms of medicines such as plasters, confections, mixtures and ‘those that can be licked with the tongue.’ Recipe 65 is one such item which gives a whole list of terms presumably for reference purposes and unlikely to be for the non-

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professional. Recipe 99 also comes under the general medicine banner as it offers a way of restoring nature that is decayed and although not specific, does seem likely to be a salve for infected flesh.

What else can be determined about the author? What is clear is how strikingly pragmatic the work is. Similar works of the time frequently stray into anecdotes or engage in flowery references that are not strictly relevant to the medical issue they are writing about. This book is not indulgent, but practical and absolutely to the point. It shows no sympathy for a sufferer but remains objective with an almost scientific approach. This man is able to pick and choose from the medical training he gained at university and is confident enough to dismiss whole schools of thought such as medical astrology, perhaps as a result of trial and error. The language used within the text says much about the writer as the word ‘proved’ or in Latin Probatum and even ‘Ptm’ in a form of shorthand, appears frequently throughout the book. Although this does not mean that the author proved this prescription cured or eased a particular ailment personally, the book does state if someone else proved a cure, and a number of different authorities are cited. For example, recipe 97 ends with the words ‘Proved by a woman from Branford’. There is a hint at the author’s personality at the end of recipe 88 which is very significant. He writes doctor laughm not cetos valde neg which translates from a mixture of a kind of dog-Latin and the phonetically written English language of the day as ‘Dr Langton thinks this is rubbish.’ The question about this comment is whether the author is observing that Dr Langton thinks the recipe is not a prescription he has much faith in, or is the author Dr Langton making a wry comment about a recipe he feels is frankly useless?

As discussed above, this may well be a reference to Dr Christopher Langton, active in the late 1540s and early 1550s, or less plausibly his son Thomas, also a physician. However, the fact is that the name Langton appears only once in the work and then in the third person. This is at

391 See pp. 8-9.
best circumstantial evidence and, given the author’s references to other people, including medical authorities such as Gilbert Kymer, it seems more likely that the author is simply referring here to the opinion of a doctor he has met, or simply read. It is also notable that Langton’s published works, while rooted in the same humoral tradition as the Ince book, refer much more explicitly to a number of classical authors, and more clearly demonstrate formal learning as well as more structured and specialised knowledge. The style of the Ince book thus does not seem to be consistent with Langton’s known work.

Observation for the purposes of prognosis was not the only clinical technique taught in medical schools at this time. In the middle ages, zodiac medicine was regularly taught to students. This included interpreting the cycle of the moon and calculating outcome based on the day the patient became ill against the lunar position and whether the moon was waxing or waning. Zodiac medicine in the humoral tradition worked on the theory that the stars, as heavenly bodies, were part of God’s creation and made up of elements, and that each star was possessed of energies which impacted on the natural world (see Appendix 9). It was believed that people born under a particular sign would have weaknesses in the body dominated by their own astrological leanings, which were determined by their birth dates. According to some medical practitioners, the proper usage of a chosen remedy could only be given to a patient when the astrological nature specific to the sufferer was understood. For example, Saturn was thought to be dry and cold and encouraged the increase of black bile, melancholy and associated chronic diseases. Astrological explanations for disease were particularly popular in humanist circles, although in 1496, about fifty years prior to the production of the Ince book, the leading humanist scholar of the age, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, argued against the stars dominating the life of

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people and that the free human spirit of all men owed its range to supreme providence.\footnote{397} Kevin Brown, in his work *The Pox*, states that, in response to Pico della Mirandola’s ideas, many doctors downplayed the role of astrology in medicine.\footnote{398} Michael Best also comments on the use of zodiac medicine in Gervase Markham’s widely published domestic handbook, *The English Housewife*: He notes there are very few astrological references in Markham’s recipes and when they do appear they are ‘likely to be treated with caution’.\footnote{399} Nevertheless, early modern physicians and other medical practitioners in some cases continued to be interested in astrology and zodiac medicine, as demonstrated by the colourful life of Dr John Lamb (d. 1628), who was not only a physician, but an astrologer, convicted witch, rapist and murderer.\footnote{400} Culpeper, writing over half a century after the Ince book, and more than one hundred years after Pico della Mirandola, gave instructions of how remedies and patients should be approached: ‘Consider by what planet the affected part of the body is governed. You may oppose diseases of Jupiter by herbs of Mercury and the contrary.’\footnote{401} Zodiac medicine also continued to be a typical component of the medical regimens found in general almanacs.\footnote{402} However, Zodiac medicine as an approach is not found in the Ince book, other than in the bloodletting calendar discussed earlier in this chapter, and its absence may well reflect the author’s sceptical attitude to zodiac medicine, which was growing less relevant to medical practice in the mid-sixteenth century.\footnote{403}

Magical or religious content can be found throughout the Ince book. The term ‘magic’ is a broad one, and the historiography of sixteenth-century magic typically draws a distinction between ‘high’ (learned or ceremonial) and ‘low’ (folk) magic. High magic is generally defined as structured magic underpinned by learning and/or philosophy. Owen Davies breaks it down even further into ‘demonic’ and ‘natural’ magic, demonic magic being primarily concerned with

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\begin{itemize}
  \item Blum, P. R., (ed.), *Philosophers of the Renaissance* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999), p. 105.
  \item Brown, *The Pox*, p. 13.
  \item Best, *English Housewife*, p. xxxiii.
  \item Brown, *The Pox*, p.13.
  \item See pp. 92-3.
  \item Tobyn, *Culpeper’s Medicine*, p. xiv.
\end{itemize}
conjuration of devils and demons in pursuit of wealth and power, and inherently heretical.
Natural magic, by contrast, was considered by many intellectuals to be almost a branch of the sciences, as it was informed by Neoplatonism. It involved interaction with a perceived hierarchy of spirits within nature itself, including angels, which were considered benign. Low magic, in turn, was primarily the product of folk tradition, largely passed on orally, and lacking the philosophical and theoretical underpinning of high magic.  

Recipe 221, which is written in the main hand found throughout the book, is the only recipe in the work that invites the practitioner to record the words of an incantation in writing as part of the healing process. A magical word appears in the body of the incantation, ‘ananyzapta’, which is shown in the book as ‘ananyzapte’.  This is used in other works as a spoken charm against epilepsy. 

Epilepsy was treated very carefully because it was thought that sufferers were possessed in some way by an evil force, and that they were attempting to cast out evil spirits with a babbling of words as they fitted, often writhing in rigor. 

Hippocrates describes epilepsy as the sacred disease in his work on *Airs, Waters, Places*. 

This weighty narrative cure combines magic and prayers with sections of the text being punctuated with physical signs of the cross by the person reciting the incantation. The Christian belief was that the possession was the work of demons or evil spirits that could be cast out through the use of prayer and intercession. 

This link with demonic forces and the use of a charm known to be transmitted elsewhere in written sources suggests high magic, and this appears at first sight to be reinforced by the use of Latin, in contrast to most of the recipes in the book. Latin, together with Greek and Arabic, was commonly used in manuscripts relating to high

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404 Davies, ‘Popular Magic’, pp. ix-x.
407 Ibid., p.100.
409 In the authorised version of the Bible, *St. Matthew*. Chapter 17 vv 14-18, there is clear reference to Jesus being asked to cure a child suffering with epilepsy.
or ceremonial magic. However, the use of garbled medieval Latin with religious content was also a common feature of low magic, derived from memories of Catholic ritual. Furthermore, if ‘ananyzapta’ was a well-known charm, then it could have been transmitted orally to the compiler of the Ince book rather than borrowed from another text.

The use of what would now be considered the occult or magic appears several times in the book both in Latin and English, albeit in some cases it is written in another hand. The use of medical spells is not nearly as extraordinary as might first be thought. It is true that the Protestant Reformation challenged many of the traditions of the Catholic Church by banning pilgrimages and destroying relics and holy images. This was part of an attempt to separate the people of England spiritually from Rome, but it was still very early days for much change to popular belief in the mid-sixteenth century. Within the Catholic Church, the use of magic had long been condemned by many authors, even in the context of medicine. Some of the most revered figures in the Christian church, including St Augustine, had very clear views about the use of magic and incantations to assist with healing. St Augustine was critical of ‘incantation’ and ‘characters’.

Some authors of pastoral manuals condemned recipes that contained spoken or written charms as ‘sortilegium’. Some of these words circulated in England, and Robert of Flamborough, the author of one of the first pastoral manuals in the first two decades of the thirteenth century, wrote:

Faithful priests should impress on their people so that they know that magic arts and incantations cannot bring about any remedy for any human illnesses, nor can they heal in any way animals which are weakening or lame or even dying; but rather these things are

410 Davies, Popular Magic, p. 119.
snares and traps of the ancient enemy, with which he perfidiously labours to entice the human race.\textsuperscript{415}

It was claimed in \textit{The Priest Eye}, a pastoral paper written in the 1320s by Thomas of Chobham, that certain rituals or incantations were prohibited when collecting medical herbs, with the exception of the Creed or the Lord’s Prayer. These instructions, founded in much earlier penitentials did allow parchment inscribed with the Creed or Paternoster, to be laid on the body of a sick person.\textsuperscript{416} The principle of a charm containing Christian words was thus considered acceptable, and such spells were not just administered to the sick verbally. Caution nevertheless had to be applied, as found in the writings of a Dominican Friar and theologian, William of Rennes, who wrote about prayer and medicine. He offers important insight into the power of the tetragrammaton:

\begin{quote}
But those brevia in which certain characters and unfamiliar names are written because they are the unutterable names of God, and in which it is said that whoever carries this breve on themselves will not be endangered in this or that, or that this or that good thing will happen to them, should without doubt be condemned and not be carried, and the people who write them, or teach that they should be carried, or carry them, or give them, or sell them, sin unless they are so simple that ignorance excuses them. \textsuperscript{417}
\end{quote}

Against this background of unclear boundaries between religion and magic, and how either might be applied to medicine, it is less surprising than it might otherwise be to modern eyes that the Ince book contains a number of recipes involving magical charms (which generally include specific spoken charms or invocations in addition to any physical ingredients) or religious content. These are amongst the most fascinating aspects of the whole work. The inclusion of magic in the book is particularly important at a time in history when the use of the occult in

\textsuperscript{415} Robert of Flamborough, \textit{Liber poenitentialis}.
\textsuperscript{416} C. Rider, ‘Medical Magic’, p. 92.
\textsuperscript{417} Ibid., p.97.
medicine was being discredited. Nevertheless, such practices could still be found amongst the writings of university-trained physicians and there is no question that the use of high or ceremonial magic could be part of an orthodox practitioner’s repertoire. This idea was firmly rooted in the original priest doctors, some of whom, such as Boorde (see p. 59) were still practicing medicine at the time this book was compiled. In twelfth-century Salerno, standard medical practice was frequently combined with religion and elements of magic. Keith Thomas argues that university-based magicians were influenced by the teachings and structure of renaissance thinking, while the uneducated wizards and witches tucked away in small communities continued to practice the old systems, essentially the distinction between high and low magic mentioned above. Any examination of the subject raises questions about what defines magic and where the boundaries between medicine, religion and magic lay. This is a large subject in itself, and goes beyond the scope of the current thesis. In medieval medicine, all three closely interacted, and although it has often been argued that this interaction was largely confined to folk medicine, Lea T. Olsen has argued that prayers and charms can be found in the works of learned and professional medical practitioners in the later Middle Ages. A firmer distinction was being drawn by the early modern period, although physicians could be called upon to diagnose cases of suggested demonic possession, and Keith Thomas cites two such physicians who diagnosed possession in a girl in Hertfordshire, as well as in an entire convent of possessed nuns in France in the 1660s. Physicians were also on occasion called upon to be expert witnesses in witchcraft trials.

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418 Wear, Knowledge & Practice, p. 308.
419 Porter, Quacks: Fakers & Charlatans in Medicine, p.35.
420 Green, Trotula, p.13.
421 Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, p. 271.
Some individuals who are described as physicians continued to combine medicine, astrology and magic in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, such as Simon Forman, a well-known medical astrologer, with an extensive client list including a number of influential people. However, although Forman had some education, he was a self-styled physician without proper formal qualifications, and was not recognised as a physician by the Royal College of Physicians, who regarded him as an imposter and quack, and on one occasion he was even imprisoned for practising without a licence. Forman’s notoriety provides an important reminder that not all those who called themselves physicians, or were so described by others, met the professional standards of licensed physicians as described elsewhere in this thesis, but equally demonstrates that such standards were applied, and that his mixture of medicine and magic failed to meet those standards, and is not representative of physicians generally.

The spells, or perhaps more aptly put, narrative charms, also involve some association with other specially prepared objects or plants that have unique properties attached to them. The occult is perhaps more apparent in recipe 196: “Take a pure blake cat & flee her...” It is interesting that the recipe requests this as a specific ingredient because pure black cats and pure white cats feature in evidence at witchcraft trials and continued to do so into the seventeenth century. Therefore, we can assume that a pure black or pure white cat was believed to have magical properties. The gender of the animal is also mentioned more than once in the recipe (female), which is likely to be a specific ingredient, as through a vast majority of the Ince work the male gender is used when referring to patients.

Recipe 35 has no direct bearing on healing, as although it contains what appears to be a herbal remedy, it is actually concerned with opening locks. The use of violets is particularly

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interesting, as they are known to have a laxative effect.\textsuperscript{427} Constipation remedies are often referred to as ‘opening medicine’ and so in this case the violet can be described as an ‘opening herb’. This was widely known in terms of medicine and repeated in item 173 of Markham’s \textit{The English Housewife}, where violet leaves are used in a poultice on the breasts of women suffering with presented symptoms of mastitis. Remarkably the Ince recipe suggests that violet leaves and/or roots were believed to open more than bowels and thus that the virtue of the plant could be transferred directly over from human flesh to inanimate objects, such as a door lock. It is well known that there existed a belief that some plants had qualities could affect all manner of things in the created universe, and Jerry Stannard confirms that society believed that certain plants, as God’s creations, had supernatural properties.\textsuperscript{428} This was known in many ranks of society as varieties of plants such as betony, calendula and verbena were commonly planted in domestic gardens to ward off evil.\textsuperscript{429} Hazelnuts could reputedly determine the next day’s weather and Jove’s beard with some logic of name attachment, was grown on roofs to protect against lightning strikes.\textsuperscript{430} Thus, while the application of violet to opening locks may be linked to underlying concepts of the virtues of plants as found in humoral medicine, the extension of those virtues in this context to inanimate objects such as locks seems to be more closely linked with quackery and superstition than to the more scientific approach of much of the work.

This does not in itself preclude learning on the part of the compiler, although this recipe forms part of a small group of charms apparently in a different hand from most of the work.\textsuperscript{431} There were several high-profile, self-declared workers of magic in the sixteenth century. In England, the most celebrated of all in the sixteenth century was Dr John Dee (1527-1608/9), who was highly regarded for his scholarship and learning while also regarded as somewhat

\textsuperscript{429} Ibid., p. 90.  
\textsuperscript{430} Ibid., p. 91.  
\textsuperscript{431} See Appendix 3.
notorious for his involvement in astrology and magic.\textsuperscript{432} Dee advised Elizabeth I on many pivotal dates of her reign, including the most auspicious day for her coronation.\textsuperscript{433} The fact that the highest person in the land called upon the services of a magician itself indicates that magic and the occult were part of the fabric of English society, although the notoriety of figures such as Dr Dee suggests that it was not considered usual to be a practitioner of magic. Furthermore, practitioners of magic at this level of society were generally engaged in high magic. However, belief in magic, ghosts and fairies was widespread at all levels of society, and folk beliefs and rituals continued to linger on after the reformation, reflecting a much wider use of low magic.\textsuperscript{434}

Recipe 221 includes a tetragrammaton made up of the Hebrew letters ‘YHWH’ or ‘JVJH’, meaning Yahweh or Jehovah. This was understood as ‘the ineffable name of God’, forbidden to be uttered or written down by those of the Jewish faith.\textsuperscript{435} It is of particular significance because it calls upon God directly, not the intervention of an angel or saint. The attempt to communicate with God himself may well suggest the work of a Protestant physician, keen to avoid Papist activities which included intercession, but this argument is weak as pagan entities are also invoked in some spells within the work. This recipe could have been written by another person, as were other spells found in the work, which would mean the physician has only a vicarious relationship to its appearance. Whilst the apparently medical occult recipes are relevant to the main content of the Ince book, there are questions that surround the appearance of some of the magical content, which have nothing to do with healing but are purely for the purposes of protecting property and summoning fairies. The latter can be found in recipe 36, which is part of the same anomalous section which contains the recipe (no. 35) for opening locks. As with the previous recipe, there is a pseudo-medical aspect to this recipe, in that the purpose of summoning the fairy is that she can

\textsuperscript{434} Thomas, \textit{Religion and the Decline of Magic}, p. 725.
then provide a ‘herb’ or ‘erbe’, the qualities of which are that possession of the herb means that the possessor will ‘lack nothing’. As with the previous recipe, this smacks of quackery rather than meaningful medicine, and the whole section falls within the sphere of low or popular magic. Nevertheless, the recipe provides interesting insights into the attitude towards fairies at this time. There is no question that the appearance of the fairy would be considered a potentially dangerous event as there are so many protections surrounding the spell, such as the unbroken circle of consecrated rushes. Consecrated rushes would almost certainly come from the floor of a church where asperges would have taken place with holy water. The circle made from the rushes was likely to have been drawn to provide a safe place within which a spirit or demon might be conjured. There are many references to be found about circles of protection, often in salt, which is significant as it has the property of cleansing and, in folklore, salt is a mineral that is abhorrent to evil. The use of a circle for magical protection filtered into many elements of life in the late medieval period; they were often traced around plants with a knife or sword to protect them from outside forces and, in the Anglo Saxon period, there is evidence that healing circles were drawn around patients by doctors. Remarkably, there is no provision within the spell to dismiss the fairy once her visitation concludes. The protective herb is not named, but a ‘shogernut’ is mentioned, which, according to the incantation, should be cried out. This is possibly a sweetmeat, or ‘sugar-nut’, as food was used to tempt fairies away from important areas in the household where they might cause damage. Magical protection against evil, in the form of witches or spirits, was the stock-in-trade of a cunning person, rather than a physician. This suggests that this section at least may have been authored by, or collected from, a cunning person, even if this does not necessarily apply to the whole text.

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437 Asperges is the practice of holy (blessed) water being sprinkled as a blessing on people or property in a church service or sometimes in a procession. The process is usually carried out by the celebrant.
According to the principles of humoral medicine, seasons, weather and the environment were believed to have attributes that could affect a patient’s wellbeing, and unseasonable weather was thought to bring on particular illnesses and diseases.\textsuperscript{441} The diary of the late seventeenth-century, Rev. John Ward tells of the importance of ‘a faire and clear day’ in some medical practices.\textsuperscript{442} This is pertinent to the Ince book as there are clear directions as to the weather conditions in which the spell found in recipe 36 should be cast; it calls for bright sunshine. The elder tree mentioned is also relevant as it is one of a group of trees thought to have possessed magical properties of one form or another.\textsuperscript{443}

Although the book is a medical work, the spells promise more than just the restoration or protection of health. Recipes 33 and 34, which together with recipes 35 and 36 form the anomalous section of magical charms, both address ways of ensuring that property is protected through the use of ritual. They involved the invocation of Christian saints to assist, as well as employing the most important prayers in the Christian faith, such as the \textit{Pater Noster}, or \textit{Our Father}, and the \textit{Ave}, known in modern parlance as \textit{The Hail Mary}, both of which form part of the binding of the incantation. Recipe 33 also mentions the use of wands in the form of circles of branches, hung in the four corners of a room to cover the north, south, east and west. Four nails are mentioned, which may well represent the nails used in the Christian faith to secure the body of Jesus to the cross in the Crucifixion. According to the Catholic Encyclopaedia, ‘The question has been long debated whether Christ was crucified with three or four nails. The treatment of the Crucifixion in art during the earlier middle ages supports the tradition of four nails.’\textsuperscript{444} The suggestion seems to be that if nails secured the son of God, they were culturally symbolic and could potentially be used within a spell to secure property.

\textsuperscript{441} Wear, \textit{Knowledge & Practice}, p. 193.
\textsuperscript{443} Hatfield, G., \textit{Encyclopaedia of Folk Medicine: Old World and New World Traditions} (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO,2004), p. 136.
Recipe 33 appears to be a shortened version of recipe 34. It is interesting to note that both the house and garden in the mid-sixteenth century were deemed to require protection from thieves, indicating the value placed not only on food crops, but also on herbs grown domestically for the purposes of cosmetics and aromatics, flavouring for food and, of particular interest to a medical practitioner, medicines. Recipe 34, entitled ‘For a wall to keep animals out and keep the things inside safe’, dwells further on the security of property with its associated spell offering protection to farm animals. It is written almost entirely in Latin, but I have included a translation into English in the Appendix for ease of analysis (see Appendix 10). Interestingly, the spell seeks to bind any thieves inside the property, rendering them unable to leave, rather than stopping any unwanted visitors from entering in the first place. It is a complex mixture of magic and religion, in what could be described as an ‘all hands on deck’ approach to a crisis situation. The final two lines of the spell contain a mixture of Latin and English which can be found elsewhere in the work. The small crosses that appear in the text are an instruction to make the ‘sign of the cross’, believed in Christian faith to be an act of reverence but also an invocation of Christ’s protection. Recipe 34 is striking, as it occupies two whole pages and along with the other accompanying charms is recorded in a completely different hand from the two identifiable hands that compiled the majority of the work. The handwriting style is that of an educated secretary hand, although it contains an added flourish. Tight and careful handwriting fills the page and tiny stage notes appear in the margins. The spell in recipe 34 would have taken minutes to write, not hours, as would have been the case for virtually every other page of the Ince book.

Numerology is evident throughout the recipes that may be considered spells. Numerology was a taught technique prevalent in the Middle Ages. It offered a method for understanding the special relationships between numbers and events. Sacred numbers, such as three and four are rooted in religious belief. Three is the number of the Holy Trinity – Father, Son and Holy Ghost - and four represents the four elements of hot, cold, wet and dry, and all the
mighty forces arising from those elements created by God. What may seem surprising about this text is the invocation of ‘The Fates’, by using the names Sator, Atripos and Lachesis, when Christian references appear alongside in the same narrative charm. This is less surprising than it may at first appear, as similar use of a mixture of Christian and occult symbolism and narrative in folk healing can be found in evidence as late as 1875 in many parts of Europe.

Catherine Rider states that surviving medical prayers ‘which make promises’ are mostly from the fifteenth century. As the Ince book dates from around 1550, it provides a later examples of a prayer used directly for the purposes of protection or health. What is particularly interesting is the inclusion of the name ‘Sator’, as the three fates are Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos. These daughters of Zeus and Themis in Greek mythology were thought to have fulfilled a particularly important job for mankind: they spun, drew out and cut the thread of life. It was not an inflexible fate for man it seems, as the Gods could change fates and although the fates did not interfere with mortals directly, man could call upon their conditional intervention in affairs.

What is particularly interesting is that the word ‘Sator’ also appears in a well-known early Christian cryptogram that is thought to have possessed magical qualities, with origins stretching back to at least a Coptic papyrus of the fourth or fifth century. The word ‘Sator’ forms part of a square of five-letter words forming a palindrome (see Appendix 11). This word square has been linked both with magical incantations to the Devil and with the Lord’s Prayer. This is of particular interest, as there is a mix of both magic and religion in the narrative charm in which the word ‘Sator’ appears in the Ince book. However, the identification of Sator as one of the Fates suggests a level of confusion, perhaps caused by the similarity between ‘Atripos’, as the name of the fate is rendered here, and ‘Arepo’, the second word in the ‘Sator’ palindrome. Reference to the Sator square, as well as to the Tetragrammaton, can be found in folk charms as late as the

reign of George III (1760-1820), and Owen Davies notes the existence of a wider category of charms made up of lists of ‘biblical, demonic and secret names, sometimes garbled, and reduced to gibberish.” The seven pits of hell that are referred to may also be found in Dante’s *Inferno*. Dante was born around 1265 and it seems possible that his most famous work had filtered into parts of English society, and his description of hell with it.

The combination within this short section of recipes of hints of learning with quackery and gibberish is characteristic of low magic, and of the residual traces of Latin and medieval Catholic practice typical in the traditions passed on amongst cunning folk, and it is possible that a cunning man or woman was the source of this section. As noted on p. 55, some cunning folk were literate, and a few even had formal education, and this section is written in a different hand from the main text. However, the fact that this section appears fairly early in the book makes it reasonably certain that this was inserted while the book was owned by the main compiler, rather than an addition by a later owner.

To conclude, this chapter has attempted to place the Ince book and the beliefs of its author in the context of early-modern medicine. The content of this chapter suggests that he was a physician of Galen and there is no evidence in the Ince book of newer medical theories, such as those of Paracelsus. This is not surprising as the work is dated c.1550, and therefore it is unlikely that any of Paracelsus’ influence would have been apparent, as his ideas did not make an impact on British medicine until the end of the century. The author is, however, relatively precise in his approach to certain practices, including measurement and the processes of drug production. Accuracy is clearly a key issue in his medical practice. There is insufficient evidence to determine whether the author attended a particular university or other educational establishment. Neither is there evidence that the author spent time abroad, so it would be mere speculation to suggest ideas were gathered following travel to other cultures. Zodiac medicine is only briefly mentioned

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in a bloodletting chart, which suggests the author was confident to choose his own theories from those which remained current at the time in which he was writing.

A conscious choice between conflicting approaches both to medicine and to learning is perhaps also revealed by the compiler’s inclusion of both magical and religious material, as the compiler drew on both magic and the Christian religion as part of the healing process, and this approach was also applied to non-medical purposes such as the protection of property and the punishment of criminals. However, whilst is accepted that religion and magic were regularly employed in mid-sixteenth century medicine, the conjuring up of fairies using consecrated rushes and calling upon the pagan Fates, is considerably more unusual. Perhaps it was never the intention of the author to include in his final text (assuming the intent to publish) such spells, but to collect these as he encountered them for his own interest; this will likely remain unknown. The evidence of different handwriting in some of the magical content certainly suggests the book was passed to another author in such instances to make an addition. This does not, however, prove that the main compiler of the text himself used or intended to publish these pages. There is a possibility that this may also have been an act of caution on the part of the main author in response to the Witchcraft Act of 1542, directed “Against Conjuration and Witchcraft and Sorcery and Enchantments”. Although Edward VI repealed this statute, it represents a shift in formal discouragement of activities that could be considered magic.\textsuperscript{449} The inclusion of these items in another hand may therefore indicate that the main compiler of the text found these interesting, but wished to preserve a certain distance from the magical material. Nevertheless, the inclusion of this material must be accounted for when drawing together a final interpretation of the character and function of the text.

\textsuperscript{449} Davies, \textit{Popular Magic}; p. 4.
CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has discussed a previously unrecorded medical manuscript of the early modern period, with 46 leaves of octavo paper bound together as a notebook, which is referred to here as John Ince’s leech book, or more simply the ‘Ince book’. Although this name is derived from the fact that Ince’s name appears in the work five times, listing dates between his birth in 1675 and a final reference in 1731, all these references are clearly in a much later hand than the main text, and must be considered later additions.\(^{450}\) The physical evidence of the handwriting of the main text, together with the ink and paper, points instead to a composition date in the mid-sixteenth century, although internal differences in handwriting suggest that it may have been compiled over a period of time rather than in a single session.\(^{451}\)

This dating is supported by a series of dateable references within the text, including references to the work of Dr Gilbert Kymer, a physician, and dean of Salisbury Cathedral (1449-63), and to a recipe vouched for by ‘Lord Marcus Dorset’, probably to be identified with Henry Grey (1517-54), 3rd Marquess of Dorset (1530-54).\(^{452}\) The *terminus post quem* provided by these dates is supported by a firmer date, found in a shipping manifest (recipe 170) written in the hand of the main compiler. The manifest includes a regnal date of the sixth year of Edward VI, which was 1553, so it is reasonable to conclude that it was in this year that the manifest was written and therefore at least that part of the main body of the manuscript can be dated.\(^{453}\) This thus provides a *terminus post quem* for the entire manuscript, but does not preclude the possibility that it was continued at a later date, especially since there is an apparent slight change in the main hand in the later part of the manuscript, which may indicate the continuation of the work by a new compiler, or a return to the work by the original author after some time had passed. Another more debateable reference in the first section of the manuscript to a Doctor Laughton or

\(^{450}\) See Appendix 3.
\(^{451}\) See pp. 5-7, 12-13.
\(^{452}\) See pp. 7-8.
\(^{453}\) Ince. Recipe 170. See p. 9.
Langton may well refer to Dr Christopher Langton, who published three medical texts between 1547 and 1552, but who was subsequently expelled from the Royal College of Physicians in 1558, and publicly disgraced in 1563, making him an unlikely source to reference after this date, and therefore perhaps suggesting a terminus ante quem of 1558 or 1563 for the main text, while again not precluding the possibility of later continuation.454

This places the compilation at the height of the English Reformation, some years after the initial reforms of Henry VIII had been introduced, and therefore after these had had time to have a range of direct and indirect impacts on society. Of these, the most relevant to the present study are the movement of medical practice away from clerics to predominantly secular practitioners regulated by professional societies established by royal warrant; the subsequent formal separation of different branches of medicine with legally recognised status under secular law; the development of medical teaching in English universities, leaving England less reliant on the Church-dominated training of continental universities; an increase in the use of the vernacular in writing in England, and (through changing regulation of publication) of the accessibility of vernacular literature to both medical practitioners and the general public; and the subsequent creation of a demand for both specialist and non-specialist works containing medical recipes.455

Despite the fact that the Ince book contains a small number of unrelated entries which appear to be incidental to the main contents, the work is primarily a compilation of medical recipes, although in a broader sense of ‘medical’ that includes some ‘magical’ and religious material. In the medieval tradition of medicine in the period which preceded the Reformation, the separation of magic, medicine and religion was not as clearly distinguished as in more recent times, and the relatively small amount of material in the work which may be considered to be magical and/or religious in content reflects a wider shift in Renaissance humanism, and thus the period in which the work was compiled. A complete separation of magic and scholarship had still not been

455 See pp.78-87, 90-91.
completely effected by the end of the sixteenth century. While the various charms and invocations included in the work should perhaps be regarded as evidence of ‘quackery’ rather than orthodox medicine (although this distinction also involves an element of anachronism), most of those included in the work have some relation to medicine in its broadest sense.456

The inclusion of a small amount of such material is thus consistent with a composition date in the mid-sixteenth century, and this is further supported by the underlying approaches to medicine found within the work. Although, unlike some contemporaries, the compiler makes only little reference to classical medical authors, the work is still rooted firmly in the Galenic tradition of the humours, which formed the basis of medical knowledge throughout the Middle Ages. However, there is very little evidence of zodiac medicine, which was closely linked to the Galenic humoral tradition in the late medieval period, but which became increasingly unfashionable in the course of the sixteenth century, particularly amongst the medical elite. At the same time, the work shows no awareness of the new Paracelsian system which became more widely known in England, if not yet fully accepted, in the later sixteenth century.457

The work makes explicit reference to the compiler’s own experience, indicating that he was himself a medical practitioner.458 The conclusion that the anonymous author was male is based on wider patterns of literacy at this time, and particularly on the fact that the authors of similar works were typically male, although the possibility of female authorship cannot be completely excluded.459 The range of ailments covered by the recipes in the work fall under the heading of general medicine, with very few references to physical injury, and a distinct absence of surgical procedures and references. As such, the book seems to fall into the sphere of medicine practiced by physicians, rather than by surgeons, although the provision of remedies also fell within the sphere of apothecaries. However, it is unlikely that the writer was an apothecary as

456 See pp. 108-12.
458 See p. 54.
there are few references to the ‘virtues’ of ingredients such as plants. There is no evidence that it is a herbal as it does not fit the standard genre of herbals which usually contained information about growing patterns and descriptions of the plants as well as their virtues.

In addition to his own experience, the compiler also cites a wide range of other authorities in ‘proving’ the efficacy of recipes, and although these appear to be primarily anecdotal rather than published works, if the reference to ‘Dr Laughm’ is correctly linked with Dr Christopher Langton, this may well be to one of his published works. Use of Roman numerals at the head of some recipes, some prefaced with ‘cap’ (‘chapter’, or here more accurately ‘recipe’) suggests reference to an existing, but un-named, work. The emphasis on ‘proving’ indicates a concern with accuracy, as does the careful and detailed writing. The professional charts of weights and measures (recipe 64), bloodletting (recipes 69 and 70) and drug terms glossary (recipe 65) again support the case for this as a serious, pragmatic medical work. On the balance of these considerations, the Ince book was almost certainly compiled by a medical professional, and likely a physician.

A few of the recipes, notably those relating to sheep-lice (recipe 131) and thorn extraction (10, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 129 and 206) point to a rural practice, but not conclusively.460 The materia medica do not point to a particular location or region, although some of the recipes call for expensive imports, which suggests access to overseas trade, although not necessarily proximity to a seaport. The inclusion, in the same hand as the main text, of a ship’s manifest relating to Bristol may hint at a connection with the south-west, but is again not in itself conclusive.

The materia medica is comparable with other published texts of the period. Although a full comparison of remedies with published texts lies beyond the scope of this thesis, a concordance of materia medica with three major published works is included as Appendix 6. Study of this

460 See pp. 29, 52, 102.
concordance reveals that there is nothing in the *materia medica* of the Ince book which is particularly innovative or unusual in purely medical terms, while the choice of individual ingredients can be seen in many cases to correspond to the concepts of ‘sympathetic’ medicine and the ‘doctrine of signatures’ which formed part of the Galenic humoral tradition. The overall range of ingredients is slightly wider than in the other comparators.

In some cases, there are multiple remedies for the same or similar ailments. Examination of the recipes show the alternatives had radically different implications for the cost of the remedy, based on the prices of individual ingredients. The inclusion of multiple remedies may thus have been driven by the desire to have alternative remedies to suit different pockets. Alternatively, the compiler may be responding to different perceived humoral needs. It is also conceivable that the compiler was simply trying to be as comprehensive as he could be, at least in pulling together an initially wide range of recipes, before possibly intending to make a further selection.

The function of the manuscript is unclear. There are various feasible options. It could be an aide memoir for a medical practitioner, most probably a physician, or it could be a tutelage piece within the same academic field. Neither seems likely, however, as the lack of internal structures would prevent it from being very useful as a tool for immediate reference. The more probable function, I would argue, is that it was a notebook intended for eventual publication. This hypothesis is based in part on the evidence of a demonstrable demand in the mid-sixteenth century for vernacular books, sparked by Henry VIII’s legislation restricting the sale of imported books in an attempt to control sedition. Among the most popular books at this time, and therefore the most profitable, were several which included medical recipes. These were found in

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461 See pp. 23, 29, 36, 42, 47, 88.
462 See pp. 76-77.
463 See p. 63.
464 See pp. 87-90.
specialist medical works, herbals, almanacs, and also more general works of household advice.\textsuperscript{465} As noted above, the text does not have the character of a herbal. Nor, despite the inclusion of a few items not relating to medicine, does it appear to be a general household book.

The overwhelming focus on medical recipes suggests strongly that this was intended to be a medical text. The presence of the other entries (a court record (recipe 1); methods of catching fowls and rabbits (recipe 166); the ship’s manifest (recipe 170); the magical charms related to protecting property (recipes 33 and 34); opening locks (recipe 35); and conjuring up a fairy (recipe 36) are mostly entirely unrelated to the main text or to each other, and can perhaps be explained by the compiler using his notebook to write down other things as they came up in the course of compilation, with the intention of editing them out later.\textsuperscript{466} The fact that the court record is the first entry in the book may indicate that the function of a notebook predated that of a medical text. Certainly the work would have required further editing to be of much use, given the fact that the subject matter is handled in a disjointed manner, suggesting that the recipes were recorded haphazardly, either as they occurred to the compiler, or as he became familiar with them from external authorities. Some editing is perhaps demonstrated by the fact that some duplicated recipes are crossed out, and the editing out of duplicate or irrelevant material may also explain the two missing leaves that one would expect in a volume of this size.

The inclusion of what appears to be some quack ‘cure-all’ remedies along with magical charms amongst what is otherwise a disciplined approach by the standards of the time is perhaps surprising. However, as noted, magical and religious elements were part of the armoury of a doctor’s bag, even if decreasingly so. Furthermore, the elements which appear ‘quackish’ elements to modern eyes would not necessarily appear so at the time, since they follow established principles of humoral and sympathetic medicine. Interestingly, most of the magical

\textsuperscript{465} See pp. 65-6, 87, 90-93

\textsuperscript{466} The ship’s manifest may relate indirectly to the work of the compiler, since it contained wine, which was sometimes used in the preparation of drugs (see p. 85). However, there is no reason to assume that there was any intention of sharing the information in the manifest with others, unlike the medical recipes.
texts were clearly written by another hand as if the book had been passed to another to record that particular individual’s personal expertise.

Although none of the quack remedies contain anything of direct importance to the history of medicine, recipe 35 (which deals with the use of violets to open locks) is worthy of note as a rare example of the transference of the principles of sympathetic medicine to be applied to inanimate objects.467 While the recipe itself may be nonsense, it is nevertheless interesting for what it tells us of how medical principles could be linked with quack magic. The possible reference to the SATOR palindrome in recipe 34 is also of particular interest, as this also appears to fall firmly within the tradition of popular medicine and folk magic, in contrast with the more scientific approaches more typical of the Ince book.468

To conclude, the Ince book appears to be a draft notebook of the mid-sixteenth century intended for eventual publication as a medical text, although it does not correspond directly to any known publication of this period. The contents of the text correspond well with the state of medical knowledge in England at that time, and while on the one hand it might be considered slightly disappointing that the book does not contain more that is new or unusual, on the other it is useful to have the confirmation from a new, independent and reasonably closely dated text of just what knowledge was widely available. Perhaps the most important information to come out of the study concerns the materia medica found in the Ince book, which shows a wider overall range of ingredients than other comparators from the period, but with differing proportions of ingredient types.469 A full and detailed discussion of the concordance between this and the selected comparators falls beyond the scope of an MPhil thesis, but it would provide a very valuable direction for future study.

467 See p. 111.
468 See pp. 114-17 and Appendix 11.
469 See pp. 70-77 and Appendix 6
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WEBSITES


‘John Ince His Booke’:
A previously unrecorded medical text of the sixteenth century
by
Lesley Bernadette Maria Smith

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

Volume Two
Appendices

Department of the History of Medicine
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The University of Birmingham
March 2014
Appendix 1. ‘John Ince his Booke’: Photographic copy and transcription

A photograph is provided of each page of the book sequentially, interleaved with transcriptions of the text. In each case the photograph precedes the transcription.
John Ince His Booke

Recipe 1

cy dli the last day of April mart t' maner pasafied ye wryett of tomas englond

Itm y° iiij daye of may Lenerd Smyv° was a reist with a wriett be 4for Wat° Stanfast & Hare Smythe

Recipe 2

To make a batt for foshe..
Take Rede nettles w .... & put theme in a ......

Recipe 3

for to ..... amvutt ...... y° with
Take peneriall psale cumamyle cumyng obj of oyle mastek & oyle benadicta ... idl camfure idl senamon & y° lecor of hony a noyt the baytt..........
Recipe 4
for the ague
a gud medecen
Take iij handfuls of burso pastorys iij handful of yaro iij handful of reue & stamp tham & stran y\\sup{\text{\textdegree}} & putt thar to a quartt of stalle ayll then putt a box of treacle of jane y\\sup{\text{\textdegree}} to drink blode warm & let hem walk y\\sup{\text{\textdegree}} so long… can then la heme down apon a bed & hap hem warme

Recipe 5
for the same
Take a handful of esope an handful of fenele a handful of mente & a hanfull of wilde thyme & seethe in runyng wat tell ye be soft & drynke thys ferst & last & you shalbe hol

Recipe 6
for the same
Take wormvode tyme & esope marigolds burrage & stampe y\\sup{\text{\textdegree}} & strayne y\\sup{\text{\textdegree}} with ayll & drenk when the ytt begenithe to cm
Take my kind grace that lay the world as in the theme is lost and the theme is lost...
Recipe 7  

dropse  

a gud medesen for the dropse  

Take red ments & wylde tansay & ye leavys of gren pesm & sethe yow first in faire water tell ya be soft then latt ye wat’en clene away from ye erbs then sethe yow in whytt wine & straine yow throuhe a fayre clothe & lett yt stand & evys thys drenke ferst & last & thoue shalbe holl  

Recipe 8  
hede  

ffor the Reume in the hede  

Take lycorys gynger & rede ments & hoyll them in whytt wyne or in stale ale & drynke theroft first & last look warme  

Recipe 9  

Impostu  

ffor an Impostym  

Take mousere & bray yt w’t white whyne or stale ale & drynkeytt & yt shall brek the firste nyght But lay the drafe of yt erbs a pon the sore  

Recipe 10  

preke ene  

a gud medese for ene tha ben prekyt wa’thorn or a perll or pen  

Take iij levyd gras that haythe wytt spots in theme & washe theme clene in runyng wat’ stamp yow & put the jus in thy … vs & thoue shalbe hole
Take a pot of pop. the same vol. c hop them ab ose then take a vol. of galons of pop. and a vol. of c hop them in a bung pot of bear c make gott to such then take the pop c grind them fines and the r. vol c put them in to the pot ab ose in to the pot c double them fine. Set a vol. of a vol. to the edge to set c let them bothe open and then take the gold that 1 d of the pot. to keep it in a glass or 1 vol. of a vol. of golds in another pot. c augment the place that it keeps in to let it in. and a man hovers 1 oz of the gold happen to take it into the pot. it is not bonum to put wicks in as it is ful of ammount oz more than take 1 oz vol in to help.
Recipe 11
for achys

ffor the Syatyke & ffor the gout & for all maner of achys that brede in man or womans bons

Take a quake foxe the fexere ys best & kep hem a lyve then take iiij or iiiij gallons of oyle olleve & set yt on y’ fyer in a bryght pott of bras & make ytt to sethe then take the fox & bind hem faste mouthe & all & put heme in to the pot quyke in to the oyle & houlde hem fast down with a fork tel he be dede & let hem sethe xx iiiij ours then take the oyle that ys of the resedu kepe yt in a glase for enye maner of ache in bons pvyd & anoyent the place ther w’wher ys nede & let ytt in -

For ye fare and yff a man woman or chylde happyne to be take with farye & yf ytt be not knowyn the wiche thaye are dyssesyd be any maner of wies then take iiiij or v whytt
Soke rootes & scrape them klene & then brus the in & mart [er] put ther to a lyttell quantity of stall ale & lett yt be stranett throwe a lennet clothe & gyve yt heme luke warme at ons – iiiij or v spoonful thre or iiij tyms eurys thys drynke & he shalbe holl be gods grace for thys hayth bene pvyd for sartane
John Ford of Wad Grove, Thames.

They are then ben there in almost a part ther to a trustful quarter of me. All also is lett out to a warrant there a

Term of these to tye ther ut being in the

Warder at one. My oz. 4 sponsor full

thee or my trusty char tith 6s. 8d

be shalbe held. In good raye for

To make a man to pass

Take sent from th. Grist ther in 2 mo.

my way that ther 6s. 8d

Of tye Warder in 2 mo my tyme tis

gwill be held also take in me

stamp at 6s. 8d and unt I will take

a drinke ther off and the balance of

last

for my that gervance in

are seabe

The good man to make that II know it

knowe how the tye are made ther of

when he goeth to tye to the shalte.

for
Recipe 12  
To make a man to pesse

Take sentuarye & sethe ytt in runing wat' & let the syke drenke
ywer of luke warme  iiij or iiiij  tyme & he shalbe hole also take
moussere & stampe ytt & strane ytt with stall ale & drynke
ther of & he shalbe esed in haste

Recipe 13  
for on that spekythe in yar slepe

Take sothernwode & tempe het wyne & let the sike drynke
ther of when he goyth to bede & he shalbe saife
Take unto odour a sandle to the right of a yard length thereof to yerges and mount thereof to make it to be sol that gold.

To nude to set the discreet.

Take the flour of two bushels and half thereof to another bushel. Then well that thereof is so large that it is to much cloth the noble of a hundred.

To make a woman abc

To worship.

Take one steadfast yard of the length of the yard and half thereof to make a mount thereof to be white for the white of a font of a white.

Take a fourth part of the other cloth called a hundred the first half of the other cloth of small do these and make of those yard put all that to get the end familiarly laid into the gird and half of the end of such for.
Recipe 14  
ULLET for ene that ar gumye

Take erbe benett & honye & the whyt of a nege stampe them together anoint ther with the sore eyne when he goythe to bede & he shalbe holl

Recipe 15  
To make tethe whytt

Take the flour of rye salt & honye medll theme together & ther w' rube well thye tethe eche daye ij or iiij tymes & thaye wel be fayer & whyte

Recipe 16  
To make a woman fayer & whytt

Take freche larhogs grece & the whyt of a nege & a lytell pou'd of bayes & a noynt your fayes ther wythe

Recipe 17  
for a brousers or a Senoue Sprong

Take a gud quante of maddys other wyse calyd wormes the gret ye .... & a quantete of oyell de baye & as muche of bleue copos put all that together in a pankyn & set y^oue a pon the fyer & let theme sethe well together & theye well turn to a noyntment then take yt of the fyer & so hott as ye maye suffer het lay that plastr opone & het well helpe hem -
Well to gethe & than well enuz

to a mountune then take ye of
the fyre & so hot as we may
Coffe doth far that plait open
& got well helpe body

We adue jee god & borboth
the worldes matters & the worlds mem-
being to the large Sahscape for
the people do so me humorous
waste God & heavy thought
thet at adue by the song do
me to take the best From mor-
temptatelfe to the supper
beloved I to the God merke &
be the fountain of health
that shall benigne

To make a skiff in my devices

to doo it witwell bene high

To prud & no xtrange

The beak of God & may
put be asee be some of the firs
whoons & to all they well rogue
Recipe 18
Rise earlye // sue god devoutlye & the worlde besalye. do thy
demourlye. gyf thy answers soberlye go to thy mete apedtylye
seth ther at dyscretely. of thy tong be not to byse / & Ryes frome
mete Tempratylye // go to thy sopper soberlye & to thy bede meralye // & saye
thy prayers devoutlye // & aft’that slepe soundlye

Recipe 19
To mayke a plast for an oule sore to clene yt & to kell ded
fleshe & abaye proud fleshe – unguentum aposteleme
sors
Take verde grece & grende hem small & put venegar to heme
& clarifyd hunne & boyell them well together
17

for the cromps

Tubs a round shon & bind 2 1/2 2 pint made high 2 oz. made abo.

for to fasting the uses of the godbo

Tubs a good handful of yane plioe & a handful of biskibe or stempes to gether to thame a bixkile to saume that plaist & for the fore place & well gete & wane the godbo

for the stormes

Tubs a handful of mondert & bisk 2 1/2 2 pint made 4 lzone 1 quart to digent & when it be 3 1/2 cocke put in 4 1/2
Recipe 20  
ffor hem thet may not pysse

Take the poud' or the grene erbys of saxefryge & mousere & mell them together & put whyt wyne or stall ale & he shall be esyd by & bye

Recipe 21  
ffor the crampe

Take a noyll sken & bynd yt about youre legge or your arme or where your grue ys

Recipe 22  
ffor to destroye the ache of the goute

Take a gud handful of baye salte & a handful of unsot lekes stamp ym together to thaye be small & lye that plast' a pon the sore place & ytt well pyte a waye the ache a non

Recipe 23  
ffor the Stomike

Take ij handful of moderwort & boyle yt in fayre watr frome a quart to a pynt & when yt ys sode cokte put yer to ij onces of suger & take thys watr & put ther to ij spounfule of the jeuse of maloue & mekle theme together & dryinke yt ferst & laste
Catches gone, hence the voyage must be ended.

Todays account is perhaps a hundred and eighty francs of goods. But no more will be bought today. The expenses of the voyage must come to fourteen francs. The ship is at anchor, so it is not possible to travel.

The ship is not to be moved. The anchor is set.

Everything is ready for the voyage.

The voyage is to be continued on the following day.

The ship is not to be moved.
ffor the mooder the stone coleke & for the strangyur
sofferand medesen

Take home ferne esope mogewort reue of eche a handful and a handful of
whet bran a nounce of coming & a nounce of bayes a quantete or wormod
rose leues & yf ye maye have any rede ments iiij or iiij crops of rosemary take
& chope all these erbes as ye woulde worts & .... the baye & the comyn in a
mortar & put them all to gether into a posnet or into a frying pane & put ther
to a quantate of oyle oleffe & a quantate of malvasay & set yt upon the fyere
& stur yte & when yt ys very hote put yt into a bage of lynett clothe the capas
of your stomoke & laye hett to your stomoke so hotte as ye may soffer yt &
when yt ys coulde hete yt agayne w'a lytell malvesay us thys iiij or iiiij nights &
ye shall be holl for thys ys provyd
Take the stone of the Sable and honey and all them to gather and take it fast to make well the tetter and take my things that are well the witch fixes.
Recipe 25
ffor fylthe in mar or womans hede
Take the grese of an ele & the juse of sengreme of yche lyke moche & medel heme together then boyle them together a lytyll & put ij or iij drops leuke warme in to the ere of the seke & yt well klense klene -- provyd

Recipe 26
ffor grevans in ons ere
Take an unyon that ys calyt a whyt wyan take the juse of ytt & oyle auren of yche lyke moche & medl them together & put iij or iiij drop into hys eyr & do so iij or iiij tyms & he shalbe esyd thys ys provyd

Recipe 27
To make tethe white that be yelow & blake
Take the flour of rye salte & honey medell hem to gether there with fret & robe well thy tethe eche day ij or iij thrys thaye welbe whyt & fayre
Take the tree or the hill; the root of mankind or the people. Induce them small in a manner, as they do them in war or battle, in haste be manifest then.
Recipe 28  
ffor the stinking brethe

Take rede mints & reue of ether in lyke moche & wryng the jeuse in to the notherls of the seke at evyn when he goythe to bede & he shall be hopyn be gods grace for thys ys provyd

Recipe 29  
ffor hem that hayth ye parlous kowgh

Take a gud quante of sage & so mouche of reue coumen & poudr of pepp bett all thes together then put theme in hunny that ys fyn & clene & charesyd & make ther of a lectuarye & take ther of one spounfull at ons evyn & morne tyll ye be hole -- thys ys provyd

Recipe 30  
ffor the cowgh that ys kald the chen kowhe

Take the rote of horshell & the rots of comfray of yche lyke mouche stamp them small in a morter then sethe them in fayer wat’ tyll halve be wastyd then take the erbys & put clene clarifyd hunny e & make a lekteuarye & put yt in a box & let the seke use ther of v days or vj last at nyght & in the morning tyll he be hole
Take the yonce left out plent of your flax to the bale to prepare the of your span and at one of your pelves to be used and to have matter as not as the main past it a he stande gold

Take also a contrary and new feeble

And to prepare them is all to gather in a master e put the to our set as we will fret them to prepare and marke ther of a plait as notes as he may suffice to have it to have done e he shall be gote as good express
Recipe 31
ffor grevyng & aching in ons wome
Take the vyne leff & stampe yt wythe stal ale & gyeue to the seke to drynke ther of iij spoonfuls at ons & sethe peleoll & bynd yt to hys navil is hot as he may suffer yt & he shalbe hole

Recipe 32
ffor akyng in man or womans bake
Take ache & egremonye & mowsere & stampe theme all together in a morter & put ther to barhogs grease & a lytell asell & frye them together & maybe ther of a plast as hot as ye may soffer & laye ytt to hys bake & he shal be hole be gods grace
ffor one kynde of thevyse ye be disposed to Robe a house or a gardyng or ane other playse

that thevys in tham maye be bynd & nott to pass away fferst thoue shalt stond in ye mederst of yt ye wytt charme or bynde & have w ye any …vands of salloue & 4 nails of yorn & turn ye to the est & saye the salme of meserrere may devisedus & the lords prayer & after say santus ciricus deo chard & castus  ….
Recipe 34

In animalia singla custodia ma....s Suæ inclusa illos ac conservat +
Santum ergo círicum ti vocamus in adiutorium ut omnes hunc locum in
trantis latrones sive fures vel animalia que cumque nocivitia confundantur ut
firmiter ligantur et retiniantur ne exire valiant
In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Amen
+In bethelem iude ubi christus natus est ibi neque fur nec latrones animal
nocens in ventus erat nisi in animalibus exceptis ligatis / Sicut hec animalia
erant capta et ligata ac retenta et sicut voce christus erat captus ligatus et
retentus et sicut sanctus petrus erat captus et ligatus in vinculis et retentus Ita
omnes latrones illicite hunc locum intrantes sive nociva animalia stupefacti
retiniantur et in vinculis et compassibus impediantur et confundantur nec
exire valiant antequam voluero / nec nociant rebus creatoris potencia / and
then fastene strongly in every angle of the close one of the nayles saying thus.
Sicut hii clavi infixed immobiler stant Ita confusi ut periss capiantur omnes
illiciter intrantes sive quocumque nocentia et firmiter ligetur quousque omnes
dissoluere voluere And thane of the 4 wandis make 4 circlets or hoopes &
hang them upon every of ye 4 nayles & say o tu rex qui in austraces
dominaris / o tu rex qui in oriente dominaris / o tu rex qui in occidente
dominaris / o tu rex qui in septentrionalibus dominaris partibus/ o vos
fratres satellites & sorores/ Sator/ atripos/lachesis fortunam subuertite his in
fixifiant & sicut sigillatus est iste locus .7 horarum .7. puteorum inferni sic
omnes raptores sive latrones ac fur illicite hunc locum in trantes sive mala
quecumque animalia circumferencia in trantes confundatis in compassibus in
visibiler & immobiler ligetis quia illa .7. nomina per illum qui creavit celam
& terram mare et omniaque in eis est ut quamdiu hii circuli pendent exire non
valiant
Allso say 3 times ad iuva nos & perficiat in circum dei / and wyles thou
workest this uxperiment say .3. cre. 3. pater. 3 aves
Take the first of each side and put it aside after drying. If still muddy, place it in water. Then put the two in the case for some time to open the case above the half well open.

To commence the first step, take the first sheet and fold it. Then place it in a bundle and then make it crispy. The final step is to make it crisp.
Recipe 35

To open loks

'Take the rots of vyolette & put ytt under an alt' ix days & after wards saye ye pat' noust' & then put the erbs in the mouthe & when theme left to open the loks bloue & ye loke well opene

Recipe 36

To conjure the farys

'Take consacrett russys & mayke a serkell of yan vnd' a nelde tre at hye none daye wherye on sunne duthe shyne & call' shogernut 3 tyms & she shall rase before the & the fore sayd serkle & theme shalte se a herb' spryng before the & kepe in ye serkle & theme shall take nothing nothing salong as you hays ye erbe....
Worms for Worms in the Worms.

Take some custard and a spice to make the hot Worms madder. Use to best prevent and make them soft. The Worms should be fresh. Very good for others.

Taste some mustard to see if the Worms change. I got a mark that it was a plaster to be used only as a base. Mustard and honey had some effect.

Take some custard and some

And then to make them go

Until the last mixture was made.

B2 007
Recipe 37
worms
ffor wormes in the wombe
Take nepe & stampe y’ & temp et wythe hot wyne malvesye ys ye best & drynke yt when thou felyst the worms greue the & thaye shall dye.

Recipe 38
ballox
ffor Swellyng ballox
Take poud’ of coming & barley foure & honey frye theme together & maybe there of a plast & bynd yt about hys codys luke warme & ytt well helpe heme.

Recipe 39
laske
ffor a lax a sofferand remedy
Take baye levys & brene to poud’ bruc them & strane them w’ stall alle or wythe malvesey hott or w’capons brothe warme & ytt well make hem lax – provyd
for the first time in the s

The waters sumpes e ead wintes

to go to Whiny Hume as in yoke
de at ye plase e hynes e of frest e

beate hanume

for newme in the bonde s

for to full stude

This takes a handfull of pliske hoope

dr in the of Eengere and telle the sals
of hem e sent to hem halft a small
of water free him to geteth e part
to hem espresse about as a gest he fell
not e a hornet proves toland to e a

water e if we put on a pond of

globot in as the salt

sentent for the fundament that

sweat 1502

This 202 month e beyn e s small in

a must then put thee to dynamckes

do nite bost e bye a hand i part

that or them of thine the hope to dandle

as of hurch of hand shows the caed
to the fundament as hot at he may

suffer it was that in ye my terms

This a mucke tooke as a true intende

in models of myr sado grumee
Recipe 40  for the Rume in the hede

Take lycorys gynger & red mynte boil heme in whyt wyne or in gud ale ye ys stale & drynke ye ys of fyrst & last Luke warm

Recipe 41  for worms in the hands & to hell skabs

Take halve a handful of wylde tansay as moche of sengrene take the Juse of hem & put hem halue a saserfull of veneger steer hym together & put to hem as muche alom as a gret hasell nott & anoint your hands to bed warrt & yff ye put on a peir of gloves yt ys the better.

Recipe 42  for the fundament that goyth out

Take rede ments & bray yt small in a mast then put ther to a quantete of wyne & let yt sethe a waye ij part ther of then gyffe the seke to drynke ye or of warme & laye & laye the erbs to the fundament as hot as he may suffer yt uys thys iij or iij tyms

Recipe 43  for the ffevers

Take as moche tryacle as a bene iij tyms so mouche of claryfyde hunaye iij spoonful of fine veneger & medle them together & geue to ye Seke to drynk when he be most grevyd & do thys bott ons & yt ye menester any more lett ytt be iij days be twex
38
ffor brasur or bons brokyn or senoue sponde

Take a pese of an oke that ys one yers grouthe the lenthe of ij
or iij foote & brene the sayd pese of the oke to a cole & bet yt
to a poudr & lett ytt be fine serchyt then take pemacete & put
in lyke moche of both & put in to stall ale or hot malvasey &
let the Seke dreyne ther of iiij or v days & he shalbe hell
wythe gods grace - provyd

ffor dyses in mar or woman hede that hurts hys syght

Take a gud quantite of fenycereke & sethe yt in mylke tyll yt be thyke as
frumate then take & laye ytt on a fayre clothe clene lene & lay that plast to
the nape of your nece as hot as he maye soffer & so let yt lye all a nyght & ye
shall fynd gret ese - proved

ffor fretting or gurgling in ons stomake

Take red ments Reue camamyle wormeuade cut heme & sethe hem in dl a
pynt of malvesey & them put hem in a bagge & all hote lay hem unto the
stomake of the seke pson & be the grace of god he shalbe hele shortly aft'
Recipe 47

The vertue of erbys

Borsa pastorys well staunche blode also he helyt a cut
The verteu of horpyne is yeff he be layd to a wound he well hell hem hys
selve w' out any other erbe Epocras sayth so

Recipe 48

To make a man laske

Take alom & lat yt be mayd of the shape of a almond & also long & put yt in
your mouthe & smuge yt & wet yt in salt & put yt in your fundament & ytt
well caus ye to have a gud sege

Recipe 49

Another for the same

Take mylke & skalde yt & let yt stand to yt be very could & put therto ij or iiiij
sponfull of veneg that ys not to tart & drynk yt luke warme & yt well caus to
have a laske a none

Recipe 50

the vertue of woodbynde

Woodbynd be gud to hele cankers wounds or bledders akyng tethe & sore in a
mans tongs or any dysese in mans mouthe the jus or the water deste
Take six acres of land in a master to
sow it in good soil and with the
best possible sense of the place that
wet do and the shall be well...

Take noon and a mound of land
then make a plot of wood and
lay a stone in the plot to
make the mouth of the pulse close and
in adding shall see that it not get
and stand there anyone other
take it up to the soil just stand off
throw a clothes to the other that amount
the place that wet do and the shall have

The master's name is written in the
margin, and the date is also written in
the margin.
Recipe 51 for the pestelence

Take iij or iiiij fygs & kute theme in tuane & laye them in veneger & evry morning next yor hart take one or halve on & ye shalbe sayff for that daye be gods grace

Recipe 52 for the gout

Take bors greece & betyt in a morter & sethe yt in a gud stall ale & strane yt thrue a clothe & anoynte the place that nedys & he shall be holl … provyd

Recipe 53 for the same & all other aches

Take wormuod & stampe yt in a morter then take a quante of ould oyell olef aft your dystyssyon & put ther to the take a ston pot & put yt in the aforsayd yw stope the mouthe of the pott close & set yt in a doung hell for that ys very hot & let hem stand ther ix days & then take yt up & boyell ytt & strane ytt thrue a clothe & wythe that anoynyt the place that ys sore & he shall hame Ramade ---------------Provyd

Recipe 54 for man woman or child that ys bourned or be burnyed ryf out a boche

Take egermone & stamp yt & geue the seke to drynke with stalle ale & …. shall be hooll --------------- Provyd
Take a gallon full of wormwood in a hand full of aloes and a hand full of grains of saffron and two lemons and a good quantity of berries of red currant and put all that in to 8 strong gallons of wine then to a quart full of spiced wine.

For the wine:

Take a quantity of pease and boil it and put the resulting wine in a bottle.

This is a job of utmost care and should be done carefully to ensure it works as intended for a major purpose.

The wine must be of good quality and should be accompanied by the proper tools and equipment.
Recipe 55
Ffarye

A meddysen for the farye

Take a handful of wormwood a …. of fether foye a handful of alhous a…. of tansaye a handful of rede …. & a gud quantite of baye salt & put all this into a frying pane & put ther to a quantite of asell or of …. verjus & let theme frye well together tell ytt be very thyke then put ytt into a bage of lene clothe & laye yt to the stomoke or to any other …. wher ytt nedythe

Recipe 56
crampe

ffor the crampe

Take a quantite of pereuenkyll & brus yt & put ther to a lytell poud of bremston & put yt in a len clothe & laye yt to the lege or arme wher the crampe grevythe the & yt wyll a voyede

Recipe 57
in ye hed

a gud oyent ment for the vamate in the hede

Take y' jos of walnout salt & hony & wax & cusence & boyell heme together on the fyer & ther wythe a noynt thye hede & temples
To make on to sleep.

Take resp of the parent's care
Give them to drink and tank them to
take
For transport of the bede a well
came to pay them to sleep.

Take the best length of a covered stuart
All hard to be spent of the bede cost well
Take a time to furnish (it do well a
année départis) in Vernon we will
put to the loft side.

fors
A more for the same.
All the bede a mostly in the order
of lines is so far well a capital and not
furnish the the payment a can't the pittance
to sleep.

Another for the same
Here the King of the House Full report in
Vernon a large not to the God first word.
Dune further the matter of the build.

fors
For the following shall
the 3 days off a tale a trouble
If another get a marriage get a marriage
Recipe 58
a medesend for a nagoue pvyd
Take wormewode & sothernwode a quantete of blake sope & the whyete of iij or iij eygs & pound tham all together & make a plast of & laye yt to the solys of hys fete iij nyeghtys & he shalbe holle
Recipe 59
To make on to sleepe
Take the wax of the pacients eare & giue hem to drynk causyd hem to sleepe

Recipe 60
for fransay of the hede & well caus te paschent to slepe
Take the hotte slichts of a goott and chapytt all hoott to ye pacyents hede & yt well take awao to franesy & so well a spunge dippitt in warme wine & put yt to the left side

Recipe 61
a nother for the same
Iff the hede anoynntyd wythe oyle of roses & dogfanell & castorem ytt suagythe the payns & causyth the pashynt to sleepe

Recipe 62
a nother for the Sayme
Laye the rote of nepe riaill boyld in wyne & lay ytt to the hed & ytt wyll drane further the mater of the madness & yt hayth ben provyd

Recipe 63
for the falling evell
Take ye blode of a bake & drynk ytt w' wyne & yt takythe yt a waye
A table concerning text method used by physicians to commence use of the interpretation of the names of the compounds mentioned here contains all the quantities that ought to be resolved.

The last of all weighty common used among physicians

50, 4, 3, 2, 1, 1, 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/8, 1/16, 1/32, 1/64, 1/128, 1/256, 1/512, 1/1024, 1/2048, 1/4096, 1/8192, 1/16384, 1/32768, 1/65536, 1/131072, 1/262144, 1/524288, 1/1048576

If the weight is

and also

a 1 stone

a 2 quarter

a 3 quarter

a 4 quarter

a 5 quarter

a 6 quarter

a 7 quarter

a 8 quarter

a 9 quarter

a 10 quarter
Recipe 64

A table concerning ye weighths & mesure wyche physeyons do comonlye use & the interpretation of the names of the compound medicens here containet with the quantyte & tyme that ye ought to be resavyd.

The last & first of all weighths commonly used among phescyons ------ ys a berlye corn /& xx corns makyth a scruple //iij / scruplys make a drachem viij / drachems makyth an ounce // xij ounces makyth a pound // a quarter of a pound ys iiiij ounces.

a be thes notys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a corn</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a scruple</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a drachem</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a nounce</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a pound</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a quarter</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a quarter</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a handful</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
or All com@one in the me, may go
gather them, the body
or lay to the Judge, and the out
or than Whose be disposed, and in
the bodie be the e.

Electracing e in confecing defce in
this alone 7 volt/ electranice as mort
it may be made to home.

A confecing 8 made twice o: no 8
the cause time to for done that we no
explain some or major for the flameing
of the furn.

A eoptum 85 When the stc/b electranice
or confecing/ be incert in other 8
85 a thousand and 7 bor to fase a molt.

A dregal 85 When some powder be
and mounted to gather it fagc t they be
be confecing, 8 and one my the sup of
strong eynce.

A com and coudt be very dicate
prepared to incert 8 in every 8 the
commonplace that may a light off e
deben of I will next.
Recipe 65

All compounde medecynce be eyther Resanyd wythem the body or layd to the Bodye wythe out thay wyche be Resanyd wythe in the body be thes

Electuarium & confection  deffer in thys alone/ yett / electurins be moyst & mayd / w/ / sugre & honne / / & confections ys mayd drye / only w/ suggre & be caus taye befor dynre ther be no sertan tyme or mesur for the Recanyng of the sayme

Mextura ys when diverse electuarys or confections be mexyt together & be Rasanytt iij hours before mett

Dragea ys when diverse pouders be mengled to gether with sugre & thay be resanyd / a at ons wythe sups of strong wyne

Conserva & conditn be wen divers spyces be mext w/ s* serup & be commonly resanyd erly & laytt after the begnes of a walnott

Loche ys a medicine wiche may be leked wythe tong & may be resanyd at altyms in the quantite of a hazel nott

Juleb ys a cler potion mayd of divers waters & sugre

Rob ys a ioyce mayd hard & thyke w/ the het of y sone or of the fire & be commonly mexytt w/ electuarys & conserves

Decoction ys a medicine mayd of rots leaues seads & flours

Pelles be knowyn to allmen & ought to be resanyd . ii or / thre ewrs att supper the quantite of

Masticatorn ys a confection wyche be holde in the mouthe & eleuyd to purge the hed of fleme
Recipe 66

Compounds for outward part

Unguent: an ointment ys mayd of oyles spices & wax/ aught hot to be a plyed to ye place / being be for rubyt w/a len clothe

Conforbatines
sage// Reue// margrem // Betane Pione // Senti

Semples
Camomyl pulyoll calamynt

Hott medecins to confort the hart

Cubebes muske & ffenell
To get rid of worms:

Let the baying out of the bowels and put a small stone to the stone. They take a sound meal of bread and a large piece of butter. Take the foot out and put it well into the stone to fray the worms.
Recipe 67
ringworme

To do away a Ryng worne

Let the brekyng out of yr ryngworme be washett wythe the stronge wenegre &
then take ashy mayd of woodbye & laye ther on but tak the rott to make
poud' & with out dout yt well hele the skabe & sleye the ryng worm

Recipe 68
Ryngworne

A nother for the sayme

'Take a lyne clothe & bren ytt on the…bodn of a sausser or a potynger & take
the oyle ther of & anoyn the sore & ytt well mayke hool pba
To God and to the Queen, to whom it may concern,

the day of the week according to the calendar, being forty days after the feast of Christmas, may it please you to grant

that your servants, Richard, John, and William, may have the use of all the lands and goods in all the town of the same to use.

In the name of God, Amen.

The records of the town of

In the month of February, the 10th day, the patricians of this town, at will, at the request of the said Richard, John, and William, may have the use of all the lands and goods in all the town of the same to use.

In the month of March, the 15th day, the said Richard, John, and William, may have the use of all the lands and goods in all the town of the same to use.
In the months of: [Illegible]

...
bled not at all. 12 bars of s 6 bezo
 pared to s the 12. 1 a 7. 4. 2 14 in that
 right time at 16 and to keep from
 women 2. 1 vi. the them 7. 1

In the month of August
in thee true world of the best order 12 12.
not as hot 4 and 12 cold. 12 at 12 12, 12
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Recipe 69

ffor lettyng of blode

Her... ys we a gud reuyll to teche a man / what tyme of ye yer hyt yr
gud for to let blode .... what dayes be pilus for to let blode & wettt mets
& drinks be gud for to use & for to leve in all the mons of the yere & to
use & to leve

In the maenyng of Januireue

Whyt wyne ys holsum for to drynke fasting & blode letting // for bere apon
althyngs – vij days that ben ryght parlous for to blede the fyrst / ye / ij / ye /
ij / ye - iiiij – ye – vij ye x ye xvj & ye xix & malleus et yeue nott
In the monthe of feuyll use hott mets but potage of hockx or malous ete you
non for then thaye be wene on the hed on the w uayne on ye wom let the
blod ther ys ij parolos days to blede the – vj & ye vij

In the monthe of marche //

Usye fyggs & rasuns & other suet mets & drynks Lett no blode in that
month but on oon daye ye ye ye vij daye & ye vij blode on ye vayne on ye
ryght arme for all maner of fevers yt ys gud

In the monthe of Aperell

Hyt ys goad to blede for who so letthyth hem blode on ye – iiij d – daye he
shall ye yer heue no akyng in hys hede & on the – xj – day let blode on the
left arm & all ye yere he shall not loos hys syeght // & in that mounte use hot
mets & that ys gud

In the month of maye

Aryse eirly & erly ete hott mets & drynks / the / hed / nather the fete ette ye
non of no maner of bestys iiiij days be pleus to let blode that ys ye vij xv ye
xvj & ye – xx but lett the blode on the v or on iiiij & in the end of maye on
whether arme thue welt & ytt well defend the for all maner of dysses

In the monthe of June

Yf ye be an oulde man or lyke drynk agud draught of wat fastyng & eytt the
mete in mesur -- & / et – sage & lettuse except yt be for gret nede bled not
& on the -- vij daye yt ys perlous

For the monthe of July

Bled not at all – ij d ye ye ye ye vij dayes ye ye parolos to bled ye xv & xix & in that tyme
yt ys gud to kep hem from woman for then the bran gatheryth hys hemmers

In the monthe of auguste

in thys tyme worts or hoks or malos ys not gud for .... of hott mets &
drynks use thowe none ij parolos days ther ys to let blode that ys the xix
& the xx

In the monthe of September
All frut that tyme ys gud to use & blede yt ys gud to let for whoso lettythe heme blode xvij days of ye dropsye nor of ye franse nor of the palsye nor of ye goutt nor of the fallyng evyll for all that yere he shall not doute

In the monthe of octobere
In that mvnthe wine ys gud to use & for nede to let blode on day ys polus & that ys the – xv daye

In the monthe of novembre
Loke that theme in no bathe for than ys the blode gaderyde hyt ys gud that the heuyd vaynes be garsyde to a voyed & have echeve & ventosyd for then all the hemmers prekethe & quyke – ij days be perlous to let blode the – xv & the xix
the month of

ike that thou in it shall for the
and that the heuond man besea
for the all the hounds profeethe.
the -ht of the fire

in the month of

howe hot met the world slop
be rode besed letitish wolmy
be rode hot that the in-dow et
be rode that of the -hvand e
the -wp dow e the -wp Dow eho
be rode hot that I should be the gear
of God he may be sum of holys of

A medlen for all doles f
in the allowe

And long Panel a hundred thou-
all is houe ed in the huer
strum them e of the fale to

62
Recipe 69

In the monthe of dissembre

heus hot mets & coll worts ysope & for bere blode lettyng thou myghtys for
ned bott ther be iij – days that be polus that y the – xv day & the xvi daye &
the xvii daye & who so wyll uys thys reyll be grace of god he may be seur of
helthe of bodye
Recipe 70

A medysen ffor all evelys in the stomoke

Take lovage sed & lynesed & comyn of all in lyke muche & stamp yww & strayne them & gyffe the seke to drynke wythe hott watr
The bodie of man is so
exposed to certain hazards that it is
wise to take precautions to avoid
such dangers. In the case of the
exploding gunpowder, the
precautionary measures
include the use of
protection and
safety equipment.

The explosion of the gunpowder
could result in severe injuries and
deaths if not handled
properly. It is crucial to
understand the
composition and
properties of the
gunpowder to ensure
safety and
prevention of
accidents.
The nature of man's body & the humors which be in nature & have that be devydyld

The body of man is compact of four humors that is to say blood, phleume, color & melancholy which humors are called sons of the Elements because they are composed like the four planets for like as the air is hot & moist so be the body hot & moist as fire is hot & drye so is color hot & drye & as water is cold & moist so is phleume cold & moist & as the earth is cold & dry so be melancholy cold & dry. Whereby it appears that there are nine complexions where of three are simple that is to say hot, cold, wet & dry. Whereby it appears that there are nine complexions where of three are made of the composition of the air & of blood hot & drye which is the complexion of the fire & of color cold & moist which is the complexion of the water & of phleume & cold & dry which is the complexion of the earth & of melancholy. The ninth complexion is temporary neither hot nor cold nor wet nor dry which is a thing very seldom seen among men after the phisicion the said three humors governeth & reigneth over in his plane & induceth to be of the of the complexion following.
The explosion of the cannonball full of gunpowder is a fiery explosion of the said cannonball's contents, causing a violent explosion and destruction of the cannonball and the materials around it. The explosion is described as a loud and terrifying sound, followed by a burst of fire and smoke. The effect is so powerful that it can be heard from a great distance and can cause damage to structures and objects nearby. The explosion is also noted to be accompanied by a flash of light and a strong smell of smoke and burning gunpowder. The explosion of the cannonball is a dangerous and powerful event, which requires proper handling and precautions to prevent accidents.
The expiration of the melancholy.

Sedition must proceed, fearful

From among his enemies, obdist,

Rules of aided contours.

Here be the sense wherein wise of

The eddies are compounded, except

one of them hath a special demon,

In respect of all the other according

to the age that it to came from

Among nativall sent he on to

The only the most power

From that time to the raise

Of the age. Every carneth the

Choice for them carneth, both

to the raising the choice began

With to use it be strong,

Then with my beloved to bring

Geth the melancholy an hired

Could repair so timely his

Inance till fifty or so there about

At for the time all the hundreds

Of the side to search to discern

Then all Hell the hotel in Hell

To amongst all filled

Then filled with olde age out

With the wise age proceeding

With the principal four elements.
Recipe 72

The complexion of the fleatyke

Well furmyt ye est part

Pleme enclyneth a man to be dull of understanding full of spettle full of coler.

sang guane

The complexion of the sanguine // full of flyshe // librall // amyable / blode causydth one to be curtes & mere bolde lecherus of red colour.

coler ek

The complexion of the coloryke // hasty invyus covytus coler causeth a man to be creuell a watchar pdygall lene & of yalowe coulore.

malan colye

The complexion of the melancholye / solitary / soft // sprakyd // fearfull // heuye / curious // envyus covytus // Blake of colore

Thes be the foure hemmers wher of the bodys are compoundyd & every one of them hath a speciall domonyon in respect of all the other acording to the age // that ys to Saye from a mans naturall tell he come to xxv yers // the blode haythe most power & from that tyme to the year of hys age xxxv ragneth // the choler / for then cometh hete to the vaynes & the choler begynyth to ryse & be strong ---

Then comyth myddelage / & bryngeth forthe // melancholye an hemmer coulde & drye // & hayth hys indurance tyll // fyfte yers or ther about ay wiche tyme all the humers of the bode begenyth to dimenys & the naturall hett by lytel & lytell duthe abayte & then succedyth oldage onto deth in the wiche age phlegm hayth the prencipall poure & domenyon wherfore yt shallbe nesserye for all that be of that age to comford thayr bodys wyth some naturall // heate & metys of gud / nurysyng as yolke of / egges / poched & / gud wyne / & all suche thyngs /as engender gud blode / & sprites wherof we do intend be the suffrance of god to declare more abundantly herafter.
When one set shall be necessary for all that be of this age to end all those beds, north some will be all swept and mopped and no pools off cores or floor or cotes and lowes, all such things to end and order well in order to set any thing to use and the squire of gods to be more abundant than the rest. 

To make a plaster to the tube

The next order which a great part of a pound of podds bids the manner of white bread with a hundred of white loaves and will all those to go yet will many more than forty and in order so that to make the plaster will to and we were all than take out of the first step or feel tell on us could one off hall and I put plaster that off for all kinds of abrais of could pant.  

70
Recipe 73
plastr

To make a plast celytt the Blake plast

Take oyle olefe a quart & halve a pound of rede lede & so moche of whyte leyde & halve a nounce of mastyke boyell all thes together tyll ye wax theke / with an esey fyer & se that ye stere ytt varye well or elys ye mar all & then take yt of ye fyer & steryt stell tell yt be coulde and ye shall have a soffrand plast ther of for all kynde of akyng of oulde sorys & others
Recipe 74
a Soffrand gud medysan yf a man do a voyde whyt natur at his yarde ther with comyth from ye Ranis of the bake & makyth the heme verye seke & faynt & in muche payne wythe all
not
Take knot greste/bussa pastorys/& the mary that ys in a bullys schane / bake / & boyell all thes to gether in whyet wyne then strane yt throuhe a clene clothe / put ytt in a glas or in a clene vessell & stop ytt close & lett the pacyent drynke ther of at evyne & morne & he shalbe hole

Recipe 75
A medysen for a agoue
Take bursa pastorys & southeren wode & baye salt & the whyett of an ayge & pun them all together & make a plast' ther of and laye to the solys of hes fayte & he shalbe hoole
After be not abundance of certitude but science of monte y monte theart i consenti certitude femine he set ye and to take peace of certitude 20 of peace of peace of abodi to in fine certitude with ye neath pey 2 certitud eignage / then monte he provs as se 20 parde 20 e take a purgation as ye indiced for the sede point that stone of ede

But ye to be notitt that for such descents of the somde ye must ente and certitude plait nor daque nothe in ye that medepart it selfe ye should should augments e
could

But ye to be acurity it sumake in the could ande ad of 90 ye a or 90 ye a like ye ned tine yplait make ye of sede false c

for the absnor of might
Another for the same

take wabryd levys w'y Routys & all & smalayge hunne & fayer runyng wattr & sethe them throuhe a fayre clothe & gyeve the paciant to drinke hot in ye evnyng & coulde in the mornyng & he shalbe hoole

for the het in the stomake

In suche debelitye yf ther be gret quantite of spittle & muche dissier to voment y't ys gud to take.x.drams of hiera picra with towre or thre onces of wat'of wormwod & after your meats use coriand' sede ppat & bewar ye drynke not aft' nor slepe in y'daye tyme --marebolanus condite are very gud for the same purpose to be gevyn once in the weke at iiij of the cloke in the mornyng half an ounce or a hole once evytyme & take away the stone that is within If in the sayd debelatie of stomake of hote causes ther be not abundance of spittele but drines of mouthe wythe thrist & vommenyng stynkyng & femyshe yt ys gud serope of sorrell or of rossys or serope of quansys with due succora wat'or wat'soddyn & coulyd agane // & then drynke heira picra as a for ys sayd or take a purgacion that emys of colore that ys to be notytt that for suche debelite of the stomoke ye maye not euse anie cerose plast nor bage where in ys hot medesens lest ye schulde schould de augment ye cause but yt ys gud to anoyent ye stomake wythe coulde oyle as ye oyle of rosis & quansys & if ye well have a plast or make yt of red rosys & sanders
Now for the fete that was shoot.

Take close watching and then ending a and before of else when there be time to put there to a toast. Gangways are made and an army in the right. Vines are sung to else by the still and a drink at morne.

Shoe 8. 1 a.m.

Take on hand full of ammunition on of men of men of musketeers. On all they in large water and men free out to the pastures and houses.

Not to make such a toll all wounded be put and ordered. punishable at tent times. Take suitably many on to make as they be mutable to keep them. In the weather make a second to the field that be wounded to deke by or in times on the same told he be told.
**Recipe 78**

*a feur*

ffor the fevr that ys hoott

'Take clere runyng wat' & endive & y'beris of elde' when thay be Rype & put ther to a lytyll Sengrene & strane them & drynke them wythe whyte wyne & seugre or elys wyth stall all & drynke ytt morne & evyne

**Recipe 79**

*a glestr*

'Take . on. handfull camamyle & on of violets . on. Of mallous . on . of . salte . on . of whytt brane . & sethe all thes in fayer wat' & menesteryt to the paschyent . bloud warme

**Recipe 80**

*ffor to mayke a drynke to hell all wounds with out any plaster oynment or tent pfytly*

'Take sanycle melfoly & bugle & stampe them in a mortar & temp them wythe whytt wyne & geue to the seke that y's wounded to drenk ij or iij tyme on the daye tell he be hole
To mark a place to set on the door.

Take a piece of one cloth and the small fragment of the wall cloth, the second hazard small and put them m to the one and thread them together then put in 32o to one. Need to use a pound weight. Place the canvas canvas and 4 10 oz and 1 oz them well about well of wax binds them in a bundle W & I there & pay & divide it but they could so we shall break when put in & how they take them off the first & fast then well & all go the cold then put them in & bags & when we hand made another & further Part.

For Milan & the stars 102 printing & oz waxing & to 320s & 1 oz & buying 2 in 3.

Also went 1200 canvas full of
Recipe 81
plastos

To make a plaster to helde oulde soors

Take a pynt of oyle oleff & the small fyrne of the wall & cut the fyerne vare small & put hem into the oyle & boyell them together then put in yer to on - jdi rede lede & so moche whytt lede camfeur – iiiij djij borrys iiiij djij & ster theme well about whell yt wax blake then laye a lytell w' a sklyce apon a borde & lat hen coull & so ye shall know when yt yr wel then take hem of the fyer & ster hem well untell he be cold then put hem in a box & when ye have nede occupy yt

Recipe 82
for ferment hot

ffor synewes drawyn bake stark or knottyng to or waxing to short & for boulving in ye neke

Take wart cresses camemyll of yche an handfull & grend them small & frye them wyth whetmeyll & honye like a poultas & so hot as ye may suffer lay yt to a pon a leyn clothe on the soor plays & change ytt twys on the day with thos plaster' have I done marveluslye in suche causes
...
Recipe 83

A medycyne for ye hot agoue w' out any shakynng

Take a quart of mylke & the whyts of iij eggs & put in y' same mylke then take a quart of ale & set yt upon y' fyere to yt sethe then skim yt clene then take ij handfull of sorrell & dandelyon & bett yt in a vessell & strane yt in to the ale playing opon the fyere // then put in the mylke & yt welbe a possett then put all the holl substans in to a straner & that y' goyeth throue y' straw of the onyn voluntary well saue yt & geue yt to y' pachynt to drynke & he shalbe hooll be godys grace // pbatn

Recipe 84

ffor the quence

Take crums of soure browne brede y' poud of clovs a quantete of Red rosys drye & boyell them in mylke tyll ytt be thyke & then make a plastr a pon a fayer clene cloth & laye it to the soore so hoote as ye may suffer yt // & do yt ij or iij tyms tyll yt be vanyshed away
If they make a plaster di floe and put some cloth on top to the base support of the main plaster set up to dry. Then add the plaster of Paris and mix it thoroughly. After a good kneading, look it over. Here is a mixture:

Take half a pound of good plaster of Paris and mix it well with a mixture of two parts of strong plaster. Stir it well. Then using a cloth, cover it with a cloth, and place it in a cool place. After a good kneading:

Take a plaster for dressing:

Take two and a half pounds of dry plaster and mix it with two and a half pounds of dry plaster. Stir it well. Then use this mixture on the plaster. Make sure to mix it well. After the mixture is ready, apply it on the plaster.
ffor the ageue hote or colde takyng evry day or evry other daye
a suer medesen

Take halfe a pynt of gud all & put yer to a sponfull of tryacle of jam & meldell
bothe to gether & then strayne yt thoue a clothe //then take – xxx pepcsorns
bet them small to fyne poudr & put that poud to ye ayll & ster yt well &
warm yt & dryneke yer of when the fet …. & walke a lyttel after & then lye ye
doune a pon a beyd & cowr yow warme & do thys iiij tyms & yt well leve
youe

Recipe 86
broso

A plaster for brousing

Take cofraye rotys & dasyes of eche half a pound canamyll melelot of yche iij
vnce saforon half a dram bene floure iiiij vnce fryche butr v ounce
uenekreke flours j ounce & half wormeod & cumyng sede of yche an ounce
sethe your rotys in water tell thaye be soft then pound them small & wt your
stouf incorporad make a plast th of & laye yt to yer sore forthe wythe
B5 003

Wormwood is outing side off these
and Geys' Robe against no
winds tell them to be soft then pole
them small & it under stroke in copper
and make a plant then off & lies under
so for this many
I differ and medicine for the for
thought to the lord merci

ake process with stone process quires
Tyrone, Spin, don, 50- f 5. made right
sore to my room. Thought 2 think
like to others in same poses
be glad. Then be glad of
conning to every of dessimot to put
all this to use. As marks a plant of
this not to made 2 3.
Age for help for the house 1

Take a nonius made of 2 kinds
of thCreed & broad are in
a kiss sold to trade and set to set
in the hand above the piece of a kit
of a robe or they take it wide set
in almen cloth is home set to th

85
Recipe 87  
gout

A soffrand medesen for the gout  
taught to the lord marcus dorset

Take peeste . ij . l . stone pyche . j . qrt rosen . djl . cloves . j qrt macs . j . qrt safferone . xij . penywyeght & beyt all thes together in fyne poud serche ywyn then take ijl of vgen wax & djl of deresenet & put all thes to gether & mayke a plast of & laye ytt to your gref

Recipe 88  
ache

For ache in the bake or in the hepe

Take a poultas mayd of veng of rossys & browne brede ye botom of a loffe rostyd brone & let yt stepe in the sayd veng the space of a qrt of a novere & then tak & wrapyt in a lenet clothe & lay yt to the sore the space of ij hourys & then take yt a waye & take this oytment folowyng
Take a catt gelt or spayd & make yt rede to the broche & stop her w blake snals // mayd clene after this maner // preke them w a nall & cast them in a tubfull of nettels tell thaye be clensed of yar fleme & stuf ye cat yar with & rost her well & sauf the drepyns ther of & with ye same a noyent the pacient & evry day the space of ix dayes hec doctor laughm mt cetos valde neq
Recipe 89
Swellyng hott

a plast' to hell all swellyng & ulcers of legs yt comyth of
mellanancoly ewmers or het causys w'out breken of skene

Take jli of oyle olef y' eld'r y' bet' half a pound of wax & smwhat more
vnocupyd befor take half' jl of whyt lede small grounde on a morter stone &
bovell all thes together in a pan on a soft fyere tyll yt be as blake as pyche &
ster yt with a brad sklye of wode to knoue whan yt ys boylde ynought
take a pece of lenet clothe & dep into the plast' & yff yt be pftyt blake yt ys
boyle enoughe or els not & yf ye well occupye yt forthwyth dype a lennyng
clothe in yt as muche as well go about the sore & swellyng of the same & laye
yt on & let yt ly xij dayes then take yt of & clense yt w' a lene clothe & hott
yt agayne the fyer well yt smoke & yw laye yt a brode & stryke yt w' your
hand & make yt smothe & laye ytt on a gayne on the other syde & after ye
maner contenue w' on plaster ye space of fortmyght after ye on syde & then
the other & after that maybe the holl ingredence hot agayne & deppe on the
pone tell yt well drope no more & then laye yt abrode & smouthe yt wyth
your hand & yf ned be laye yt on a gayne to the soore
a pan and set it over till it be as
flaky as possible and sweat it a little
place of hence to be made in it and
should withstand take a piece of hank
draper to the platelet or to it
set the draper to the pan it
or else not if you will compend it for the
it may be a common clothes in it as
andes as well so a tart is taste (smell)
now of the same hank put on it hot
let it be dry and then call it to
a change to a hank clothes and shall
a change the first month it make [me]
then put it in a good store and put
on a graining on the other side cast
make another to on paper stroke of
 afterwards if in
the sauce cast that make the hall or
convenient hot a graining and the other
cast than on it hot or deeps in
the pan tell by well dresser and more
then lay into a hots and screen of
with rode sound (connected large put on
a graining to the paste).
Recipe 90

An other for ache or for legges

Take a pynt of oyle olyfe djlj of red lede a sponfull of brockes grece & of blake sope as mych as on hasyll not & yf ther be ane dede fleshe ther in take some of the sayd salve & put venegar ther to & make a plast & laye to the sore & laye the ser clothe a pone and do as ys a for sayd in the other serclothe

Recipe 91
grene wound

To hell a wound newe cut & close pft lye senews

Take the rede worms y' ye in ye erthe & mayke them clrene & stamp theme small & laye theme on y' ye wounde & that well hele yt anon & clouse yt fayre & knet the senous yf ther be any cutt

Recipe 92

a tryakell o dystroye all maner of poysyn

Take iiiij handfull of poud of beten as mouch of poud of sentuarye ij ounce of powder of reue mell yam well together w' clarefyd hony tyll yt be thyke as tryacle & put yt in a box or a glase & et yt of eche daye in the mornynge y' quantete of on bene & thoue shald not be poysynet & yff thoue be poysonyt yt well kast yt up agane & voyde yt clene --pbate est
The image contains a page of text, but the content is not legible due to the handwriting style and quality of the image. It appears to be a historical or archaic document, possibly a record or a letter, written in a script that is not clearly visible. The page number is 92, with the text beginning with the word "the."
ffor heryng a sourayne medysen

Take the gresse off a kynde fatt ele when yt ys festyt then take - ij gret unyons & cut of the topps of theme evyn & take out the pythe in y' meddl & set them on the hot ciners fellyd w' the for sayd drepyngs & covr them agayne & lat theme stande in the hot cinders iiij ours & after strane theme thrue a clothe y''s clene & put the lecor y''' of into the deffe eyre & laye hem down on the hole syde vs thys viij or ix nyghts & he shalbe hole be gods grace
Recipe 94
skaldyn

ffor Brenyng or skaldyng a gud medesen

take a pint of gud mete oyle & a pynt of clene water & bete theme well together w/ a spoon tell yt leue burblyng & that yt wax theke then anoynt the sore there with a clene fether & lay ther on a clene lene clothe & tak yt nev’r away for the space of ix days & yt wel be holl of thys medesen fere ye not for yt haythe bene proved

Recipe 95
en

A gud medysene for ene

Take sentorye & laye it clene water all a nyght & after washe wel thyne yen yw’r w’a fether & yt well dystroye y’webe or pen thouge yt be ov’r all thyne eye vyss thys vi dayes & he shalbe holl

Recipe 96
en

ffor the webe in the eye

Take the juce of marcure & of wylde tassels & the whyt of ij eg of yche lyke muche & bete them then anoynt thy eyne at morne & evyn ----pbatn
Recipe 97  
**gout**

ffor the gowte a suer medysyn  
pvyd by a woman of branford

Take the suyt of weder djlj of wax j quarter on quarter of a pound of honey, iij ounce of turpentyne & sethe all thes in a gret quantyt of the juce of henbayne the space off a quarter of an oure & then set ytt frome the fyre & let yt koll & when yt ys coulde yt welbe in a kake & then kepe yt elene & when ye nede yt of mak a plast of yt apon whyt lether & laye yt where the sor ye & roulyt well & he shallbe esyd of hys Payne shortlye

Recipe 98  

a precious war for eyne yff y had lost ther syght. x yers yff yt ene be possebell he shall recover w in x days

Take smallache rue fenell wormode egremonye bytanye a lytall uryng of a man chylde & v grans of frankyncense & drope of y war evry nyght on the sore eyne
Recipe 99
confusyon

ffor Restorring natur when yt dekays

Take the rots of saturyon that well senke to the bothom of the wat' be for medsen & drye yt in the same & make poud' yw' of then take honye that ys pour clarefyde & let yt sethe tell yt be thyke & brone then take yt doune & put in your poud' cardymom cloves mace nutmygs & flour of canell 'Take all thes lyke muche as all y' other poud' & make a lectuarye ther of

Recipe 100
schyng gels

ffor the shen glys a pryncypal remede

Thys molody in maner ys lyke wylde fyre & yt wyll spryng & run a bout a man & yff yt so doo yt ys right parlus & but dethe yff yt clepe a man a bout & the remade ys ye take dovys doung that ys moyst & barly meyle of eche half a pound ---
Some text that is not clearly readable due to the handwriting style.

100
Recipe 101
brest

A gud medycene against short wynde & fantnes & to breke tought fleme for ye & coulde

Take a quart of wat & ij sponfull of honye & set them on the fyre together & when yt duthe sethe ? stome yt & put in a quantate of winter safforay & of ysope of pyryoll halve a nounce of yche of them & sethe y=am all together to the halfe & soo strayne ytt & put yt in a glas & drynke evr mornyng a quantate of ytt & yff ye can get no gent' savora take tyme & more of esope

Recipe 102
ppasing

A spechel preperacyon

Take a large fenell roott the hart take awaye & pselye Ruts half an handfull of esope borage & betonye of yche half a handful of savoray & tyne of yche a quart of an handfull iij crops of broun ments of annes seedes carrot seedes of yche half ounce boyle thses in iij …… pynts of wat to the half – stran yt wyth out pressyng & put her to suger a nounce – venegar vij spoonfuls Senemon brussyd of auncne lat them have iij or iij boyles to gether & drynke ye hon mornyngs befor he ett or drynke
As on tables together.

B6 002

...
Recipe 103 for a purge

Take burrage halfe an handfull of lequervs brusyd a qr of a nounce xij grett rasons the stons take away & Boyle thes in a pytnt of wat to ye half strane yt then brouse your sene & put ther to of sunamen & ginger stepe them in the for sayd brothe all nyght in ye mornynge set yt on ye fyre tell ys hott then strane ye broth furthe throu a clene cloth wyth hard pressyng & put ye poudr of jnsyan & electuary endy & geve yt y passyent to drynke pbavn est
& half a handful of Vene

and of flour 6 of ground

milk & 1 pound of salt. 

2 of stone & as much an-

other of 6 at once. 

Boils the 6 of soap 6 and

is full of pumped soap &

soap in this manner & they

put the in a pan pot and

let he soft stay

so set the roll on to the way

be washed away & then

it put for the first to take

every 6 & we could then

put then to & work of

again after them all to go

the on helpe to them. 

they stand at the end dain

both to get called. 

and
Recipe 104
playstr

Jacobys plast

Take halfe a pounde of waxe turpentine shepys talowe & lapis calaminaris of
eure on – djlj then take opbons & brene them in the fyre tell ya be whytt yan
grende them small in poudr then take iiij vnce obiannm ij boyll armonyake j
mastycke & mayke all thes in fyne poudr then boyle the wax & the tallow
together & when ye have so done take yt of the fyre & put in your
tourpentyne when yt ys a wax coulde theme & ster them whell ya be coulde
that ye can ster them no mor Then mayke them upe in roules & when ye
have nede ocupy yt

Recipe 105
unguentum

unguente alabastre

Take forty cropps of y rede brambells y be tend & stampe yw & ij lj of
whyt wyn of the best & halfe a handful of reue & iiij vnce of flours of
camamyll & j vnce of fenel sede & of y stone y calyd alabaste djlj & of oyle
of rosys j lj & of wax ij ounces & all shalbe stampyd saue ye wax & the
camamyle & then put them in a neve pot of eyern & set hyt on a soft fyre &
do yt boyell on to the wyn be wastyd away & then take pot fro the fyre to lole
& when ys coulde then put ther to whyt of vj egren & ster them all to gether
on telyt theke then strane yt throughe a lene clothe & that ys callyd a
presious oyntment alabastre for ther ys no mor pcinsar oyntment in ye
worlde than y oyntment anoyent the temple & the forhed onto the brouys &
ye shalbe hole & yt helpythe all desseys in ons hand & fete & all members /& for the matrys also anoyent the stomoke & ye raynys & yt wyl do awaye
the mygrem all dyssyes of ye eyne to be a noynyt on the brous
For a may that hundred
that in his proper
I ask indeed, e canto e tappo
may it there to be good and
make it play, play get better to
be there place to be place or gift
Recipe 106

For a man that haythe ache in hys loyens

Take wabred & sanycle & stamp yam & do ther to / bors grese & make a plast' & laye yt hote to y' sore place & he shal be holle
ffor the stone a gud medesene

Take grvmell & parcely & the rede netell & violets & loveache & the curnels cheristons & stampe the scherystons be hemselfs & the erbs be hem selfys
Then take an erthen pot & put yow to whyt wyne & boyell theme togethers & after lett yt koll & let yt stonde in the same vasell & when ye have nede gyefe yt to yᵉ paysent to drynke warme & he shalbe holl
...for the moderation of God's... field the plain of even day... make a place and... of the order... and... for attending to... to stand in fat... quick the state... let the... reduce the... stamp up... do that... make a full...
Recipe 108

ffor a man that pysseth blode

Take ameros an handfull & melfolye an handfull pselye sede half a handfull & stamp them & temp hem wyth gottys melke & gyf y' seke to drynke

Recipe 109

ffor hem that may not well pes

Take reue & grumell & psele & stamp hem & temp hem with whyt wyne & geve y' Seke to drynke warne

Recipe 109a

ffor the swelyng of balokes

Take the poud' of cmyng & barly mele & honny & frye theme & make a plast' & laye yt a bout the cods louke warm

Recipe 110

ffor the akyng or Suelyng in schens or in fete

Take the rote of wallwort & sethe yt in watr & do away the upmest rynde & stampe yt & do therto bors grece & make a plastr' y' or of & lay yt on so hot as y' maye
Hes 1234 or 5678

If so, assume that the mode is made present at the time of setting. It is not possible to solve this problem correctly. All the plans that we might propose are about this. If we set it, it will be done in the evening.

So these we must pray to make the thing good.
Recipe 111  fför akyng of Suelyng of legys or fete
poultas  swellyng
legs  Take otmele & cowes mylke & make greuell & do yow to ye
jeuche of senygrene & scheps taloue & lat yow boyell all
together tyl yt be thylke & laye the plast all about the sor & yt
wyll sece the akyng & the swellyng

Recipe 112  To clere a mans pyps & to make hem have wynd at well
brest  Take on obj of suger cande & a obj of clovs & on pound werthe of sope
water & put all that together & late ye cloves be holl or a lytell brosyd &
drynke of yt a lytell in the mornyng & also in the evenynge & yves thys & he
shalbe holl --- phatn
115

B6 009

...for the drapes

When water is to be poured into the flask, the edges of the flaps must be of
not more than half an inch in size. Wash them first in hot water so they do not
get into gums. Do not add the wine to hot mixer. The rest will stand at this
method.

And open the lowest off a fine
under the tongs and bolt in a
hobnail in a pot of six
in order that the fire
be so moist it do a good
filling and well maked to
browning

For two minutes after

And the rest of good

...
**Recipe 113**

**ffor the dropsy**

When water ys betwx ye fleshe & the sken take the schavyns of scheypys skene or of net skens wayshe them clene & sethe ym in fayer water so thyke as gleue & do yt a clothe & laye yt a bone hys bodye & yt well drane yt out

---

**Recipe 114**

**ffor to mayke on long brethyd**

Take the loungs of a fox in mayrche & drye hem well in a novyene & make a poudr yr of & ete yt in your potage vii days every day so moche as a gud felbert & yt well mayke yr long brethyd

---

**Recipe 115**

**ffor to mayke a woman to have hyr flours**

Take the rotes of gladyn when they be dystroyed thys medesen falyth nevr but louk that she be not w chylde take the rote of gladyn & sethe in veneger or wyne & when yt ys well sodyn set yt on the growend & let her stryde ov yt so ye may no ayre a waye but upe to pyvre
Friday the 22. in Venice on a Sunday morning. In that day we were well. We got up on the ground and let the horse stand on it but he did not move
in any wise. He was in too his place and

for a woman that had to go the floor

If she had been the densest person on earth in that place, a plaster there of

flours a mother for the flour

also for the flour and a mother for the flour and a mother for the flour

A also confect a wash and clay

and put it in and make a plaster to the wash

and put it to the patient.
Recipe 116
flours
ffor a woman that hayth to moche flours
Take hors dung the clene truddels & boyell yt in veneger & mayk a plast ther of & laye to her navell so hott as she may suffer yt & she shalbe holl

Recipe 117
flours
a nother for the sayme
Take whet flour & frye yt in melke & honye & mayk a plast' & do as ys a for sayde

Recipe 118
flours
another for the same
Take comfra & washe yt clen & stamp yt & frye yt in wyne & make a plast' to the navel & another to the raynes
John a parcel whole was in the byte of aleander that stood in a bok that was called Calne bote. It contained the bode of an add. While the mone ro in the fowrying in the first day of the yere of the king in that it was tride, take a boy of the addre and put it to pond, and when it ro pond bose is pond in the estate, and if it roke.

The first pond was roke, and the rest a few to bounet and put of the said pond in the.
The second part of this work is to be handed over to the king of the Franks, for being spared of this part, a money is to be given to a priest to see no hazard. So long as the pond ye in the face of
the my 26 best that be made, as to water it and after to
pay it in the face of the enmity he be in the face be shall finding
the my 26 best 2 ponds to cast in to the money 26 ponds
shall be made to to see this best 2 ponds 2 be
made and to cast
the my 26 best 2 ponds in money the best 2 ponds
be shall finding and to see this best 2 be
made and to cast
the my 26 best 2 ponds in money the best 2 ponds
be shall finding and to see this best 2 be
made and to cast
A they pond to put in A cloth the
land add and the god put
shall upon lutto hanta put
o the by peff ame he coming
to fight in any syne and in the
may of he will despit take him
put of this pond and his tory
she shall not be on land

A they pond to put in
day in lands and aman god
shall to shop the love of God
and than he will rest flesh

A they by off any may well had
all and he were take a substance
off this pond in the day to he
shall not suffe and rodd

A they by off that to put a roon
i met in the cir and furn
be in any ment or well with
and on the torde
Recipe 119
falling evil

ffor the falling evil

Take & kell a dogge & take ye galle of the dogge & geffe yt to the Seke to drynyke iij days bye & bye & part the gall in iij parts & drynyke yt in what lecor that thou well & thys well tell seyntly

Recipe 120

John & Paule whele yey were in the Syte of alexander thay found in a boke that was callyt Salus Vite xij expimentys of the bode of an adder whell the mone ys in the waxyng in ye fyrst dege of the syne of the Ram Ju that same tymne take ye sken of the addyr & bryn yt to poud’ & when ytt ys poudr bere ye poud with the & kepe yt well
The fyrst expedement ys when you seyst a freshe woundyt man put of the for sayd poudr into ye wounde & w’ in iij dayes yt shal be hole --
The seconde ys yef any man suppose to be hurt of hys enimys let hem spryng of thys poudr a mong hys heyrs & y’ shall do hem no harme So longe as the poudr ys in hys hede -----
The iij ys yeff hyt be mellyd w’ water & mayd softe & spryng yt in thy face & when thy enimys loke in thy face he shall Runauaye ---
The iiij ys yeff y’ poudr be cast in to hys neibours hous yt shall make hem to for beare hys house & hys manaye ---
The vys yeff any man or woman haue stoulyn any thing of hys loke whome he duthe suspect Take of thys poudr & put yt in a clothe & laye ytt onder hes hede & yt shall apere who hayth ytt –
The vij’ ys yeff any be comyng to dysput in any syence in the wyche he well dysput late hem put of thys poudr onder hys tong & he shall not be our cuyl ---
The viij ys poudr be put in claye & layde onder a mans hede when he slepyth & yf ye ax hem any theng he well telyt for the
The viij ys yff any man well haue atryed messyngere take a spryng of thys poudr on hys clotheys & he shall not dyssouse yowe ----
The ix’ ys yf thys be put apon a met table & yf any poysone be in any mett yt well not abyde on the table ---
The xi’ ys yeff a man bere thys poudr in hys honde he shall be invesabylle & yff he bere ytt in any other part of hys bodye aboue all thyngs he shall be louyd & spechallye of womene
The xij’ys yff a lepp use of thys poudr in hys met yt whe elence hem of lepess
Ase. t. of staff a man tier es this
point in th. ground he smalbe
no rebel. let off the teen put
in any other part of th. old
bone all through so
shall be bound especially
off women.

If he puts of a kind of
of th. bond in th. end
it will close. for off bis
hops.

For to make all for
and this as the other as well
roll them. — 129
podet ventus dr
sartelle chestub
rom manae
stent.
 Fed will
planting
abend
vennost.
ffor to make all sors holl wę in xx days

and thes be the erbys wę well hell theme ------ ix dayes

peletrs          oculus xpi
matfelon         erbe Robart
vin maloue       bugle
ludwort          pygyl
rebewort         seurel
plantyn          violets
avers            Rede cole
levę wort
Takes z. tend rot of z. red rof
ttee a shape of it is faite of
bowne e loues that to
another
Takes egges 

together e put ut to house a
bosed gred 

andds a plast 

another
Take the bark of an bantory

e chese e well 

and make 
est the yt in ned which tell
y part of the wisted chay plowt
out e recce e cost barko in to
a mortice gred 

at small e put

that to bosed gred 

fere hen

up e wend plast ther of

e loues to 

other one for there

another
Take yede rot a dog e woot

e baine ut in a world e pou
c of thys pond in thys jisper
full c yng jisper full of thome be
thes well to gethe c be best
seames beryng c make a plaff
se as c bawt on thys lor
wad c wad in thist tym to be
se thame be zone on oor c
when it vs on oor hau c to
fis that vs zone har if trott
tis flat tis ares daze a dayd
a nor

Tak b essond c bldnes c is
dit of c red c stamps thys
well to gethe c does to zone
c the what off d c negge c
fis well well all thys to
gether c make a plaff c had
it to the lor c et yes kup
upon the wondr c strand out
c d fellsz kept zone reads
oz the vs oz what felz est
Recipe 121

for to draue out a thorne stuke or nayle
to draue out a thorn
Take ye tender rot of ye red rose tre & stape yt wt ye fate of bacon & laye ther to

Recipe 122

another
Take egremone & polopode & stape together & put yow to honye & bors grece or swyns grece & maybe a plast' & laye ther to

Recipe 123

another
Take the barke of an hawthorn tre & brose yt well in a mortor & sethe yt in Rede Wyne tell ij partys be wastyd & then pour out y' lecore & cast y' barke in to a mortor & grænd yt small & put ther to hors grese & frye hem vp & mayk a plast' ther of & laye to ye sore so hot as ye maye suffer ytt

Recipe 124

another
Take rede ros levys & dry ytt & bray yt in a mort to poud & of thys poudr tayke iij sasserfull & iij sasserfull of honye tep thes well together & kepe hem frome drying & make a plast' yw of & lay yt on the sore evr daye & w' in a short tyme ye shall se y' thorne or yorne cm out when yt ys cm out lay yw to salve that ys conso latyf tratatyf & sanatyf as ys gracya daye

Recipe 125

another
Take eg'mony & dytayne & y' rot of y' ros & stampe thes well to gether & do yw to hony & the whyt of a negge & rye mell all thes to gether & make a plast' yw at & laye yt to the sore & yt well opyn the wound & draue out the felthe be yt yorne wode or thorne or whatt felthe yt be
Take a piece of stout flour of where it lap it in wine and hose to get there till it or the flax and a plash the off and put it upon in hose bis hole as the man suffer it to a shall like in the hole of a driven opening in hole and go it a fer to bell it for end

To make at set to opening 7 inches and a bit 50 cm 2 oz and 1 g

Take all and 1/2 off camomile 4 so mother of violad 1 oz and the small no at 7 oz put forth a pound of roots 3 oz and 6 oz of oats 2 oz of fat turn stand in the pond and 2 oz of 7 g as set and the stone take it to right side the stand it thomb a curd or cloth 5 lb
Set or stonde a hul n tell e
another be all out then put
the to a good ne w of the
e one a pound of salt and well
and e to a quart of saffron
a temp thynge to set thet on d
yeer tell it be nostir and well
peede to encrop all together.
But to now that it sethe not
but set he game as the first
that it te well be espact to
gather then take it to the
store it tell it to take a they
put it in a they as nothing
then wells take out same
of the use put it to pond of
almost to

for poying off pond

Then be seyng pauld place to
no man or woman off it be
put in to a bosome bethe
hans helpe en in any ond
heu the dese of the
well or revenge for the plague not
hosted up on to the rich to blame
but thought to gather in it
shall not open his mouth
men call it the plague.
and there set a man be preched
in a sentence to be dead pen
spur off life.

Take and send off horses, for
which it did not as the plea may
suffer it to pass out to be
place that is past a base
most there on. So forth if
offered tell it to host for their
friend for revenue to be parted

For proceeding of a story

Sends his becom's plane say
It in is in plenty as well
some out the things.
Recipe 126  A nother for the pekyng of medyll or yorne thorne in joynts
P prekkyn

Take fayre bulbet floure of whete & tep yt wt wyne & boyle thes to gether tyll yt be thyke & maybe a plast ther of & lay yt upon y sore so hote as he may suffer yt & y shall sese y ayrng & opyng y hole & clos yt a gen & so hell yt for gud

Recipe 127   To mayke a tret to opyng & draue out thorn or yorn
P thorns

Take alik & dj of egermon & so moche of violets & grend thses small in a mortor & put ther to a pounde of nuee fryche swynes gres or of cats grece & so lat theme stand in fuse xijj days or moer & af set yt on the fyre tyj yt be ryte hote then strane yt throuhe a canvas clothe & so lette yt stoned and a quartron of saforen & temp them & set them over yfyer tell yt be meltyn & well steryd & encorpit all together bot be war that yt sethe not but letyt have an esye fyer & that yt be well ecorpit to gether then take yt fro the fyer & stere yt tyl yt be colde & then put yt in a bexys & whene thou welte draue out yorne or thorn put y to poud of almonds

Recipe 128  ffor pcyng of senous
P

Ther be serten placys in man or woman yff yt be pcyt in to a senour but he have helpe w in vij days he ys but dede y of for y well cm a crampe fro the plas y ys hurt vpon to the neke & draue hys schoudrys together y he shall not opyn hys mouthe & men call yt the pasm --- and ther for yt a man be prekyd in a senour ye ys a cort prencypal of lyfe ---

Take gud oyle of roses let chaff yt as the seke may suffer yt &pour yt into ye plas that ys prekt & laye woll ther on & so bynd yt up & evys thys medysen & non other tell yt be holl for thysys kynd for senous yt be pecyt & no other

Recipe 129  ffor pryckyng of a thorn
....

Take byrde lyme & laye y on w in iij or iiij plast yt well draue out the thorne
Recipe 130
henye
ffor defines of erys
Take an oynyon & make a hole in hem & put yr' in wat' of reue & wat' of smallag & oyle of olyffe & set the unyon in ye hott embers as yt may rost be lasur w' bolyng then takyt yt fro the fyer & lete ytt yt koll wryng yt throue a clothe & yr' of lete drops into yr' ere leuke hot & stop fast yr' ere w' cotton or woll

Recipe 131
for ere
ffor shepys lous or eny other quyke worme yatt ys crepey to a mans ere
Take the jsse of wormode or of reue or of southeronwode & to yt in hys ere
For some of the rest...
Recipe 132

ffor the seknes of the erys in hot causys

Make a hole in a yoneon & put yar to oyle of oleff & the Juss of poret & rost yt in ye emers tell yt be softe then pres out the Joue yar of & put yar to a lyttel womans melke blode hot & put yt into ye uere & stope yt wolle or cotyn & lye ye downe on the hole syde & yar well amende the heryng

Recipe 133

ffor hem yar may not well here

Take walwort & dystell yar of a wat & put of that wat into yar ere on yar hole syde & yff yt be nede on both syde & put yt in hys ere whan he goythe to bede & do hyar thys ix neyghts & he shalbe hole be gods grace

Recipe 133a

another

Take cumyn & put yt in a po cat & sethe yt in venecer a long tyme & take yt upe & do wolle ye & lay to yar nere so hot as ye may suffer yt & so do to thoue be hole
I say it to a mere so hot vs he man suffer it & so do to

sive enurde be hole

another

take to me as amone a pane
always is esdome & put it in it
chined of the lebde hole set it
in a round of is free to liste who
set it no reck & report nothing put
thought & cloth in to a staf
put them be of in - to 8 oz & 22

for unford face the aikbe
home in shall know is gont soft
for 8 endis (the quiet of the stot)
andons hole we out &= we do
the aikbe buith one node that the
out pames we in the fester vs set
but the the mep hunt then turn
the aikbe be unwo we on hole
To know is to ondo of the bedding
off the aikbe when on 8t 8e
take heed here the matter is.

a foot 1.8 oz.

a peck 1.8 oz.

a bushel 1.8 oz.

a stone 1.8 oz.

a quarter 1.8 oz.

a pound 1.8 oz.

a bushel is enough to make well.

Cerise, etc.

not and more than shall

be taken 3/4 in. more.

off the fister to in the stone well

take the date of 3/4 oz. at at least the

3/4 more and off 3/4 in. in 3/4 rounds

at well or out 3/4 at lead ground

the and off up to in 3/4 time of

well or out 3/4 at near three beds.

This second verse iserks of

vex the manes have done what we

sought.

To know the dance for 3/4 fester

not take a piece of for the chest "end

all on me. Peth is 3/4 back to a stake

some 3/4 stone found out on 3/4 me-

no not 3/4 to be the fester.
Recipe 134
for ere

Take ye rede oynone & payr away ye crowne & put ye clouys of the leyle rote & set yt in ye embers of ye fyre to roste & when yt ys well rostytt wryng yt throughe a clothe in to a glas & put ther to of in to ye sor ere

Recipe 135
for ere

ffor wynde in the ere or in ye hede

Take poret ye was neverset & draue yt up w' the rote stampe yt & wryng out the jusse & let yt clere & take the then yeof & drop yt iij drops in to ye uere & stope yt w'cotton & lay a downe o pon the hole syde

Recipe 136
for cankers

Houe ye shall know ye gout festr fro ye canker the gout fester hayth a naroue hole w' out & wyd w' in the canker hayth a wyde thrott w' out & naroue w' in the fester ys selde but haythe mo holys then toue The canker ys ev'tyone w' on hole to knoue ye to kyns of ye bredyng of the canker wher eu' yt be take hede wher the gout ys or a sor y' ys evell helyd or an ould sore or brosure y' ys oft y broke & so brekyth out agayne w' in v wekys or x wekys aft' he ys ons or twys helyd yt ys parlous ----

to knoue not

and noue thoue shalt knoue wether the canker be ye in or nott yff the festor be in the flyshe yen well ther cm out of ye sore as yt war thyke wore and yff yt be in ye senous yt well cm out as yt war brovne lye and yff yt be in the bone yt well cm out as yt war thyke blode These forsayd be ye wych thoue maye knoue what yt ys seurlye ------

To knowe kanker fro ye festor take a pese of fryshe chese & bynd yt all on nyght to ye sore or a blake small & yff theme fynde yt on ye moroue ther layd then yt ye canker & iff not yt ys the festor
To stay & send to Rome

Take the box and set it to the right side, and
join it to the left side of the hole. When
you have done this, take the box.

Then take the rope & the gale up
two goos & send them to gather
the 2 in a moment they will come
well. The 2 can box & hide & go
and if you desire you & in
this box & some of their own or
of them & the 2 well. It will
sometimes help them to tell
& send the 2. If you desire you
or do a rope off & move them
in the box & do not small wind
above on the best box & do all wind & work

Your

To send a horse the thread
& take the pods off & cast
in till & ride to the & so
of priz & then take the pod.
Take a pound of rosin and a pound of brandy and a half or a more molasses. Place all these to gather at once and on the one part well dries and to gather a hell for the rosin. A pound of molasses cast off and on to go.

Take a lemn of rosin and a pound of molasses on the one part spread these to go into the frame and not to be heated on the mark of a half then off to come at upon the one place and from this

if the same is milked or any other place off all
Recipe 137  "To sley ye canker or worme"

Take rede docke rotes & cowys pysse & stampe he to gether & stran ovt ye lecor & do ye in the hol of ye & lay a plast ther on -----.

Then take hony & the gale of a goot & mel them to gether & ther w a noynt the sore & yt well sle ye canker & hele ye sore & yff ye be dede flyshe ye on take ashys of bons or of a hesyll tre & mell ye w ould swyns grese & laye ye to tyl ye ould flyshe be aryse & when yt ys a ryse yff ye seyst ther in thredys as yt war small vans do awaye on the best wyes & at all tyms do morrell ther to.

Thredys  "To fyche a waye the thredys take the poud of glas & caste ye in tell ye rede fleche a peyre Thene take the pouder of bens stroue & rosys & do yt ye to to hell ytt & yff thoue seyst that yt be elene & holl of ye eyyll & the holl well not draue to gether.

Take iij vnce of rechell & iij more morrell & oyle of roses & medyll all thes to gether as yt war a noyntment & ther w a noynt the sore & yt well bryng yt to gether & hell yt.

Recipe 138  "To sley ye canker & bryng yt the flyche to gether"

Take ye levys of rosys morell & of pillye olyrell stampe thes & do onto he hony ye et not y beylde & mayke a plast ther of & laye ye a pon the sore wher ye canker ye & when ye canker ys egue mayke poud of morell & cast ye on & do as yt ys afor sayd.

Recipe 139  for the canker in ye mouthe or in any other place of all ye bode.
Recipe 140  
**ffor the Canker**

'Take ye rot dragons & shred yt in small pessys & let ytt draye & mayke small poud yw of & take ix penwyght yw of & do yt in hot wat' all on nyght & on ye moroue poure out the watr & do yw to whyt wyne & sethe ytt well & lett yw seke drynke yar of warme & w in iiij drynks he shalbe hole

Recipe 141  
**To sle a worme in a sore**

'stampe dragons would lard of a swyne & bynd yt to yw sore & the worme shall dye

Recipe 142  
**a drynke for ye same**

'Take a quantete of good mylke & a ounce of dake sede dudryt & mell thes together & scheyh yt tel yw iiij part be wastyd then let the syke drynk yw of iiij days fyrst & last iiij sponful at ons luke warme & he shall be hool
Take a ten saff 4 per about 2
femor 4 de per int 4 per cc
for twel 4 4 4 in a safe mad
set c 10 set c 10 in 4 4 4
set f 10 in 4 4 4 and tell 4
and cor all 4 do fol 4 4 4
26 April 1595

As the holy spirit doth a peace of change the whole soul as my Galilean friend oft did last in the morning at my house to begin the grace to thy I. be med. as I and peace any bold take all your clothes as I am to the next of layer and peace to take till the next month of July 31115

And to tell the be half a pound to sell

take done than a desert dry 3 a horse to by a pound 3 and the six drachas except this pound and open to store and number

Frank 34 pounds

take in feet of province of the small d past to begin a lot 2 have some in pounds of fish and all the then put all the

As to what was to be said
Recipe 143

Canker

For ye canker in the mouth or in any other place

Take powder of brent aleme on sponfull & on half sponfull of grene copose & bet thys well in a brasen morter then take vij sponfull of water of wodbynd y stolyt & iii sponfull of rose water iii sponfull of ye seuse of plantyn & iii of weneere medyll all thye to gether stope yt fast & in thys ye shall wyssed

And do aft thys maner

Take a lene clothe & put about ye fynger & dep yt in ye lecor when a lyttel ther of ys in a saser mayd hot & weshe ye mouthe whether yt be w't in or w't out tell yt blede well & so do so long as any corupsyon duth aペyre or dede flieshe duth apere so of change the clothe clene & euys thys ferst in the mornynge & at after noune & when thoue goyst to thy bede & yt w't apere any holl take a lenet clothe & dep yt in the water & lay yt apone yt hole tyll the nyxt dressyng & thys do tell he be holl

Recipe 144

Pouder to hel

Take lene bacon & drye yt opon a hot tylston & mayke a pouder yt on & washe the sore clene & cast the pouder yr apone

Recipe 145

To dystroye a canker or felone

Take jm & gj of plantyn & stamp yt smalle & put to hym a lytyll honye & pouder of brend allem then put all thses in a lytell weneere & lay yt on the sore xij ourys & thys dystroye both canker & felon & euys thys
Take the outline of zero weighing
1. from 1. Similarly, make all to
set the set the set it at a part
five feet set five feet set short (the)
it well at be equal & set short
it second so that as he very short
not to separate for there to part

Caff. 12.01.00.00 take the sum
into set. The sum of the short
planning between compass well
set short & set short. Put the well

Saffold after the fiftieth and
Caff. 12.01.00.00 take of the sum
put to the well and mark it.

Recipe 146  To kell kanker or felon

Take ye yoke of an eyge & oulde scheys small mayd in pouder & ster ytt to gether tell ytt be thyke as dowe & then laye yt to the sore & use thyse thell ye fellon be dede & yff them may gett syphys do a lyttel ther to & yt welbe the bett

Recipe 147  a poud for canker fester or wounds

wound festors cankers

Take wormuod hunysoucke & wusset leke stampe ye smale & put ther to honye & make ye of a trete & use yt
Recipe 148

**for the canker festula**

Take the yusse of rew mynys & hony & wyneger medle all y\textsuperscript{e} together & sethe yt w\textsuperscript{a} a soft fyre & let yt sethe softly & ster yt well yt be enowe & when yt rynyth as pyche & laye yt to the sore so hot as he may suffer yt & uyse thys for thys ypvn

& yff y wylte tayke the same onto yt the jusse of rybwort plantyn betany pympnell & v lavyd gras but thes well hell the sour

Recipe 149

**ffor the festela in ano**

Take burnet & stamp hem & take y\textsuperscript{i} juse ther of & put into the hool & mayke a plaster y\textsuperscript{e} of & laye ther on also take avens & berous gres & y\textsuperscript{e} jeusse of smallage oyle & may butt flloure & honye & mayke of theys a salfe & laye yt yar to
also take above a bed of rose
seeds of small rose
mountian flower thaner
mills of this & sale is largest
rise to

Take mpt off cementm the
other part of plantyres
the Lords of Piobi on part (scht
that to small cast (stamped)
conclude it Whyt Mzina (f)et
in the first as it saytake off of stem home to gene also to demne him day festival
mornmg a quater

Takes mpt off (wonder mpt off)
greneral hts (f) o & (f)et & (f)et & (f)
Whit byns & q (f)et (f)et
Recipe 150

**poco p fystela**

Take iij pt of egremone the other part of plantain & of the levys of olef on part & let thes be small & cut & stampyd & melde w' whyt wyne & y sett ou' the fyre & sode then take hem of & strane heme & geue hem to drynke ev' y day fyrste in y' mornyng a quantyte

Recipe 151

ffor the same

Take iij pt of osmonden pt of genciana & j centory let thes be set ou' the fyre w' whyt wyne & y ........ ys aforsayd ffor thar ys no medysan castyng out of bons as thes towe
in all things to do yt go
A sord for that yz no me
If ye do not eat oft of bond
Of the table I sord to
I take plake fer all
And se a crotten
I m espect de sa e

Tale was later, 22be for her
22short c thump too uft
be a set for and e mye to sethe
To the very alle me a then
put t to to sthe yet well tell
To rap thale e lift it toff
To 3ond thre e daye
To the plole
T Tale was all a le hale hit of
To be the stokin t is a daff
Of open n fund of 22be poto
Recipe 152
A Blake plaster for oulde sors yat ben depe & roten & incorpret ouldsore as ys y ffestula

Take wat’ beten erbe robart rybwort & stampe thes & stran hem & set hem over a fyre to sethe to the wyche aleme & hony put yr to & sterytt well tell yt wax blake & ther w’ washe ye wounds thrice a daye

Recipe 153
To sley the festula in ye eye

Take morell & stelle water yr of & wash the sore in yr eye & cast yr opon yr poud’ of erb robart & of egremone
Take the smallest cloth of the wool to make a long hood or cote of course and smother it. When it is in the worst part of the weather, use the best and finest cord and make it partly of worst and partly of better. If the weather be good, sew up the worst and make it partly of better. If the weather be bad, use the finest cord and make it partly of worst and partly of better. Another for the same.

Take a pair of trousers and a pair of felts for night.
Recipe 154

ffor the boneschav

Take gume assafetyda or galbanv & melte yt w' netys gall & when yt ys moult put y" to poud' of comyng & broke mustard sede frankynsence grans & marye of hors lyg --- well an of y' comyn & that shalbe dubyll – kepe well ys oyntment for yt ys gud for all maner of grauyns in muts wher so ever yt be

Recipe 155

another for the same

Take smalhey clote & the wylde nepe ye levys of lorell tre camamyl hor hound erbe jeue herbe jon herbe wat' stamp thes in a mortar & sethe he well y" oyle oleff & clenye yt throue a clothe & a noynt ther wythe & y" shalbe holl w' gods grace
Recipe 156

another for the same

Take ij ptys of bawme  iij ptys of fetherfoy  weshe thes clene & stampe theme temp hem w’ stall ale & let y’ syke drynke her of fyrst & last & vys thys y’ oyntment w’ y’ plast’ that cmyth no aft’ & w’ vi plasters & ix tyms drynkyng at the fordest heshalbe hole upon warandyse

The oyntment

Take ij ptys of popeler levys & iij ptys of fetherfoye washe thes & stampe hem smalle & do here to clarefyd butt’ & a lyttel oyle olefe & boyell y’ together then strane ytt into a vessell of glas & lete y’ syke anoynt hem y’w’ w’ a anst a fyere of charkolle & when heys well anoynt anoynted make heme a plast’ as welbe sayd at y’ marke
The stone is sunk in the ground to keep it out.

The chapter is off first class, and this is a ornament.

The earth must not be plastered or turned up at the foot of the table, but upon

The chapter

The stone of the table is sunk a

These stones must be small so that the stamps may not

Here is the chapter, but it is about a

Then stone it in to a vessel of glass a little is sho a mount

Here is a drift of

That stone at one, here is well a

That stone ab by the hand, it

This pane 14th of
Take some plente of sear and salt to gather and so there to astonn it of sear and salt to gather. If ther be some plente of sear and salt to gather in the same place to well that they shall be holden.
Take all plantation for thence to raise these in such a salt mixt of salt and sea water let be well well salt and such sea water as to salt in a pot these th th order of the manner that set within the pots a against a stone or then when it of could be put set in a grate or in a tenant top get well for thys to distill and use the same and not mention but first throw mast taks for make these in my set in rest and then than and the said engine pegged dund cloth be in all to past the said by horse bolt an mount it to the water for said end and mount it to the pulp bolt for anyone what place to be mudy understand
Recipe 157

ther ys a plastere for the same

Take brome flours & oyle olyfe boyell yether together & as hote as yether syke may suffer yt laye yt to yether plase yether akyth // also take blake otys & parche he yn a pane of erthe ryght well & put hein a bagge all hot & lappe yether bagge a bout yether leme yether akyth & bynd yt ther to & he shalbe hole be godys grace

Recipe 158

The plaste for the coulde gout as ys rehersyd wether drynke & ointment gout well before at thys marke above

Take juss of ache wormode hony vinegar & salt an a sacerfull medle thes together & do ther to a quantete of rye flours & ster heme to gether faste & boyle heme well & maybe a plast a pon a clothe & laye yt to yether sore ache & vyse yether plaster wether the drynke & oynment & let the sore place be well chafyd at the fyre & the seke shalbe hole wether in a whyll

Recipe 159

a medesyn for ache in bone or senos

Take plantyn & hemloke & sethe thes in pyssse & in oyll oleffe & when yt ys well sode take yt fro yether fyer & strayn yt & put ther to poude of mastyke & set yt ouer the fyre a & skome yt klyene & when yt ys coulde put yt in a glas or in a clene box & kep yt well for thys ys a sofferand ointment but ferst thoue mast take yether seke mans wryng & sethe yt & skem ytt chene & then tak the same euryng & depe a lene clothe yether in & all to schaff the sore yether wythe hote & yether anoynyt yt wether the for sayd oynment & he shalbe holl
Take the bough of a tree and any other of theuable
of the wood and saw it to the size of the
of a round, good and sound full of what they
take from it. Then take all the pieces of
wood, them in a mortar. Then it makes
good of common, 2 to in poind but not
to small. Then take a part of all them in to
drake off what wood 02. 0 part, put it
at the place of a good of a will
wax. When it is well borh put it
in to a bowl, my father pushed above
out the hose of off all hot that is
of that 02 in my, turned at any
well in a jug in the same. lave
or burned off the tangle and then
take there having a jet of hot clere
stump it small in a morter. We still all
bass it through a close (tubes of)
mixed in front of off the end of
it. Then set it on the fire till it
be done to hard. put the soeb to the
for all alimina and the chaf
and on it the shell to hold on beeb,
Recipe 160
ache

ffor ache in what place ye be in man on warandys

Take wormvode sage and an j. m*r rede ment levys of the bay tre an p m iij crops of reue .dijj of comyn a gud handfull of whet bran clene & yseftyd ye take all ye*erbys & ybraye them in a morter a lytyll & make poud* of comying yw to in poud* but not to small then take & put all thes in to a quart of whyt wyne or pysse & lete ytt sethe the space of a quart* of a myll way & when yt ys well boylyd put yt into a wolyn bagge & esalye brouse out the lycor y* of & all hot lay yt to y* sore & thys vys iij or iij tymes & at alyme boyll yt an in the same lecor yw* ys wrong out of the bagge // and then take clene hemp sede wassyt clene & stampe yt small in a mortar* stall all & strane yt throuhe a clothe & take of yw* mylke iij sponfull of the poud* of greyne & set yt ou* the fyer tyll yt begene to boyle & let the seke drynke ther of att altyms whene the plast* ys layd on & he shall be hole on warn dysse for yw* hayth ben of tymes pvyd
Recipe 161  To dystroye a poste an a steche in what place so ev'yt be an postume
p fleche

Take ye rote of holyhocke & wache yt clene & sethe yt in water
tyll yt be tender n put out ye lecore in to a vessell ye lynsede
fenygrekean & loke ye have twys so moche of y' as of the
rote be wyht then sethe ye lynsede & y' fenegreke in ye same
water y' y'was sod in & let yt sethe well tell yt rope & ryme as
duth berdlyme ye stampe rot & do yt y' to & put ther to a
quantyte of veneg & a gud handfull of barly mele & medyll all
these to gether & frye yt in bahogs grese y' make y' of a
plaster & so hot of ye seke may suffer lay yt to y' sore
with in ix plasters he shalbe hole as yt ys pvyd
To stop a leash
Take the name and one to make at Venice.

For the fountain,
Take the foot of the chest of paste and
some of small particle to
prepare for large paste and quantities of symbol and boil them in salt and
set one a potell to a print true daily
Drinke that off first and last Venice.

Jan 166

For the indene water
Put on or by cause because that go to
expect the water from the same then
fill the vessel and put there to run full of
salt and a stronger there to some defence
of the grate into the earth to burns for
the last no longer.

To sound the house

Take a forge and the same to point
and put it in the next part will be well
take the sound wood and sound it
at points and well cast well fasten it.
**Recipe 162**

**kreke**

ffor y kreke a troue medesene & well pwyd

'Take y rote of y gret clott & washe heme clene & stampe hem in a mort' & wryng ovt the jusse & w ys jusse anoynt the kreke anst y fyre & he shalbe hole w in iij noyntys sakerly for thys hayth ben pwyd

**B9 009**

**Recipe 163**

**a laske**

'To stop a laske

'Take rede wyne & do ther to a quante of clovys y brosyd & make yt warme

**Recipe 163a**

For the fransyed

'Take y rote of the clot y beryth y berys & mens hem ssmall & put y to a penyworth of longe pep & a quantete of tryakell & boyll hem in stall ayll & frome a potell ta a pynte & evy day drynke ther of fyrst & last warme
Recipe 164  ffor the iauloue iavndys

Take v or vi  gosse bourdies that goo to gras & depayrat the whytt from the
gren then take the grene & put ther to xij sponfull of stalle ale & strane thene
throue a elene clothe & gyve ytt to the syke to drynke fyrst & last ix dayes

Recipe 165  To stanche blode

Take a froge & bren heme to pouder & put yt in the nose & yt well sese also
take thesayd poud & bynd yt about ons neke & yt well rystrane blode
...
ffor to take conhys w/ your hand

ye most take a conye that ys in bukyng & smyt her in many pessys guts & all as she was a lyve then ye most put her into a pott wythe a gud quarter of oyle olaf & ij peneworthe of arsafetyta & let her sethe tylle she be all sodyn then take yt of the fyre & put ij penyworthe of arsafetyta & let yt stande tell yt be could & then strayn yt throue a clothe & put yt in to a pot & when ye well evys ytt take a glove mayd of lynnyng clothe & anoynte yt wythe the same & put y° glove on your honde & put your hond in any hole & yf thar be any coneys ther in y° wyll cm to your hond w/ out fayle for thys ys provyd

ffor the cough or the chenkough

Take ij datescappyd & pyke out ..... at the cappyd end & all ye ..... picles on the ..... w' in then put full of suger & sett thaym in the enyris & lat them boyell well but let the daytt be ........these ij last to bedde & ait' drynke half a sponfull of aqua vite & do thyss ii ij or iiij tyms & he shalbe hole
To the fore of there is fast at to
bede east Surno hath a spoonfull of
as bed into there inn or inn some is to
the fore full

To purge a man or woman up to

But on way short of the end of
found I sherve the first batte
the same inn of them founds to in
reports o the end 29th the wych privy
of the pruds them I shane them to all
in sadutro e albow treets or christen
in mesh of on wch ens or pres to mesh
in Surno put ye well to yw phrashome

For the fore age

Take a groundfull of Surno corn and I spind
fife of wrokets e found and shet in a
ground grate of warming that bet to
to a pot then on to the present on
groundfull at out out do e shuntfull with
as I sherd this rede e be fullbe said

Anno 84
Recipe 168
purge

'To purge a man or woman vp & dovne
Tak on yers schet of the eld' tre vij jevnts & skrape awaye the fryst barke &
the shave iiij of them dvnvards & iiij vpwards & the ond' barke the whyche ys
grene the punde them & strane them w' aliytl aqua vitae & a ltyell treacle or
elys  tayke the melke of on color coue or gotys melke & drynke yt & y well
ese yov shortlye

Recipe 169
ffor the hote ageue

'Take a hand full of dandelyon' & a handfull of violetts & boyll y'sme bethe
in a quart of runyng wat' tel yt cm to a pynt then gyff to the pasyent on
spoonfull at ons covlde & so estfous a nother as y' seke haythe ned & he
shalbe hole
I consent further off Beverley
harp hath laden one last of
cooke - ev s. salved under
right last of being one of
arrest hundred thousand of
wood their trees thorns and
two hundred of iriss
rise one forty off wrong to
be recovered to said store
in cornwall in the sound of
Beverley Thomas Vesta
over the last band of said
wood. And I warrant

John Jose Bohn in y
1674 A
Recipe 170

Lenerd Sumter of Brestoll haper hathe laden one last of cooled – xv .g. sawed bourdes eight last of lyme one g. … . cardeff bourdes  twoo m+ of woode thre thowsande trenes two hundred of Irishe frese & one butof wyne to be connveide to padstowe in cornwall in the Sonndai of Bristol

1  Thomas Vesie Mast the iij daye of Fabruare ….  
Anno dm Eduardi Sext vj

+ John Ince Born in yr 1675 …..
ffor the plag Capi i

Recipe 171
pestilence

Take bole armoniae q berra sage litta..... p.saype electe / ob/ bete them all in poud' fine & forto drynke at ons take . iij. dj. wye then take a sponful of wat' of ...... pympernell a / sponfull turmentyll a sponfull /ditayne . i. Sponfull / ditayne .i. sponfull / of dragons .i. sponfull of winegre .i. sponfull or mor tryacle as moche a hasyll nyte / put y''' all together & gyve the pacient to drynke coulde in the quantyte afore advuyd .... he be infecte y'' purgacion where the ...... make a great plast' of cala am clene clensed & lay theron

ffor to make aqua vite for ye postylen Capi ii

Recipe 172
pestilence

Take turmeytyll // scabias / remperne detayne dragons // tansye / thais Burssa // pastoris // of iche a handfull Then take sanguis draconis i Sedeaff i calamus aromaticus soulsefer vmme i & stell them in aqua & drynke every day two sponefull & he be hole

ffor to make aqua vitae for ye fleme Capi iij

Recipe 173
fleme

Take rosmarum tyme ..... sage cyentes origanum of .... a handfull take avnes sede iij lycorys iij speknoll bete all thes together & stell them in the second dystellacion & lett the flematyke man drynke thar of evy day a sponfull fastying yt ys gud for the splene for horsenes in the throte also
Saw that it's expedient to take all these together as well-theme in the second description to hit the summer day and have it fired. The first part is for the place-see for all the scenes in this book also.

For to make a name for that.

And some other flip by.

Take some flesh and rigge to the brink. Potamus brave the way.

One to tell them in straight line but that some parts be those held before.

But the second part in the place and so that these be of such a main that they hold it as to say to them will be go.

To the Anonymous Cap. a trial to make a handful of haste full.

The rows or some thick or some of much.

And he to make their gain.

In a trinitate man of water it put.

One to turn the start of the
Recipe 174
ffor to make aquavite for the fever quarten Cap iiiij
Take tyme elebrens niger wylde tyme & petimus bame rosemary cene stell them in aquavite but Se that aquavite be twyse steld before & at the thryd tyme put in thes herbes & se that thor lyes be ofred wyne or of claryd & then lett y' pacient take ther of ij sponful evry day to drynke tylle he be hole

Recipe 175
ffor the agoue Cap v
Take borage a handfull hartes tongue thre or four leves tyme a quantite persley rots iiij or iiiij rotes of fenell ij or iiij wasshe & scrape them clene & take awaye y' pythe & boyle them in a quart of water & put wynegre ther to yt be tart of y' wynecer & so boyle then stell & do ther to huny tyll yt have y' of a tast & so boyle awhyle & then geve yt to the pacient blode warme to drunke evenyng & mornyng
so fear to thin to hit at huns & of a taft e so well although e they sgent out to the fence e blades wents to drink enoynge e mowing e

the for to thin the revenue e f

frikes suffeg the frst in small yert grst around e set the them in a hable eke e la hale of approcbed tht th" pede nee hne to ft e hve wnt to thbrome e sprge e men reme

skek is wste of e p s e rey. skek is the e al e f e sence e stmp e all en it 8 the hse sfe e sone ynbel 8 have it to fh e ne 8. 8

For to thin the fepule

skek appropriate bome e yde of th e s all eke mairke intiments tht 8 8 hable mairke. Sntel e the in part of thm mairke mairke e mairke of mairke 8 cdle e fepule th th e fepule c suse of f e se

A good reprenence

take in pens wnt off s tnebke e t pens wnt off ebo e p sse e ft off s tnebke e take a quarter f
Recipe 176

**ffor to knytt senewes & vans**

Cap vi

Take angell twyches men call ytt great worms & sethe theym in a lyttel oyle olyffe & a lyttell of jpreonesto that the pedloures have to sell & laye ytt to the wound ix dayes & nevr remeved

Recipe 177

**ffor swellyng of y yerde**

ca . vij

Take lekes wythe all the facron & stampe all together w' bors grese & frye them well & laye ytt to the evyll

Recipe 178

**ffor to heall the fystela**

Cap viij

Take oppoponat wyne & oyle of roses & huny & mayke..... oytment ther wythe a lyytel myrre sercocolle the iiiij parts them ytt ys menuayle yt ingend' the flesshe yt helythe y festula & many other sores

Recipe 179

**a good laxatyve**

ca ix

Take iii penwyght of reubarbe & x penye weght of cene & .x. peny weyt of scamoney & halfe a quatron of safforn iij dj wegyht of pouder walter idj peny wyght of pouder walter dj. weght of spyekrnarde
off Galles often for et boldyue
then out of the ronde & eff 3 drain
and soe it well not sete cast
downe pour off igeon ine froth
but et 30 palmint 2e poplion
wont take the paper 2e the lined
off 12 faling 37 oz 14.ire cec teck
out of stabbes 2e zett soes on 2
body 2 in the sole of the sole 2e
not teck 40 med and 4 pan 4
fence c bette ett as small bret
cum they take fence slomnys 2e
fence c bete than stronly to
yet 32 oz 4.ire cec 4 zetten sole
I 5 have sent men trokkyt out in 5
fire full of small igneilles hole
stowe c that gone 4 knee fll
2e popilion
Recipe 180

ffor to breke the stone

Take a hare & brene yt togyther & also the fleshe of a gote wythe the blode the fleshe of a bull w’ the blode the fleshe of a hedgehog w’ the blode & make all thses in pouder then take capilleris veneris thyme y’ leves y’ Rots of pheleppendula one rotes of gladwyne 3 ii rotes of Stehaneur 3 vij rotes flours of dasis 3i sparge wythe 3 iij ye beres of Jue 3 ij the beres that ys lyke correll ye stons of ytt persely sede 3 ij fenell 3i caraway sede 3i dj colander sede 3 dj geet 3 dji aumowell 3i dj 3ij calomynes aromaticus 3i gallyngale 3i. genger 3i make all thses in fyne pouder

Recipe 181

ffor any man or woman y’ys sore wasted by syckness or ....

Cap xi

Take leke heds wasshed & let pouder them small as ye can putte theym in a pott wythe water then take ye mary bone that be clene & the fleshe w’ all let lot breke ye bones a lyttell & boyle these together & after take out ye mary faire & clene & put the mary into ye pott where the leks ys then ytt & puttt y’ to pouder of peper gynger camell nutmyges & thar of eat fyrste & last & thys shall Restore ane man or woman w’t out dout

Recipe 182

ffor the frenche polkes

Take blake turpentyne idj . bole armoniac . ijdj . allum three grotes weyght & as moche of argentum vine idj myngle them w’ fastyng spotiell & yt wyll slee ytt y’ take gud saraphyue iij grotes wyeyght of gud armoniac as moche popillion a spounfull & halfe werdegues as moch of your gume a noynte y’ body & kep ham close & gyve hem to drynk the wych off galles often for yt wyll dryve them out of the bode & yff y’ be any vnkynd sore y’ well not hele cast y’ opone pouder of cyercurye sublimat but yt ys paynfull & popilyon wyll take the payne & sumen after y’ helyng . ij . or . iij . yere breke out of scabbes & grett sores on y’ body & in the soles of ther fete & wyll not hele for no medycen / / then take y’ rotte clecompa & pare it fayre & lette yt as small as ye can then take fayre swyns gres fresh & bete them strongly to gether & anoynt the place in . iij . or . iij . dayes & yt welbe hole & J have sene men broken out in y’ skabs & that have i held with ye pouder of alum & werdegues & popillion
for the stiffe dadd pyn. pynes cowes of ha{re}pse i87

bute them to {h}ire in {w}ater e

degrate non ther to {w}iere et {w}o\h

2 x

a to {w}eet wone i {w}eet

on the thought there be {w}oken

a pondea. tap. any

And be twice castell turke with

in the {w}ell tor e the side of red

sockes for they be than them to

pound e gave the patient to drink

in w. houps e not well bost

44

An oriment for all inward

of rages tap. to

Take an apart of that owell r a

handfull of {w}eet e ahode a hand

full of {w}eet and a handfull

of {w}eet roses stamp them r

put them to 5 o\h be the

5 full of a pone r as marboes

of apnout and drowes

fire them all to gorge
Recipe 183  
**Ytche**  
Cap. xiiij  
Take blake sops bors grese bete theym togyther in water & anoynete you ther w' wher yt ytcheth

Recipe 184  
**Knet bons**  
Cap. xiiiij  
Take suche cattes tayles yat hangeth in the hasel tre & the sede of red dockes drye them & bray them to poud' & gyve the pacient to drink in vj dayes & ytt well knet ytt

Recipe 185  
**An oyntment for all maner of aches**  
Cap. - xv  
Take a quart of met oyel & a handfull of sothenwode a handfull of wormewod a handfull of baye leves stamp them & put them to your oyle & the gauil of a oxe & as myche of aquavite as the gaul & frye them all togethe & put them in a boks & a navnt wher the sor ys & he shalbe holle
Take a quart of ale wine moist wine in a
new litter, put in a quart thereof to a
handful of sage, a handful of
Warelands, a handful of
rodders, a handful of
lead and a peice of
tessell allies, take all without in a straw and then stir them and put them
in a stone and let them be
in the house for
three full days.
Recipe 186
a water for all maner of cankers or festela or olde sore
Cap. xvj

Take a quart of neue taner wose yw wast nev' lether put in & put ther to a handefull of sw blossomes & a gud pece of roche alam boyle them all together well & then strayne them & put them in a glas & ther wythe wayshe thy sore & yt shall mak yt hole

Recipe 187
for suffucacyon of the mother
Cap --- xvij

Take asefetida oppentibaiicus & castor of eche & galbanum steped in winegre & so let y & so lat thys galbanum be layd on y' cols & let hem smell ther to & the other iiij afsayd mel to gether & make in a ball & let hem use to smell theer to
welt to gethers e make in a tall p leit
from ye to smell the that to

18 it an agreement fo to put in to

falso onde chire in spounfull set
E in the the heat take out to shamp
all to gether thir from them & do
that as of in to the eyes & stopit set in
blake bleke molee.

29 for the stowage of the whole
a segind angtil the

Field Gentystell cowry garde endac
mazon. Mayste have of the a find a
else they in esalt breast from aced
be a gyny they flane they make the
wargel till in the sal hat nace they
put there to stow it will not be fe
what mhit of the wronk which god
felt with the yow e be undoubtme
a payd the tutor e we shall be togwry
to the ground of alm after soke

189
Recipe 188

an oytment for to put into ye eyes Cap xviii

Take oyle olyfe iij sponfull gret rasins 3i the stons take out & stamp ya all together thar stran them & do ther of in to the eyes & stopute yt with blake woll

Recipe 189

ffor the swetyng & burnynge a regina anglia Cap xix

Take southystell marygolde endyve marwry nyghtshade of eche a handful sethe them in cndytt water from a quart to a pynt then strane them with wenyre tyl yt be sm what tart then put ther to sugre tyl yt be sm what suett then drynklyt when your fets takyth you & kep you warme apon ytt & ye shall be hopeyn be the grace of almyghty god

Recipe 190

For to mak aqua pfugtesina for the stone Cap – xx

swettyng & brenynng

Take saxfrage parsely alysand’ cramell rosmary tyme isope fenel sage betany marygoulds aventes drigam wyolats long de boef maydenhere Sallendyne sede mynt pellemont …… of y prymerose levender camamyle fether foye wormwode of eche a handfull brus the small & put them to the second dystelyng of aquavite & let them stepe yer in all on daye a nyght then stell yer natorialye w’soft fyer then take long peper iij dj of blake peper iij dj whyt nutmyges o senamon iij dj gengre iij dj maces iij dj kays of ashys cherestons cernel brayde & bren sedj of yche iij & all thes maste be in pouder & put tham in any aquavyt stand & stepe all nyght & on the morrow nyght stell them w’soft fyer & ………
Said from 12d of March, 1532.

A small deed of 1532, settled 1632, stating:

- The amount of 100 pounds of soap.
- The amount of 150 pounds of tallow.
- The amount of 200 pounds of wax.

As a result of these amounts, the patient shall have a stone in the potage.

Also for the food of the patient.

For the healing of the patient.

A small deed of 1532, made on the 15th of March, 1532, stating:

- The patient was to receive a small sum of 100 pounds of soap.
- The patient was to receive 150 pounds of tallow.
- The patient was to receive 200 pounds of wax.

As a result of these amounts, the patient shall have a stone in the potage.

No date or name of the patient.

192
Recipe 191

**ffor the ..... Cap xxi**

Take gromwell sede perselye sede Saxfrage sede alysander sede smallage sede lovage sede fenel sede the carnols of cherestons of kays of asshe poudre of tyme poudre of pertorye poudre of bayes poudre of samphere eche of lyke muche & make a poudre & gyve to yr pacient halfe a sponefull in hys potage fyrst & last

Recipe 192

**for the ston a pencyous medycen or for the strangurye cap xxii**

**ye ston**

Take a handfull of chekyn wede & of freshe butt' the quantyte of a nut & halve as muche of blake sope & stampe theme together & frye them & laye them plaster wyes on the pacientes navel & contynuently he shall a woyd the stone w/ out anye payne
Libra in finer the weight thereof as we will dispose it in the same space as is in thine hand in the same they put ytt on a plate so as we will dispose it. Lay the space as we do measure it up already in an ale be the required measure in copper worth 2 shillings in oz in this.

And also in the hand so as tend to popp of them in a pot and off slate and the last shall be washed and the quanta of a cheape and gey of the patient weigh the ground so that two feet of not is put under the feet of a day of a piece of taro 92 and ov 15 as it may be a pot full of yhe 5 or more of these pot on c
Recipe 193
purge

---- for a laxative Cap ---- xxiiij

Take in somer the whytt flowers of elder as moche as ye will occupy all the yeare & drye ytt ij or iiij dayes in the sone then put ytt in a blader & when ye wyll occupy ytt drye as ye do saffron & mayke yt in pouder as ye do Saffron & put a lytell in an ale bery or in a mess of potage & continently ye shall have ij or iiij laxes

Recipe 194
dropsy

ffor the dropsy Cap xxiiij

Take a handefull of y' tender cropps of brome & stampe them & strane them in a quart of stale ale & boyle yt tyll halfe be wasted & put ther to a quantete of senamun & genger & set the pacient upryght in a chere so the his fett tuche not y ground be ij fouts & on halfe Then put under nethe his ffe a pan of coles & lay over whartere the payne a the pane a payre of tonges or ij & lay y' on grene brome & lett hym set y' soules of hys fete ther on & gyve hym of the drynke blode warm & evn as the fyre goyth for the renue the coles & fresh brome so that you gyve hym hys drynke lykewies & let hem do thys the space of v or vi ours & at nyght when he goeth to bedde make hym a possett with the ioyce of neppe & isale & take away y' croude & clerify yt & put ther to a quantyte of graynes in powd & geve the pacient to drynke when he goyth to bed as hot as he may sufer ytt & lay clothys on hem that he may suete & on the morowe begyne a gayne wythe hem yf nede be & he shall shortly be hole & yf that youe kepe hym wythe some easye thyngs
the time of the dead. The dead in the fire with the fire to drive the smoke so that now the time of the dead has tried to let them to the space of 24 hours and if might when the goods to bed and rising a posset in the space of smoke while he talks about the crows and dead it put the to a quantity of spices in pods to gene the present to drive when the goods to bed so that no harm may be in the things or they that he may note on the increased in gene A grace into the joy of medecine he shall shortly be hole of that done yore over the same exercise than 25 for the magnum for part of the head cap to 30s on once of St. Martin's. This in some pond they talk the head prince of the powder is the heap of my egg to a multitude of storytelling and a quantity of that small huckett to let go all together at
ffor the migryme for part of the head Cap ---- xxv

Take on once of stavysacar & bete in fyne poud’ & the whyte of an egge & a nutmvge & a lyrell of comyn & a quantyte of flax small hackett & bet them all togethers & lay yt plasterwyse on hys forhed when he goyth to bed yf he blede he shalbe holl yf not gyve hym a nother plaster or ij tyll he blede & he shalbe hole
...and at pillsa wofa on the forced, when the forth to bed of the necke she shalbe full of not spone himpe, a not se pills or if till the tread e she shalbe hole

26 For the halle me the hand part of the bed the worse midstith the bed to pass upon Make a prize what cut a sice you cut but these tored to pride a hawe the sat from the bone to put set in to the bed a groom since a full the bed full of night that side well stepped in the sope of mede a Exe they be the side sop of left out on a span till at to hire that it well hop no more in sice they take a sappinging the off e port in thos all when we will open but harm they need a demonstrat frame of the satisfaction...
Recipe 196

ffor the lytarge in the hynd part of the hede the wyche makyth hed the hed to shake xxvi

Take a pure blake cat & flee her & put out her bowels & pyke a waye the fat from the guts & put yt in to the bode a gayne & fyll the body full of mvstard sede well steped in the ioyce of neppe & sage then soue the body up & rost ytt on a spyt tyll yt be so dry that yt well drop no more moyster then take y’ droppynges thar of & put in bouls & when ye will occupy ytt shave hys neck & anoynte hyme be the fyere in the ionate next the hed & sanabitur
for to make a winter for the
path or the taking of
flying in the wind or wormes which
would eat a man had thine

for the same there be a lay in poor
houses in red wine or claret
all in a shallet p o stone or
pavement to drink e commune had
temples worth all tho what king
my James thence speck shall e to form
to againe

for to brone whether dreary
or wormes shall sinne or she
infect the pleasing of a pogoda

\[ A \]

\[ B \]

\[ C \]

\[ D \]

\[ E \]
A prescruction for all thy
that to take the uandom be
must a fear

Jaho Goetnall z1 fielnde acomati
16 z1 Jangue t unpopular dedicated
z1 sine teza sigella vita di风采
tele acomi main a quarter of an

A quarter of an ounce Sulphur an a quarter of
an ounce of quiminent rozzed z1

t make all this in pondex c wax all
two dozen a pound of quiminent

A water imperially for the

Take the Gobias formaemull
preprawell Grue t apom Dargues
aathes calied groe uode ti usal
puttres Tares e Subie a quarter
of these my heades in the water
all that be infinite shall the once
adding fiftygur at the actuazy
removed it be shall not thefende
the pluge tenacant doue
Recipe 197
palsay

ffor to make a water for the palsy wiche takyth away from a man or woman speche & makes a man sodanly dumbe

Cap --- xxvij

Take bame herbe & lay ytt xxiiij houres in red wyne or claryd & styl yt in a stelatorye & gyve y' pacient to drynk & anoynyte hys temples wyth all & so vse hym ij or iiij dayes & hys speche shall cm to hem

Recipe 198
leve or dye

ffor to knoue whether a man or woman shall lyve or dye infect

the pestylence  Cap   xxvij

Take a quantitye of soulfer wyne & of Setuall lyke moche & make them in poudre & mex yw a lytell tyracle & stale & gyve yt hem that be infect wyth y' pestylence & yf thay brouke ytt iiij hourys thay be curable & ye sooner & yf yd do avoyde yt thay be more vncurable

Recipe 199

a preservatyfe for all them that be curable provyd by many a man woman & schyld

Take setuall 3i olamvs aromaticus 3i sangius draconys di ounce terra sagellata di ounce bole armoniac a quarter of an once of sulpher vyne a quarter of an once or turmentyll rottes 3i & make all thes in poudre & mex all thes wythe a pound of tyracle of geue

Recipe 200

a water imperyall for the same   Cap – xxx

Take scabias turmentyll pympernell dytayne dragons myathes calleyd maywedre bursa pastoris tansy & dystyle a water of these viij herbes wythe water all that be infecete shall use once a daye fastying w' the lectuary aftersayd & he shall withestande the plage without dout
John Jones Born 1676

John Jones, born in 1676, was a merchant who operated in the early 18th century. His business was known for its involvement in the slave trade, which was a controversial and ethically questionable practice at the time. Jones' records show that he was active in the slave trade from the late 17th to the early 18th century, engaging in transactions that involved the transportation of enslaved people to the Americas. His involvement in the slave trade was part of a broader network of merchants and slave traders who profited from the exploitation of human beings. Despite the moral and ethical concerns surrounding the slave trade, Jones maintained a significant presence in the economic activities of the time, influencing the course of commerce and society in the region.
prize borne  a part in a basket
bathing done praced at first then well
together & don them in another basin
bathing the space of ye days they
shall me find drame or water
then twice a bowl of the drame &
praze out 3 thereof water it on
the softens in to a state of hot
water shall helpe al manes of the
every  e wall & part using the watter
same put a drop in to 160 every
one 2 the above a drame

\[ \text{Take here poached in a pan 2 that}
\]
beate them in to 1 lime pouder.
\[ \text{Take 3 & ale aquamae a part to}
\]
\( \text{2 all tell } \) & 3 to beate them to
\[ \text{praze on the fire } \) \& let the pan
\]
\( \text{stand } \) & 0 of as good as the
\[ \text{man suffe & when the gores to}
\]
\[ \text{let the pothesien to be}
\]

B11 010
Recipe 201  ff\text{or burnyng or scaldyng of any parte of a manes bodye}
for brynyng & skalgyng  Cap – xxxi
Take a crest tyle ston of an hous & tourne y’ crest downward
on a trevyte so that the on end of y’ tylle be lower than the
other & fyll ytt full of shomakers peces & mak a good
fyre under the same tyll yw burne as the fyre do & wythe a
brason ladyll reame the oyle that cometh of them & put yt in a
box & when ye well use yt take a lytell in a sawcer & warne yt
& anoynte the buruce or scaldet place ther wythe & anone the
fyre will slake & hele yt fayre usyng ytt

Recipe 202  ff\text{or blody eyne & watry}  cap – xxxij
Take a quart of whytt wine & put ther to xvi peces of fat bacon the brede &
theKNES of a grote & a gud sawcer full of pure honne & put in a lyttll bason
cLEN scowred & ster them well together & cover hem w’ another latryn bason
the space of ix dayes then shall ye fynd crème on ye water then breke a lytell
of the crème & poure out y’ clere water y’ید ys ondernethe softlye into a glas
That water shall helpe all maner of Rede eyen & watryng usyng thys water
dalye put a drop into hys eyen ons or twys a day
Take my spoonful of water of 
Samarit and a spoonful of 
Zabud and a spoonful of 
Venerees publick office / 
make all these together 
let it 
seal with 

Do not take any medicine 
from these. By an order from me 

He can also 

I must go to 
keep 

If he is not able to 
keep 


For the time being, we 
shall face a rigorous 

case make a record on the lines 
take in public of these words here 
not to my hand full of the worth 
my handful of nostrils my handful of 
Each hand of handful of grass 
ground to my handful of marsham 


Recipe 203
ffor the blodye flyxe
Cap - xxxiiij

Take bens perched in a pan & beate them into a fyne powder take gud ale a quart & put yar to a lytell sugre & boyle them to gether on the fyre & let the pacient drynke ther of as hoott as he may suffer yt when he goyeth to bed & yt shall stop hem by & by

Recipe 204
ffor the pestelence
Cap – xxxiiiij

Take iij sponful of water of dragons or bedyne or of skabyas iij sponful of veneger halfe a sponeful of tryacle & mexe all thes together & let ye seke drynke yt worme & kepe hem from shepe xvi or xxiiij hourys yf ye can also ye medyczne ys good to drynke yt he be not seke to kepe yow from the plage once a weke or in xiiiij meghtes & yf the sycke breke not drynke agayne for the ofter he drynketh the better shall he be for hem

Recipe 205
ffor the lyver wastyng wyche causeth scaby face & leperous
Cap ----xxxv

Take & make a drenke on thys wyes take iiij galons of suete worte & put ther to iiij handfull of lever wortt & iiij handfull of violats & iiij handfull of hartes tong iiij handfull of maryggoulds & iiij handfull of madfelore & stampe all these together & boyle yar tyll yt be colde & stranyt & put thar to barmelet & use thyys fastyng & at nyght ye space of a monythe then take a noyntment that ys mayd for drye scabes & let hem dalye anoynte hys face usyng yar drynke a for sayd
up will it be cold c strange t pm that to 240s fe me let cise the 6 fasting c at ong to c peace of a month c after tike 2 a newment that no more for thru paster c let they sable aouncer that 2 more face upper off 4 900 0 a 3 f t p e p s c m r n g u a c e s a f d d f r m j n h i n g

st the flake 4 halfe a handfull c so of mochel off 3 ofutton c omy c to 7 but all else in fine pape c paper in anyone c or id in 24 d home clared or what c put theo halfe so mochel milt c sethe in t taking of therve 4 pape c hove it that to the paze c ytt jett be fettin it well sacle of be not yet de punde c

A 5 the place c good

ah the source of man unde hahc fond c 1 grothe

208
Recipe 206

for the plague  Cap – xxxvi

Recipe 207

for the plague  Cap – xxxvii

Take the juice of may wede halfe a sponfull grene mather or the pouder the wyght of ij grotes
To stamp a face a small man of small size to carry the money from the town.

Also all of those men and women of white skin and such a person and to gather them all together and set them over the place to see if they could.

A pourege for the drops.

Take my Pendene weight of ramone, half my Pendene weight of paper to add my Pendene weight of bean, a point of spondard a Pendene weight of flour, a name of the word marks a pond of all.

Cried, 'to make it tried to fell it, and turning.
Recipe 208  
defensa tyve
To defend wekyd humers for swellyng & postn Con watt\textsuperscript{e} ungetm defenciam ---- x lxxij

Take the poud\textsuperscript{r} bolermonyack & of oyle of rosys a quarter on & venegre \textit{dj 3} & grynd all theys to gether in a morter

Recipe 209  
norys fleshe
To noryche flyche & to hele hard sors dt watt\textsuperscript{v} vnguetm nut\textsuperscript{tn} xlx viij

Take a quartron of letarge of yesonne & \textit{dj} quartron of \textit{ilj} of comyn & of oyle a novnce & \textit{dj} of vinegar grind all thes together in a mortar & do \textit{yr} to \textit{dj 3} poud\textsuperscript{r} of verdegree

Recipe 210  
To elense a sore & for all man\textsuperscript{r} of felthe & festryng &--

\textit{Take ali of lyfe hony iij 3 o flour of whete xiiij 3 Juse of smaleche & medele hem all together in a pon & sett hyt over the fyre & ster yt tyll yt be could}

To elense sors from all fylthe
To melle refas
Recipe 211

dropse

A purge for the dropse

Take iij penywyght of scamonye ij penywyght of reue berbe vj penyweyght of sene a penyweyght of spegnard a penyweyght of ffloure cannell & a nounce of seuger & make a poud of all thyes to dreynke
Recipe 212

To make a tothe to fall without drauyng

--------------------------------------------------

--------------------------------------------------
ffor to waysch an old sore & to clanse ytt

Take y' rotys of pymperell & waysche hem & stamp heme & lay to y' sore y'shall clanse ht & open ht & make hyt hole for soy'

ffor y' fyer of hell pbat eft

Take y' juse of rebvort & a galon of wenegre & a pytnt of honnye & sethe than all to gether tylyt be halve dell sod in then put hyt in to a vyall of glas & when ye ned y' of put a lytel into a saser & take a lytell flax & wete y' in & laye yt on y' sore & yt well slay y' fyre

ffor woman y' wolde have mylke

Take the Juse of vervyne or y' Juse of fenell & lett hyr drynk y' of & she shall have mylke y noue Øy' drynke letuse fenell sede Øy' bryle a crystal ston to poud' & drynke yt w' mylke & she shall have enowe
Recipe 216

ffor to make a gud trete for ould sores & nue sores

ould & neu sore

Take a quartron of pycehe another of rosyne & a moche of prosyne & halfe a pounde of merd wax & a nounce of galbanum & as moche gum arobake & iiij ounces of bores greee & a nounce of frankensence & halfe a ounce of sandragon half a quarter of a vnce of verdegrece & half a vnce of bonne & then lett ye frye all together tyll all be movlty n together & ye strane hem & th yr to poudr of serpentyne ............yt ys all rede in puryd & let do hem on the fyre agane be the space of ster yr well & then take yr saying this salme miserere mei deuse & downe & do yr in a box & thys ys gud bothe for festur & for kankor
For kanker in chylde moy  

Recipe 217

Take rew & alyme & warmede & powd hyt & do yt togedyr in vinegar & take a lytell steke & clefe hyt & do yer on a cloye & bynde a bout w' a therde wete yt into the sayd war' & rube ye teyhte yer w' & aft' supe vinegar fyrist & laste to washe your mouthe & yt ytt be a stron kanker put hunne to your medesen & yt well hell yt upe.

Recipe 218

for to mayke a purgacyon for a man semythe to be brosed or woundyd & bledyth inward

Take the rots of waluort & washe hem clene & grende hem small in a mortor & aft' lete strane hyt & let the seke drynke yer use fastyng & he shall have a purgacyon aboue or be nethe.
**Recipe 219**

Emoradys

For to dry up the emorewdys pba est

Take orgome & caloment lavendyr caledr sal copose of yche y lyke movche by wyght sey hem yn watyr & lett y'pacyent take y' eyer into hys foundemont & y'well drye vp ye emoradys

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**Recipe 220**

Blast on ye faye

For man or woman that hayth a blist on the faye xlxvj

Take an egg & rost yt hard and do a waye y' yolke & take ye whyte & do a waye the shelys then take a quantyte of coperose & pyt to ye whyt well yt ys hote & stape y' together & wryng ytt throue a clothe & yar to w' anoynt the fayce of y' seke att even when he goythe to bedde & he shall be hole pba est
Recipe 221
for the falling evil
xlxxvij

Take & write these words with your letters Ilo . x . po
. a + e + o + a + te + Tetragrammaton ananyapt + alpha + et
+ Ò + angele qui meus . ? . & defendant me . ? . & gubarne me
corp men & in eb3 bite miae dne hm ppe pat mens y forit
celn & tara amen

Recipe 222
For the bloody menson
xlxxvii

Take 3 arrows waybrede & stampe hem & take your juse & temp with whey flour &
make a kake & bake yt in the embers & lat the seke ete y of so hot as he maye

Recipe 223
For the gnawing & akyng in a mans wome
xlxxix

Take v levyd gras & stampe hyt with stall alle & let ye seke drynke y of ij
sponfuls at ons & sethe the poleoll ryoll & bynd yt to hys navyll as hot as he may
sofery
Recipe 224 wome

another for the same xlxxx

Take rewe & stampe hyt w' salt & tempyt w' wat' or stall ale & take y' seke to drynke & he shalbe hole

Recipe 225 flours

ffor to make a woman to have her flours xlxxxj

Thys experynce falyth nev' butt loke y' she be not w' chylde yen take y' rote of gladyn & sethe yt in vynegre & when hyt ys well soden set yt a doune & let hyr stryde y' over y' the eyre maye not a waye but in to her p'vyte & thys well helpe hyr

Recipe 226

for to sese y' flourys xlxxxij

Take an hyer d font & mayke ther of poud' let hyr drynke y' of in stall ale
for an old joye shopyng

[Faded text.]

[paper tears and damage]

[paper tears and damage]
Recipe 227

For an ould sore  xlxxxiiij
sore yat ys ould
Take frankence & arnemet make a poud & take ayy y lyke mouche
& laye yt on the sydys of y' sor he shalbe hole

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Recipe 228

For to washe an oulde sore & to clense yt  xlxxxiiiij

Take y' rotyes of pympnell & waysch hem & stamp hem & laye to y' sore &
y' shall clense hyt & open hyt & make hyt hole for soythe
Recipe 229

brokyn belye

for a man that ys brokyng in hys bellye

Take orpyng & ye rots of fennell & drye yow & make of them poudr & osmend w' all & geve to the seke to drynke yow of iiij or iiiij dayes & yow' well mayke yw wovnd so grene as he was on y frest daye nev' cethe m Then take ther iiij erbs that ys to say sencenodin the seconde ys osmonde the threde ys allen payne the iiiij ys polypody then must ye have date stons dryet & mayd in fyrne poudr & maste ye drye all the iiiij erbs a for sayd then stampe them all together & make poudr of the & lat the paychent drynke yow of xv -- dayes & w' in -- xv -- dayes he shal be hole bot ye mast trve hem yp w' a pansharde & he most lye in hys bede for the most parte of th -- xv -- dayes
When the pond is filled with water, then all the earth and stones must be removed. The pond must be made with soil and all the earth and stones removed. Then they must be filled with water of the plant for the pond is made of the earth and stones. The plant must be filled with water and then covered with the earth and stones. The plant must be planted with the plant to ensure it grows.
Recipe 230
a plastr

The plast' to knett hem  xlv

Take polyepodye that growythe on the oke y' rote y" of paer them clene & the rote of elencamp pana & payre hem clene & then bete them in a mort' as small as ye can temp yt owell of baye & make a plast' ther of theke & laye yt on a theke clothe a gud quantete & laye ..................................................

..................................................
Recipe 231  
ft for to breke wynde in the bely  xlxxxvij

Take cumyng fenell sede & avnce sede bet them to povd' then sethe yt in wyne or all & he shalbe hool on warandys

Recipe 232  
ft for to take ffoulles or berds  xlxxxviiij

berds  
Take henbane sede & sede of poppyes & the sede of lettuce & stame them well & boyell heme well in wyne leys & take wheytt & sethe ther wyth & take the whet & sedys & lay wher the berdys do hant & so sone as thaye have ete ther of thaye wyll lye stell y" ye may take them w' yovr honde ------- pbte
a handful of peas a handful of
red meat A good handful of 233
put all those in a pound of page
put those to a dragee of or all a
74-76 gold I bat any four to golf
tell yet o the fish do I play All they put
put in to a bag of and cloth I have
yet a piece of good do not half
I again and me joy for to get to a farm
May in may we may be leg
we must take a handful of all those
a handful of page a handful of two
5221 of stones cers all the in a
patrol of forming Most of potash
to a quart of every and would be for
233
Recipe 233

A handful of tansay, a handful of red mints, a good quantity of baye salt & a part of all these in a large pan & put there to a quantity of eyssell or else vergows & let you fry together tell ytt be thyke as a plast' then put ytt into a bag of lenne clothe & laye yt a pon the grefe as nedys.

Recipe 234

A good medesen for to hele a Raue Sore

In a man or woman's leg

Ye most take a nounce of allome, a handful of sage / a handful of lavender / of spayne & sethe all these in a pottell of Runnyng wat' fro a potell to a quart & wasche ye sore –
Recipe 235

& make yt in a poud & drynke yd of w' whyt wyn or malvese every day
tell he be hole -- thys ys proved

Recipe 236

Ffor to avoyde brussyd blode in man or woman ---

Take the rots of orpyng iij joynts stampe them & strayn yt w' stall ale or
w' malvesaye luke warme to drynke & yt shall a voyde ----

Recipe 237

sofrand medesen for man woman or chylde yd be take w' the farys

farys

Take an erbe that ys calyd erbe robert other wies calyd rede netell a nother
erbe thatt ys calyd erbe ------

ij or v or vj dayes tell he be hole --- for thys ys ---- proved
b the wight of a horse, let be yet well they till be well demand in street poises them both to set on then they upon a custom of hours they to last on the wounds & it will not be said in the shade of the winds proof happen a Grist and moxen for the straw filling — good

Se at we take two cabbages followin a glass or two of strong "Cider, the weight of a horse I must not we shall take doctor composill we disintegrate the body and Indians hummed small on part behalf

When all that went on after the war a few words, then put them all to gose in a glass or gravel e but inGBS, also

c off end of giving — we found at the third part or a spadeful of small in pole & spadeful of small rode
Recipe 238
wounds

To staunch a wound & to cleanse hem at the first dressing

Take the white of a negge & bete ytt well then take boul armoryak in fyne powder & temp them both together then laye them a pon a curstosy of clene flax & so laye yt on the wounde & yt well bothe stanche the blood & clens the wound – provyd

Recipe 239
strangury

suffrand medesen for the strangollyon --- provyd –

Se ye take the erbys folowyng // & dystell evry erbe be heme selve the substans of a quart a pese // forst ye shall take // psolye // pumpedell // wylde tansay // peretory // lene coods // mousers // ramfous // fenell // on seytt lekys //

When all thes waters be dystelyd as ys a for sayd then put them all to gether in a glas or glassys & lat ye Seke drynke ther of evre daye fastyng – vij – spoynfuls & the thred payrt of a spoynfull of smallage in poudr & halfe a spoynfull of psellye sede drynke ytt w' the for sayd wat' so vys yt evre daye & you shalbe hole for thys haythe bene – provyd
239
Recipe 240
postu
Ffor swellyng in lems --
Take ye drose of gud ayle & a quantete of blake sope & a quantete of cumyng
sede sethe all thes together & bynde yt so hot as ye may suffer yt – vys thys
& he shalbe hole

Recipe 241
ffor a Sour pentell that ys suovne & akyth & brende ---
Take a gud quante of jaroue on washen & stamp yt small in a morter tyll yt be
as a salfe then take a gud quantete of freshe but of ye yaloast ye maye
have stampe the butt & the erbys to gether tell yt be as a salve then laye yt
on a fayre len clothe & lapyt round a bout y suellyng & akyn g w in a daye &
on neyght – pvyed

Recipe 242
to knet broken bons ----

Recipe 243
suffrand medysen for the axsys hot or coulde –
Take ix or xj of pyenys sede & laye yat a pon a hot tyll stone so y thaye
brene not but as y maye esalye drye & when y be drye : take & pell a waye ye
hoske & then make the curnell in poudr & then put ther to ij or iiij sponfull of
fyne sugre // & let the seke drynke yat of wythe iiij sponfuls of runyng wat’ &
yf yt take hem could geve yt to heme warme & yt yt take hem hot gyve yt
to hem could when the fett comes a pon hem for thys ys bene – provyd

Recipe 244
ffor the tothe ake ---
Take burso pastorys & brusyt & lay yt to the tuthe ye akyth & yt shalbe hole
for vij yers ------- provyd

Recipe 245
ffor a dysseys that ys calyd the marys --
Take a skene of neue yarne & put yt in an ertheys pott & of iiij galon & put
y to so moche water as well into the pott of clere rennyng wat’ & when the
water ys hott put ther to a gud quantete of clene ashes as ye make for leye &
make the pot to sethe & then let ordane a stole w’a holl in yt & let the seke
set ther on bar arste so long as the war’ ys hott do y iiij or iiij tym & he
shalbe hole --- provyd

241
as this will be gott do I now mys.
(c) the shell be peded)

the wanted made by the wanting in may
wine or rum and be peded.

Take a shovels of the side of tank in
or pot in the pot in
and draw of in time and let the pots
draw of in time to
in always shall do all to work
send

Take a quantit of molusc or ad moose of
and needed stumps them a put to thems
of a quantit of molusc or ad moose of
to them all to draw or ring to
place before it in to

To make a make them bad peded

For to make good of tank of the

Note

Take 1 c. in the pot of tank or it to
all that is put in in a fine or pot

To make to ring without
be done to put in to
be gone to cut up them and take

242
Recipe 246
worms
gud makesen for the worms in man or womans or sheldyns bode

Take a quantete of the sede of tansay & a quantete o Sentovare & sethe them
in melke of a cov of on heue & let the seke drynke ther of warme iiij or iiiij
tyms & thays shall avoyde bothe kueke & dede -- provyd be mast ot well

Recipe 247
medesen for senove yor ar shranke or some in ennye man or woman

Take a quantete of malous & as moche of red netels stampe them & put to
theme a quantete of mylke of a coue of on colore sethe them all to gether &
laye yow to y place wher yr nedys & thys wyll rastor y a gayne & make them
hole --- provyd be master Robart Wireyn

Recipe 248
ffor to make oyle of bayes for the syateca passye

Take ij or iiij bussheles of bayes or yow be all blake & put them in a fayer bras
pane put on to yow fayer clandyt wat or runyng wat the semme& sethe tell yow
be gene to cast up a fome then take a ------
Take the blade of a goede make pardon of I mee that no somede of mye ffe flambe at morn. Wilt Wone or be still no well instep sem to cost. To shu un a se in our diemps Tills in frumsede I shu shu be done or ye be in frums or the gis well 2. Tho these take of it 20th & inst. in 20th & inst. & inst. for that Take 2 goff the & telemast & powder & put ill that well 1st out.
Take the blade of a gnat, and make a point of a pin, and that may make a pox. Take of the wind of Whynet Whynet Whynet or it shall all c
att well unless you do well. To change it in the
att in dedication.

Take in this case I have tried to get a point of a pin, it makes a pox as
296 8 3 1
is told in verse 297 6 2. I think that if the case well report this to change it in just a truth of
tells the smooth are well fall out
to the
296 8 3 1

Take 8 3 1 8 3 1 off the gnat, and be a
296 8 3 1
tell me all that's to be here
296 8 2

B13 010
Recipe 249 stone

another for y’ stone

Take the blode of a gote & drye yt ……………..yᵉ to meer that ys romade ……………..& drynke yt wythe whyt wyn or w’sall all  yt ………………..hool

Recipe 250 tothe

To draue a tothe w’ out drauyng

Take in janefere a nyve tre yᵉ grouyt a bout a noke & boor on or ij hols in heme &  kevᵉ yᵉ holys clos & the gyce ……………ther to thene take of yᵉ gyce & tuche yᵉ ………………yt well fall out

Recipe 251 tothe

Another for the same

Take the gyce of jve & the juse of  tetemall & yᵉ powder of ravens doung & put all thes to gether & tuche yowr thothe w’ all & yt well fall out

Recipe 252 staunch blode

To staunche blode

Take a froge & pet hem in a neue pot of erthe & let yt …………& stopyt & putyt in to a novyne & dry heme to poudᵉ & ………… pacyent hav yt a bout hem & he shalnot bled at all
to pysyt to be treue
Take a pecheone or a scheke & ty of thys poudᵉ a bout hys ….. & smyt of hes hede & yt well not blede for thys hay …….. provyd
and after the first score thou shalt
send more water to ou frome the

c off the darymb be strang to take
att a roosebe to haue to jode

not a kebber to tell is medesay be

\[\text{medesay fe the darymb}\\
\text{take planting & the salt &}
\text{time salt & strump then all together}
\text{esayble art with me & with my
\text{fay & rapen & it m. insthe
\text{tayng of all be good}\\

\[\text{Deblamyn as on pealed}\\
\text{gott a moret}\\
\text{as line en pe und for fin of the bowe}
\text{espyon out ward & that t o stone}
\text{ye son & end for eftang of men
\text{tift tay to reathe & cress to}
\text{be m. taygryt. Here no to end for
\text{veen end for them at the}
\text{place to unset the in test
\text{operations.}}\]
Recipe 253
purgasyon

A purgacion to purge wat' from all y' party of y' bode w' in forthe

Take hermodactulus & of fyne genger of ev'y of them a dram electuary of the ious of rosys halfe a vnce & of the ious of eryos halfe a vnce & meng theme well togethere wyth halfe a pynt of malvasey runa or sake warme yt a lytell & drynke yt and aftar the fryst sege thene shall have moche water to cm frome the

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& yf the drynke be stronge take a test & venekar & houlde to yovr noos a whyle tell ye meddesen be dyjestd -----
Recipe 254
ague

Take plantyn & erb ryall & baye salt & stampe them all to gether & drynke yt warme w' whyt wyne afor y' axsys cme & w' in iiij tyms so doyng theme shalbe hool –

Recipe 255

dehellame ys a gum so calyd
ott & moyst

Thys gm ys gud for flux of the wome & epostom outward & brekyth ye stone & y' chone & ys gud for bytyng of venom' bestys tepyty w' veneger & yff yt be sode in wyne w' ceryse ytt ys very gud for hem y' ys brokyn yf the place be anoyntyt ther w' & yt ys gud for suellyng & in postumys of ye geneturs
Recipe 256
lepp
to knoue yf a man be lepper or no

to knoue yf a man be lepper or no
kens the fyrst ys yf hys lytyll fengers ley stoff & starke heys a lep
The ij yf yw pour any war a pon any member of hys bode & yt glyde awaye &
slyme as yt war anoynet he is a lep
The iiij token yf he have curnels ond hys tong & lye bolyng as yt war y
quence ye ys he lep
The iiiij token yff theme take hes blode & drope yt in to war & yff ye blode
turne to war he ys lep
The v yf hys blode stenke he ys lep

Recipe 257
to leve or dye
To knoue yff a seke man shall leve or dy

To knoue yff a seke man shall leve or dy
Take ye uryng of ye seke & put yt in to a urynall & take rede nettell crops at
even when ye mayn ys hot so soune as yt pesset put to the glas & cm on ye
morowe & yf ye netell stande up steff yt ys a token of lyfe & yf he hang hede
as yt woulde dye yt ys dethe

Recipe 258
another

another
Take ye uryng of ye seke & do yt in to a vessell & take womans mylke y
hays a man schylde drop ye on & yff yt mell to gether he shall leve & yf yt frete
alone he ys but dede surlye

Recipe 259
for the fayse
yff a blan rase in a mans fase

yff a blan rase in a mans fase
Take tetemall & spurge & sethe theme in womans melke her w’a noynt the
blans tetemall shall be gaderyd in the caneclel dayess & yt maye be kept all a
yere frace ys aide & reneue yt from rottyng
Recipe 260
jaloue jandys
ffor the jaloue jandys
Take saffron tumereke madynhere long pep poud' all thes & gyfe yt ye seke to
drynke ix dayes in gud ale & stall & he shalbe hool seker lye

Recipe 261
for ye' rotelyng couhe in y' brest & throt boyls & soor sydys & brest
for the melte & stomoke
ke elenacapana groundswelly ysope centary merche & reue helwort pullyoll
riall & nepte ryall an & do y' to pep & honay gode qitie temp thes well
together & boyle he ou' the fere & skemyt klene & aftward use y' of morn &
even a sponful or towe at eury tyme

Recipe 262
ffor ye therste
and yt hys mouthe be drye & hys tonge full of flewme thys ye shal put awaye
ye freme frome hys tong tak veneg' & washe hys mouthe & ethe & when hys
mouth ys well washet eat leuke hot watter & washe hys mouthe w' in & so
donne shave hys tong w' a knyfe of tre & after w' a clene clothe rouve hys
ethe & the rofe of hys mouthe to have hys helthe bot bewar that hys hede
ake not

Recipe 263
another
for the threste
Take y' rote of loveache & stampe yt & temp yt w' & drynke yt iij tymes when
y' goys to bedde & yt well do awaye thy thryste

Recipe 264
slepe
To cause a man slepe in gret sekue
Take y' jusse of senegren of lettos henbane wat' of rosys & womans mylke j
spoonfull & warm yt in a saser & weshe hes tempyls y' w' & wet a clothe
y' in of iij fyngars breddh & iij fould & lay yt warme to hys for hede from ye
on eyre ……

254
for the thirthe

and of two monthe he done a tere tomy full of sleight me is think no shamb or dower is same some hee tomy. Take therefore thone

his two monthe in tethye c when hee monthe

no well. But yet tate but must end

for two monthe it in a sombe shone hee tonyt a bunch of two easter. We a drome

tesbe two tethye c the lute of his

monthe to come help to hee y do want that hee ydes also not

for the thirthe

Takes 2 fot of tareace c strowe c kre

tap it er c dromes set in tyme when

he ydes to tethye c is well. So many

of things

tape To cause a man pepe c

Takes 2 fot of tareace c strowe c kre

tap it er c dromes set in tyme when

he ydes to tethye c is well. So many

of things
to the other part in the part of the
off paper or off writing or turn of
something that others
some part in schide

Takes a piece of blet or to thumps he
to goke for them on to the storme
or they tell them to take

not for hemp E man f

takes time enough to send a candle
understand it at once & let it sound in
on both & a writing well & take or
order & to sound to in a bell him
well & he shall see

for the sake of

takes a card of nely & a stamped thing

chateau hen our the stile & do so to it
short or off of passenger & Sampell of

will see the ase of & do sowing in

wind of some possible side
Recipe 265  
Suetyng

to the other & vys in thy potage & sede of poppe or of latys or levys of 
ye same

Recipe 266  
fer heme that suethe to moche in seknes

'Stake lynesede & lettuce & stampe hem to gedyr & lay hem on to
the stomoke & vs thyss tell thoue be hele

Recipe 267  
ffor hym y'may not svete

'Take drye cumyn & bet yt to poudr & medylld yt w' oyle & let yt stonde iij
ourys & anoynte well y' fete ond nethe & the honds w' in hell hem well & he
schall suete

Recipe 268  
ffor

the dalye axsys

'Take v crops of nettyle & stampe them & strayne hem out the Juse & do ye

to ob of pep & on ob of saffron & a sponfull of honaye & temp theme to
gether & dryinke ye of a fore the axsys cm & do so iij or iiij tyme & thoue
shallbe hole
Recipe 269

For the consumyng of ye lev

Take ye levys of egremone & braye hem small & boyll hem well in honye &
yo of make a plast & laye yt to the ryght syde & thys medysen ys gud for
ysys & ye ulceracyon of ys loungs

Recipe 270

For the plins postm & fevys hot & colde brynyng quakyng postm
shakyng & to get a nabertyde

ke yo juse of rosemay violet vervayne betane herbe Jue herb John mousesere
plantyn sage avens fetherfoye helwort smallage alysands & wash hem clene &
stamp he small & put hem into an erden pote & let hem stande so all a daye
& onnyght clen heled then put ther to a quart of whyt wine or a potell as ye
erbys may kindlye sethe yo in & Boyle a myll waye yo stran yt throuhe a
clothe yo ys clene & put yt into a clen vessell & let the seke vys yo of xv
spunfals at evyn hott & in the mornynge colde & thys vsyd mast ca gylberd
cymer dene of Salisbury for lordys

Recipe 271

Pypers & yo brest & lungs

Take te juse of ysope hor hounte horsse ments & hany of yche a sasserfull &
boyll all ther togethers tyll yt be stran & put yo to Senamon gyng &
enulacapan of yche halfe a novnce & et of thys fyrst & last or thou go to bede
& drynke not aft

Recipe 272

For the brest

Take groyndeswyove di m° bruswort di m° yo iij part of a handfull of avens
& stamp yo small & stran yt in to gud ale & geve yt for to drynke & she
shalbe holl drynke iij or iij tyms yo of
Take 200 of yar by
The geometry of a shell (diameter) when a make a plath (a large) to
distances
Take 2000 of raw or
of strong mix
in water to make a plath
of a large
and to make a well into it
of taking (in alcohol)

Takes the weight of 1 meter of
some matter to get the exchange place
for paper (i.e., still solid)

Takes 200 to make a only
in a molle (make a plath)
of a large open to be off at the
the end of small to be off to be
for another year for the bond of

261
Recipe 273
brest
ake the rotys of avens & drynke w' stoll ayle yt ys gud for melke also take ye juse of pempnell & reue & geue yt her to drynke & yt well sese y' swellyng --- also take gret worms & kot hem in ij or iij pessys & dry hen on a tylstone & make pouds y of & w'ij clovys or iij geue yt her to drynke w' gud ale

B14 008

Recipe 274
pyps
for akyng of paps
Take dreggys of aysell & verge wax & make a plast & laye y to

Recipe 275
pyps
another
Take fatt bacon y' ys resty & groundsuely & stampe y together so small as ye maye & make a plast y of & laye yt coulde to ye soor breste ij tyns evre daye & yt well have away bothe suelyng & akyng

Recipe 276
Ranklyn breast
yff a brest be ranklet
Take flex & the whyt of a neg & mell hem well together & laye yt a pon ye paps & yt shall helyt

Recipe 277
another
Take the jus of smalache & mellyt w' ry melle & make plast y of & lay yt a pon yr brest & drynke the juse of smalache & yf she luse her mylke gyue her the juse of veryyne to drynke
Recipe 278

If a woman’s breast be broken & full of holes

Take ye drepyns of wyht wyne & ye Juse of sorrell, evens sayge mugwort
stampe thes to gether & temp yt w’ ye creme of a conys mylke of on colore
sethe all thes & skem yt fayer & then laye yt plast’ wys a pon flax al coulde &
so laye in on to ye brest & laye ye levys of Rosmarye a pon yt plast’ & yt well
mayke yow hool be gods grace

Recipe 279

For ache in mans bode in what plase so ev’ yt may be

Take a quantete of camamyle & stamp yt small in a mast’ & take a quantete of
blake otys & stampe hem in a mort’ & pt awaye the holys clene take y’ ye
otys & the camomyle & a idj verth of mete oyle & frye thes to gether in a
fayer pan & when y’ bene well fryd plast’ wyes so hot as he may suffer by yt
to the soor & let yt lye tell yt be dry & remeue yt so agayne & thre tyms iij
days & he shalbe hooll
We hold the foundation

Since December, the sundry parts of the crown and land have been secured, as follows.

If a man be injured

70 sheets

It is related that a 20 kilder

From the north, both from the west and east, to the great plaster

The unkind

Are the winds

The contrary, and the mountain

Here is a knot

To divide and the stone

Here is a knot
Recipe 280
emorodys
'To hell the emoradys
Take beuglas & clare fyde honay put yre to brenston fyne poudyrd & make a salf yre of & ytt well hel heme

Recipe 281
for farys
Iff a man be takyn w't the farys
Take a nerbe that berys a yallow floure w't ys callyd hors flours & senegren & ot meel & plastre ytt coulde to the grevyd pllsys & he schall bothe purge & be hopyn in the malodye

Recipe 282
anache
ffor a nayche
Take cantarradas & pepp & venekar & mustard & make a plast yre of & laye a pon the sore

Recipe 283
for a skabe or a sasfleme fayse
Take garleke & honnye & stampe yre to gether & laye yt apon yre soor & ye shalbe hool
Fist of the month of February

This is the first of February in the year of our Lord 1234.

No feast to remember take up a flag and make feasts to tell all.

2 oz. 2 days

For the feast was of beans

For the other feast in the feast be

Three pounds of beans and two pounds of peas.

No feast of beans or peas is to be made.

The feast of beans is to be made on the first of February.

A feast to tell others.

A feast to tell others.

A feast to tell others.
Recipe 284

Rasat for merbos galico

Take a vnce insence & make a p ffume & rasavyd in at your mouth
Itm for to drynke take gals & make poud' & drynke w' stall alle 2 or 3 days

Recipe 285

Ffor schort nes of wynde or for other dysses in the stomoke

Take kweke selver & kell hem w' your fastyng spattell & vardegrecce oyll de
baye veneger & oyll of roses & barhogs gres & a noynt the pam of your
hande y' w' & put a gloue a pon your hand & ye shalbe hool

Recipe 286

a wat' to hell kankers festors & oulde soors

Take iiij vnce roche alum & iiij vnce of drye mad' well bettn & a pytnt of
veneg' a saser of hony a potell of clere oulde cou hoof a lytyll quantet of salt
// bott boyll y' oofe fyrst & strenete hem throuhe a straner when he ys coulde
& then put y' to all your for sayd stuf in a clene pan & let yt boyll tell halve
be wastytt & well stand opon ons nayll & then let yt boyll a lytyll longger then
stran ye a gayn & kepe yt in a glas & washe y' soore ther wyth & take a lenet
clothe & wet in y' lecor & laye yt a pon & thys well make ytt hool
Recipe 287

Ffor y' brokyn man or woman or schylde

Take x rede snals mayde in poudr & geue eve other day on of y' to drynke
w' whyte wyne & yt well helpe her w' in iiiij tymes drynkyn
B15 003
Recipe 288

cyarcore glest

cyarcore sede in water w' all salce & hone ys gud for glest'

Recipe 289

Sentenode

ffor spottyng blode ye Jus yw' wyen drinke // also yt ys gud for voment

ache of syds

Itm for ache of y' syds take ye jus w' oyll of roses & anoynt the sydes & rebys

ache of legs

Suellyng

Itm for suellyng of the breste a plast' of ye erbe w' butr' & lay ther to

Itm for ache of the legys yw' salt fleme wash yw' w' y' wat' yw' erbe ys sode in

Flux

Itm for ye flux of ye womes thys erbe w' suger & w' wyne drinke alsofor supfeuate of ye flours in woman ys gud
Recipe 290

A medesen for ye newe dysses

Take reue brome sage eld' levys of ye end' barke brere levys y' berys the blake berys of evre on a lytyll handfull & stamp them & stran y' in to a quart of whyt wyne put y' in to a pot w' y' on j dj worth of whyt veneger & stop ye pott cloce & take y' of every mornyng fastyng ij sponfuls & yff ye seke fell hem selfe not well suke fastyng evre mornyng ij or iij baye levys & suke out the Jus & spet out ye lefe do so & theme shalt be hool
Appendix 2. The leather cover

The outer cover is a separate loose cover of plain, undecorated, soft brown leather (see App 2.1). Although this has not been examined microscopically, the thickness and texture suggest that it is probably cow hide. Since the leather is unmarked, it cannot be directly dated without destructive analysis, and since it is not directly attached to the book, there is no way of telling whether or not it is of the same date as the binding of the notebook. There is no particular reason to suppose that it is a later addition, but it is not impossible.
The cover was made in two main pieces, sewn together along a single seam, apparently stitched edge to flesh on both pieces. The two pieces have become separated, and the seam edge on the main cover has disappeared. This is consistent with the generally worn and frayed edges of the cover. The smaller piece is itself a composite, comprised of a flap to close around the exposed edge of the cover, and a decorative loop stitched to this edge to flesh with a coarse thread. The loop provided an anchor point for a string, ribbon or leather thong, which would then have been tied around the whole book to keep it closed. A small loop of coarse thread remains tied around the leather loop, but this need not be the original fastening, and may well be a later replacement. A facsimile of the leather cover (see App. 2.2), with the addition of a leather thong as fastening, shows how the cover would originally have appeared.¹

¹ I am grateful to Dr Gareth Williams of the British Museum for producing the facsimile for me.
Appendix 3: Examples of the three main handwriting styles

Below are examples of the three main styles of handwriting found in the text. These are respectively the main hand in which the text is written; the main hand used for the continuation of the text towards the end; and the hand used for the self-contained block of ‘magical’ recipes, numbers 33-36.

App 3.1. Recipes 26, ffor grevans in ons ere’ and 27, ‘To make tethe white that be yelowe & blake’. These are typical of the main hand in which the manuscript is written.
App 3.2. Recipes 280 ‘To hell the emoradys’ and 281 ‘Iff a man be takyn w’ the farys’. These are typical of the hand used for the continuation from page B14 010 onwards, after the main hand ceases.
App. 3.1. Recipe 33, ffor one kynde of thevyse y”be disposed to Robe a house or a gardyng or ane other playse. This is representative of the hand which wrote recipes 33-36, all of which are magical in character, and differ in tone as well as handwriting from the other recipes in the text.
Appendix 4: Illustration of an early syphilis sufferer depicted by Albrecht Dürer (1496)

Appendix 5: Weekly entry of diseases and casualties, 6 July to 13, London, 1680

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disease</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flux</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French-pox</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griping in the guts</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaundice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impostume</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kill'd 2, one at S. Martin in the fields, and one by an accidental fall from a Wharf at S. Martin Vintre</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overlaid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice vits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising of the Lights</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spotted Fever</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stillborn</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stopping in the Stomach</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suddenly</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surfet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teeth</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tifick</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulcer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wind</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In all</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Parties clear of the Plague—132 Parties infected—0

© Folger Shakespeare Library Digital Image CollectionWorshipful Company of Parish Clerks. The diseases and casualties this week 6 July to 13, London, 1680. Shelfmark 252- 868q
http://www.folger.edu/imgdlt.cfm?imageid=2754
Appendix 6: Comparison of the *materia medica* in the Ince book with those found in three other published medical texts

This appendix provides a concordance of which *materia medica* appear in each of the three published texts which I have selected to compare with the Ince book, along with the Ince book itself. The information has been divided into three tables, covering herbal, mineral and animal based ingredients respectively.

App. 6.1 Herbal ingredients

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INGREDIENT</th>
<th>THE TROTLUA Page Number Chapter I except where stated</th>
<th>THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number</th>
<th>THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number</th>
<th>INCE BOOK Recipe Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acacia</td>
<td>76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acorn</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>129, 130, 132*</td>
<td>129, 132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Oil)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cups)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affodil</td>
<td>17, 29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(properly Asphodel but often used for Daffodil)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agrimony</td>
<td>74, 122</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agnus Castus/Tatsin</td>
<td>29, 30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agrimony</td>
<td>70, 116*</td>
<td>18, 30, 37*</td>
<td>32, 54, 122, 125, 127, 150, 269</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ale</td>
<td>70, 74</td>
<td>18, 9, 11, 39*, 12, 23, 24*, 54</td>
<td>83, 240</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Posset Ale)</td>
<td>(Strong, old) (Stale)</td>
<td>70, 74</td>
<td>4, 8, 9, 20, 31, 52, 54, 163a, 198, 223, 224, 226, 273</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INGREDIENT</td>
<td>THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated</td>
<td>THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number</td>
<td>THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number</td>
<td>INCE BOOK Recipe Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander</td>
<td>138 (MM)</td>
<td>11, 35</td>
<td>181, 182, 183</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almonds (Almond Milk)</td>
<td>113, 119</td>
<td>55, 56</td>
<td>107, 126, 165*</td>
<td>183, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Oil of sweet almonds)</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>10, 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Bitter Almond Oil)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aloe (Aloewood)</td>
<td>82, 95*</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>170, 178, 271*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aloes Socotrine</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>266 (G)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aloes Hepatic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>266 (G)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amees</td>
<td></td>
<td>25, 35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amomum</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ammoniacum (Resin gum)</td>
<td>138 (MM)</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>119</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anete</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>127, 145, 150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angelica (Water of)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>131</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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**Key**
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- The Birth of Mankind (G) Glossary

App 6. 2 Mineral ingredients

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**Key**
- *After page number shows multiple entries
- The Trotula (MM) Materia Medica
- The Birth of Mankind (G) Glossary
Appendix 7. The Four Humors of Hippocratic Medicine

© The Interactive Bible.

www.bible.ca/psychiatry/psychiatry-humoral-hippocratic-medicine-hippocrates-four-humors-450bc-1858ad-melanchol-blood-depression.jpg.
Appendix 8. Selected popular medical works of the sixteenth century, showing the number of reprinted editions of each work that had taken place up to 1660.

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<td>Secretes of Albertus Magnus</td>
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Appendix 9. Zodiac Man, from a fourteenth-century manuscript.

This picture illustrates the different parts of the body believed to be influenced by different astrological signs, in the Zodiac medicine of the late Middle Ages.

©St John’s College University of Cambridge
http://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/zodiac-man.
Appendix 10. Translation of recipe no. 34, ‘For a wall to keep animals out and keep the things inside safe’.

In the name of the father, the son and the holy spirit Amen

+In bethlehem in Judaea where Christ was born there was found neither thief nor robbers nor wild animals, except harnessed animals. Just as these animals were caught and bound and restrained and just so as to speak Christ was caught, bound and restrained, and Saint Peter was caught and bound in chains and restrained, so all robbers illegally entering this place or harmful animals shall be drugged and restrained and in chains and shackles held and prevented from leaving before I will it /and may not harm the things of the creator [?] /and then fasten firmly at every corner of the enclosure one of the nails saying : just as these nails stay fixed in place so may all those who enter this place illegally or doing harm be taken and firmly bound until I wish all of them to be unbound. And then from 4 wands make 4 circlets or hoops and hang them on each of the 4 nails and say: o king who rules over the south, o king who rules over the east, o king who rules over the west, o king who rules over the northern parts, o brothers sergeants and sisters Sator, Atripos, and Lachesis overturn fate [?] and fasten in with these, and so this place is sealed in for seven hours seven pits of hell[?] so all raiders or robbers or thief entering this place or any evil animal entering the bounds are confounded invisibly in shackles and bound so they cannot move, since those seven names are through him who created heaven and earth and sea and everything in them as long as these circles hang here they are not able to get out

Also say three times help us and make perfect the ring of god/ and while you work this experiment say three creeds, three pater nosters and three aves.’
Appendix 11. The Sator –Rotas square

The Sator-Rotas square is a multiple palindrome, as it reads the same forwards and backwards when read either horizontally or vertically. The letters can also be arranged into the form of a cross, spelling out the words Pater noster (the opening of the Lord’s Prayer, with the letters A and O for alpha and omega (symbolising the beginning and the end) in the angles of the cross. Despite, or perhaps because of, its Christian symbolism, the use of the words from the square as a charm is widely recorded, and it is specifically cited as a cure for insanity and for fever in two books directly contemporary with the Ince Book, De Varia Quercus Historia, by Jean du
Choul (Lyons 1555), and *De Rerum Varietate*, by Jérôme Cardan, a medical astrologer, (Milan 1557).²