Nation, Culture and Self: Readings of Andrew Boorde's *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*

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ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the relevance of Andrew Boorde's *Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, complementing the scarce literature on the author with a more detailed survey of the literary strategies of his text. Nation and otherness, authority and self, are some of the themes developed using colonial and cultural materialist approaches. The narrative is paralleled to a map where colonial impulses are explained and boundaries drawn between cultures, disclosing the fragmentation of Europe and promoting the supremacy of England. The relationship of fashion with politics and religion as part of the text's political agenda is also addressed, as well as Boorde's own self-fashioning as national subject and authoritative self. Questions on the generic evolution of travel literature, the debates surrounding our systems of evaluation of the literary text and our historical perceptions, are raised throughout, concluding with a short discussion on the reception of the text as an entity independent from its author and a survey on the influence it had on later writers.

To my parents, for their Yin and Yang

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Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION 1

Constructing Boorde 2

Boorde's Literary Afterlife 8

Reassessing Boorde's Works 10

Introducing the *Introduction* 15

CHAPTER 1. A SURVEY OF NATION AND CULTURE 19

The *Introduction* as Cultural Geography 23

Mapping Europe: Textual Strategies of Appropriation 24

The Garments of Nation: The Role of Fashion in the *Introduction* 32

Costume and Custom: The Colonial Supremacy of English Culture 35

Boorde's Cultural Map: Addressing Change in the New Europe 44

CHAPTER 2. A SURVEY OF THE SELF 46

Questions on the Concept of Self 48

The Authoritative Self 51

The Self as National Subject 58

Reforming the Old Self 61

An Inward Narrative: The Self as Object of the Travel Book 63

Chapter 3. Reception and Readings of the *Introduction* 66

Patron, Printer, Reader: Contexts for the Production of the *Introduction* 68

Historical Reception: The Influence of the *Introduction* 71

Modern Readings 73

Conclusion 75

Bibliography 77

List of Illustrations

Figure 1.	Boorde, as depicted in his *Breuiary of* Health, 1v.	3
Figure 2.	Alleged portrait of Boorde in *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, 143	4
Figure 3.	Representation of Skelton in *Agaynste a Comely Coystrowne and Dyuers Balettys*, title page	4
Figure 4.	A linear itinerary. Matthew Paris, *Liber Additamentorum*. London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D i, fols. 183v. 184r.	25
Figure 5.	Map of chapters of the *Introduction*	27
Figure 6.	The Turks, wearing long gowns and headdresses. The *Introduction*, 214	33
Figure 7.	The naked Englishman, shears in hand to cut himself a garment and a piece of the world. The *Introduction* 116.	39

Introduction

> "Certes this writer (otherwise being a lewd popish hypocrite and vngratious priest) shewed himself herein not to be altogether void of ivdgement."[1]

The beginning of the sixteenth century stands, from a modern perspective, as a liminal space between the Middle Ages and the early modern period. But such strict periodical division can be misleading, since it creates the impression that at some point during the sixteenth century, or even at its very beginnings, everything "medieval" disappeared and was substituted by a fully "early modern" England with "early modern" attitudes. This differentiation denies the possibility of a certain continuity in mores and ways of thinking; a continuity that, as can be found in the cultural production of the time, coexisted with the changes and instability that define this period.[2] Regardless of the drastic changes imposed during the Henrician reformation, it is unrealistic to draw a clear cut division between these ages since the English people did not suddenly assimilate and accept the new moral, philosophical and religious ideas that "becoming modern"

1 Harrison's *Description of England*, 1586. Quoted in Furnivall, 'Forewords,' *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, by Andrew Boorde (London: EETS, 1870) 106.

2 An evaluation of the effect of this periodical divisions can be found in Stephen Greenblatt and Giles Gunn, *Redrawing the Boundaries* (New York: MLA, 1992) 41-63.

implied.[3] There was a constant struggle between the old ways of Roman Catholicism and the new ways of the Reformation, and radical positions cohabited with mixed reception. Individuals needed to accommodate such instability: to reconcile reformist ideas with deeply rooted conservative traditions on a personal level. The textual production of the time, used by audiences and authors as a tool to react to their context by the act of reading and writing, mirrors the social fragmentation brought forth by the changes happening during the early sixteenth century.[4] It is in this period that Andrew Boorde produced his writings, and it is his role as actor within this textual interplay that forms the basis of the present study.

CONSTRUCTING BOORDE

An initial source of information about Boorde is the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, where a concise summary of his life and works is offered.[5] Here, the first paradox about the man appears in the shape of his portrait. Under the generic title of "physician and author," the image of Andrew Boorde is taken from a woodcut used to illustrate his *Breuiary of Health*, where he is depicted as a pensive university master

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3 See the works of J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), and Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), on the idea of the Reformation as a change orchestrated from the government and with an irregular reception among the people.

4 R. Weimann, *Authority and Representation in Early Modern Discourse,* ed. David Hillman (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996) 8, and Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003) 11.

5 Elizabeth Lane Furdell, "Boorde, Andrew (*c.*1490-1549), Physician and Author," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2870> [accessed 5 Dec. 2004}.

surrounded by books (figure 1). Although he could have been entitled to be represented this way because of his extensive education, that university master is certainly not Boorde but an earlier laureate scholar: the block used for the woodcut had initially been designed as a portrait of Robert Whittington in 1517. Another misleading likeness of the author can be found in his *Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*: this time his alleged portrait is a recycled woodcut originally used to depict Skelton, the poet laureate (figures 2 and 3).[6] There may be a practical explanation for this in a lack of funding for the production of original woodcuts, which forced the printer to recycle any other scholarly portraits that he had at hand.[7] Otherwise, we can interpret this editorial incident as a deliberate effort to actually "laureate" the author, as R.W. Maslen points out, increasing his aura of erudition for commercial reasons or to enhance the authoritative tone of the work.[8] Whatever the reason may have been, we can only assert that none of the likenesses of the author printed alongside his works are actually connected with the individual himself. They are instead an idea of what he represented; a fictional construct.

Figure 1. Boorde, as depicted in his *Breuiary of Health,* 1v.

6 R.W. Maslen, "The Afterlife of Andrew Borde," *Studies in Philology* 100.4 (Fall 2003): 463-92 (474). See Julie A. Smith "The Poet Laureate as University Master," *Renaissance Rereadings,* eds. M.C. Horowitz et alia (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998) 159-179 for a study of the portraits of John Skelton and Robert Whittington.

7 In Furnivall's 'Forewords' to the *Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, we find an Andrew Boorde acknowledging that there were problems of "lacke of money and paper"(15) during the printing of his books. See Boorde, *Introduction* 15. The amount of illustrations contained in the *Introduction* enhanced its presentational value but also added up to the cost, thus postponing the printing until further funds had been gathered.

8 Maslen 474.

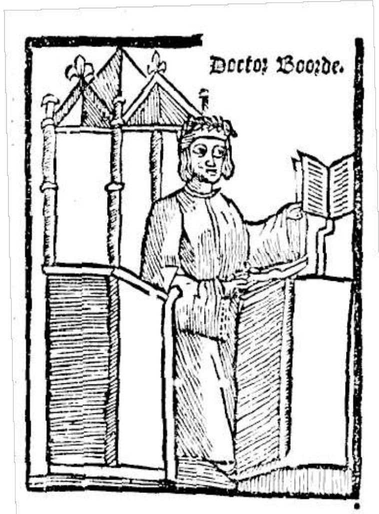

Figure 2. Alleged portrait of Boorde in *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, 143.

Figure 3. Representation of Skelton in *Agaynste a Comely Coystrowne and Dyuers Balettys.*

However, there are some certainties about the existence of an Andrew Boorde - physician and author - and the relevance he may have had during his life as an active writer and as an individual associated with the spheres of power. Snippets of these appear in his correspondence with Thomas Cromwell, in his will, and, if we want to take them as accurate, scattered in his works.[9] Most of these documents have been collated in F.J. Furnivall's introduction to Boorde's works, where digressive autobiographical fragments of Boorde's texts are combined with epistolary extracts to create a life of the author and an emotive description of his character.[10] Altogether, there is a fair amount of extant textual evidence about the author containing biographical facts. These documents are of great help to clarify the context in which Boorde's works were written: they offer

9 For transcripts and references to the letters and location of the editions and manuscripts, see Furnivall 'Forewords,' *Introduction* 36-74. Some were published by Sir H. Ellis, *Original Letters*, 1846, in the collections of the Sussex Archaeological Society for 1861 (vol. xiii, p. 262), whilst others can be found in the Record Office. Cathy Shrank offers accurate references to his correspondence and the location of the originals in her article "Andrew Boorde and the Politics of Identity in Reformation England," *Reformation* 5 (2001): 1-26 (3-9). Boorde's will, dated 25 April 1549, can be found in The National Archives, PROB 11/32.

10 Furnivall, 'Forewords,' *Introduction* 9-110.

"historical" details that may help us to understand some of the views offered in his works, fleshing out the narrative persona, and may be helpful in answering some of the questions surrounding the production and distribution of his books. But rather than assuming that the letters of the author may explain his works fully, we must be aware of the fact that these biographical details are, in the end, a further textual construct, as reliable as the portraits that have been left for posterity.[11]

A summary of his colourful life runs as follows: born circa 1490 in Sussex and brought up at Oxford, he joined the London Charterhouse at an early age, around 1515. Unhappy with the strict life of the Carthusian monk, he sought dispensation from his vows and was finally released from the order in 1530 through the intercession of Thomas Cromwell. Boorde's new freedom allowed him to travel extensively while studying in different European universities. In exchange for Cromwell's support, Boorde sent regular information about Scotland and other European nations to the king's minister, since Cromwell was interested in the reaction that Henry VIII's divorce and the political and religious changes that ensued had provoked in neighbouring countries. Apart from this relationship with the court, and his activities as itinerant physician, Boorde became a prolific author of both medical and non-medical works. He published books on astronomy (*Almanake and Pronostication for 1537,* a *Pronostycacyon for the yere 1545*, and *The Pryncyples of Astronamye*, published in 1547) and health (*The Breuyary of Health* written in 1542, a *Dyetary of Healthe* published in 1547 and dedicated to the Duke of Norfolk, and *The Boke for to Learne a Man to be Wyse in Buyldyng his Howse for the Helth of Body,* printed in 1550), jest books *(Scoggins Jests, The Merry Tales of the*

11 On the idea of the unreliability of "history" as another literary text in itself see Lee Patterson, *Negotiating the Past* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987) 44.

Mad Men of Gotham, and *The Mylner of Abyngton*, all published after his death)*,* and a number of itineraries and travel accounts (a "peregrination" printed in 1735 by Hearne in his *Benedictus Abbas Petroburgensis,* and *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, 1542).[12] The common feature of Boorde's varied compendium of works is the authorial voice: the seriousness and professionalism of the scholarly physician is always combined with an acute sense of humour and self-mockery. Even for the modern audience, the reading of his books may elicit a smile from time to time.

All of Boorde's works are extant in printed form, apart from his lost *Treatyse on Berdes* and his first *Itinerary of Europe* - this one last seen in Cromwell's office.[13] Boorde's own record of the loss of his *Itinerary* appears in the *Introduction*; "I dyd wryte a booke of euery region, countre, and prouynce… the whiche boke at Byshops-Waltam -. viii. myle from Wynchester in Hampshire, - one Thomas Cromwell had it of me. And bycause he had many matters of [state] to dyspache for al England, my boke was loste" (145).

A final clue about the author can be found in the dedications of some of his works, which give us an overview of the political alliances that he tried to establish during his life. He seems to have formed part of the circle of young humanists that Henry VIII's government subsidized to promote the Reformation, but this we can only assert through his connection with Cromwell and the monetary and legal help that he got from him.[14] During Henry's reign, scholars like Boorde were sent abroad, funded by the government,

12 Furnivall, in his 'Forewords' to the *Introduction* 9-36 offers a detailed overview of Boorde's works, nevertheless, the dates of writing of Boorde's jestbooks are unclear. The original printed editions can be accessed through Early English Book Online webpage <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>.

13 Furnivall, 'Forewords,' *Introduction* 24.

14 Furnivall, 'Forewords,' *Introduction* 52-62.

to learn and bring back knowledge; some of them were thus trained as future ambassadors who would weave a strong net of relations with the continent, and others were used to produce propagandistic literature to promote the government's policies, becoming what Shagan has termed in *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* as the "commonwealth writers" (274). Authors such as John Leland and John Bale saw their works commissioned and published under the auspices of Cromwell, the main actor in this system of patronage.[15] The dedication and presentation of works from these scholars to members of the court was thus part of a net of political interests, and Boorde was an active part of this exchange. Boorde's *Itinerary* of Europe was dedicated to Cromwell, while some of his medical books and travel itineraries are dedicated to the Duke of Norfolk, for whom he acted as physician, and to the Princess Mary. These last two powerful patrons were, unlike Cromwell, supporters of the conservative cause, a detail that has been taken as proof of Boorde's religious views. Cathy Shrank points out that both Norfolk and the future queen were notable for the "paucity and the controversial nature of the books dedicated to them."[16] In this case, the choice of dedicatee comes after the fall of Boorde's reformist patron, Cromwell, and when the author was most in need of creating a new net of support. Nevertheless, there seems to be a contradictory relationship between the choice of patrons and the reformist discourse that Boorde constructs in the works he dedicated to them.

15 Further information on Thomas Cromwell's literary campaign and the role of humanism and education in the reformist cause can be found in G.W. Bernard, "The making of Religious Policy, 1533-1546," *The Historical Journal* 41.2 (1998): 321-349, M. Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), C. Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance* (London: John Lane, 1914), in John Scattergood's "John Leland's *Itinerary* and the Identity of England," published in A.J. Piesse, *Sixteenth Century Identities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) 58-74.

16 Shrank, "Andrew Boorde and the Politics of Identity in Reformation England," *Reformation* 5 (2001): 1-26 (19).

Despite his efforts to secure patronage and protection from the court, and to dismiss his past as a Carthusian monk, none of his patrons would help Boorde in his final years. Accusations of papistry followed him until he finished his days in Fleet prison, convicted for immorality in 1547.[17] The only extant witness of his death is his will, drafted in prison in 1549.

BOORDE'S LITERARY AFTERLIFE

This thesis hopes to show that Boorde's texts are not only worthy literary witnesses of his century, but offer also many unexplored areas of research to the modern scholar. Boorde may have lost favour among the circles of power at the time, but his works survived his misfortune and the fall of their dedicatees, with a number of reprints that may account for his literary success. His *Breviary of Health* saw no less than six reprints (from 1547 to 1598), and his *Dyetary* followed with five reprints (from 1542 to 1576); in both cases, these were mostly posthumous. It is still not clear why some of these appeared; perhaps it was due to the endowments of his former patrons, by request of their successors, or to the private interest of the printers, who were well aware of the interests of the reading public.[18] A fuller study of the production and distribution of his works deserves future analysis. But regardless of the acceptance that Boorde's works enjoyed, which may be inferred from the abundance of reprints, his skill as a multifaceted writer has been disregarded by both historians and literary critics: there are almost no modern

17 For references to these charges and Bishop Ponet's later accusations, see Maslen 465-468 and Furnivall, 'Forewords,' *Introduction* 65-71.

18 A discussion on the reception of Boorde's works will de developed in Chapter 3, pp. 66-74.

editions of his works and the secondary literature available is still limited. No in-depth evaluation on the influence of Boorde's texts has been yet published, and the references to his works in later authors (John Lyly, Thomas Dekker and William Harrison, among others) are difficult to trace and form a rather sketchy picture of his historical relevance.[19]

There are a number of extant original copies of most of Boorde's books scattered among British and American libraries. The best way to access a listing of them all is via the electronic archive of the Early English Books web page, where the different versions of each book have been uploaded in full.[20] Another essential source is The Early English Text Society's annotated edition, prepared by F.J. Furnivall and published in 1870. It contains the *Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, the *Dyetary of Health* and Barnes's *In the Defence of the Berde*. Furnivall's extensive 'Forewords' is perhaps the most comprehensive study that has been accomplished on Boorde and his works.[21] It offers a number of invaluable sources for the researcher such as the location of original documents, references to his correspondence and other associated texts, and a comparison between editions. This is the only current edition of a selection of Boorde's works in English, and even though it offers an insight into the author and some of his texts, a more modern commentary and evaluation is still needed. Furnivall's semi-facsimile treatment of the texts tries to render the differences between the extant original editions of Boorde's works, but this is only attained by the use of sometimes unclear footnotes. Some of the annotations are more tentative than accurate, and the information gathered - as well as

19 See Furnivall, 'Forewords' to the *Introduction* 106 for a historical portrait of Boorde. Sara Warneke, in her article "A Taste for Newfangledness," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26.4 (Winter 1995): 881-896 (883), offers relevant textual sources on the study of Boorde.

20 Early English Books Online <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>.

21 Furnivall, 'Forewords,' *Introduction* 11-109.

some of the readings offered - is sometimes vague and in need of updating. Apart from his antiquarian interest in the text and admiration for the character, Furnivall's edition, albeit useful and definitely a good read, lacks critical commentary.

Reassessing Boorde's Works

A more exploratory and innovative overview of Boorde's texts appears in some recent articles. Maslen's "The Afterlife of Andrew Boorde" re-evaluates Boorde's authorship of a number of jest-books, using to his advantage the same arguments that Furnivall proposed in his 'Forewords' to dismiss this authorship, and stresses Boorde's relevance as a multifaceted writer. Furnivall initially denied Boorde's authorship of the jest-books on stylistic grounds, since none of them was "like Boorde's hand" (30). He also mentions the fact that all of Boorde's works have got a strong autobiographical component which is lacking in the jest-books. Maslen turns this argument around and stresses that Boorde's style, even in his more serious works, was actually based on humour and laughter. Furthermore, the jest-books do use autobiographical references, but they turn them into self-mockery. Finally, even if the authorship was only attributed, this can still be taken as proof of the relevance Boorde had as a writer of humorous works – which would explain why his name was chosen by the printers to authorise the texts. Maslen devotes substantial space to historical background, used to explain many of his theories, but perhaps the most interesting argument of this article is the identification of humour as the main component of Boorde's literary style: a strategy used to "negotiate his way through the turbulence of history with the help of laughter" (481). He compares

Boorde's jest-books to those produced in the continental school of Montpellier by authors such as Rabelais, highlighting the therapeutical use of laughter that connects Boorde's style with the French author and the fact that both attended university in Montpellier, where Hippocratical theories on medicine and mirth were taught.

Maslen explains the silence surrounding Boorde's character as a result of the hate campaign instigated by some radical evangelical writers.[22] On the other hand, the silence surrounding his books is explained on generic grounds. Boorde's jest-books, travel-guides, and health manuals, examples of "the lightest of literary forms" (485), were obscured as worthy literary productions of their time by our modern preference for "a small number of sophisticated texts as the defining classics of the early modern period" (486). Even though Maslen only mentions in passing essential topics such as the complex relationship between ascribed authors, printers and the production of books, he has achieved one of his aims: to acknowledge the figure of Boorde within the scope of the literary studies and to emphasize the need for further study of his works.

Apart from his status as a comic character appearing in a number of jest-books or authorising them, Boorde has other kinds of afterlives. His description of the Englishman has influenced other authors, and has raised the most interest among scholars. In "Andrew Borde and the Politics of Identity in Reformation England," Cathy Shrank offers one of the lengthiest studies of Boorde, but her subject is presented in a rather descriptive manner, exploring only superficially the production of his books in relation to the historical context. Shrank's argument seems to explain the time and the circumstances of

22 For the accusations against Boorde from Bishop Ponet and Johannes Bale, and William Harrison's evaluation on Boorde see Furnivall, 'Forewords' to the *Introduction* 65-72.

the author better than his textual production, offering no literary analysis of his works. Nevertheless, she centres her discussion around the relevance of the idea of nation and the concept of Englishness in Boorde's textual production, explaining how both themes were influenced by the instability of the time.[23] Shrank thus emphasizes how Boorde's works were a production that, like many others during the Henrician Reformation, attempted to "react to, resist or accommodate" the changes (2), seeking a personal balance between the old and the new ways, and addressing a wide audience that may have comprised followers of both sides of the reformist discussion. The connection between Boorde's personal life and the political and religious debates of his time is the central motif of Shrank's chapter on Boorde in her recently published book *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530-1580*, where she elaborates further on the themes of the author's identity already present in her article.[24] Nevertheless, even though the assessment of Boorde's character is based on textual sources, such as his works and personal letters, his literary production is dealt with as historical evidence, secondary to the biography of the author.

Following the argument of history and nation as highlighted by Shrank, but in a more innovative manner, Roze Hentschell and Sara Warneke explore the relationship of text and textile. Boorde's description of the Englishman and his fashion foibles is used as an example of the role of dress in the construction of nationality. Hentschell centres her article "Treasonous Textiles: Foreign Cloth and the Construction of Englishness" on the

23 Shrank, "Politics of Identity" 14-17, 23.

24 Cathy Shrank, "Andrew Borde: Authorship and Identity in Reformation England," *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530-1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004): 27-64. This book is the latest publication on Boorde, developing a chapter around the author's figure. It represents a reworking of Shrank's earlier article on the same subject, and has not been extensively discussed in this study since it was unavailable until only a week before the submission of this thesis. However, its contents do not radically alter the approach of, or conclusions reached by, Shrank's article as reviewed above.

study of the economic interests hidden behind the references to fashion in literature.[25] These interests were fuelled by a crisis in the cloth trade that she locates at the end of the sixteenth century.[26] The relationship between text and material culture is presented through the comparison of image, text and context, developing a cultural materialist analysis of her chosen literary examples, among which Boorde's *Fyrst Booke of the Introduction of Knowledge* stands out. Nevertheless, there is no acknowledgement of any medieval texts that actually initiated the literary trend of relating text to textile, fashion to nation, which would have been useful for tracing the origin of the national descriptions used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[27] Sara Warneke presents this topic diachronically, articulating a similar dialogue between material culture and text in a study of the term "newfangledness" in her article "A Taste for Newfangledness: The Destructive Potential of Novelty in Early Modern England."[28] Boorde is here just another example, but he is presented as a link between traditions, maintaining medieval perspectives while introducing innovative perceptions.[29]

In *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*, Maria Dowling offers an interesting insight into the role of humanism in the development of reading relations in early modern

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25 Hentschell, Roze. "Treasonous Textiles: Foreign Cloth and the Construction of Englishness." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32.3 (Fall 2002): 543-70. Also published in *Clothing Culture*, ed. Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) 49-62 under the title "A Question of Nation."

26 Hentschell, "Treasonous Textiles" 545.

27 As for example the *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye,* an anonymous poem published in 1436. *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye. A Poem on the Use of Sea-Power,1436,* ed. George Warner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926).

28 Warneke, Sara. "A Taste for Newfangledness: The Destructive Potential of Novelty in Early Modern England." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26.4 (Winter 1995): 881-896.

29 Warneke 882-3.

England.[30] She also studies the relationship between didactic literature and patronage, explaining the creation of a new figure: the wandering scholar. Her discussion of Andrew Boorde occupies only a handful of lines, presenting him as an almost anonymous travelling humanist whose works are merely “interesting for showing a wandering scholar’s impression of his surroundings” (153). The scanty references to his texts are presented as factual examples out of context and without any critical comment. Her final line on the *Introduction* relegates it to the status of a “sort of handbook for wandering scholars” (154), reading it only for its factual information, obviating the different layers of meaning that it may contain, and misrepresenting the actual type of audiences that it may have been addressed to.

In H.C. Cook’s article "Good Advice and Little Medicine" we find an insight into the profession of the physician.[31] Boorde’s *Dietary* is described as “a testament to [the Duke of] Norfolk’s patronage [and] to the best rules of the “physic” of his day” (14). Even though its interest lies in the practicalities of the physician's education and role in society, almost indirectly, this article offers a link between medicine and text. This interdisciplinary connection has been already highlighted in Maslen’s article, where laughter is presented as the cure for many evils and hence the book becomes medicine in itself.[32] This type of interdisciplinary approach, as seen in the studies relating the text to material culture, is the only way to exploit Boorde’s texts fully; it emphasizes a number of textual relationships that would be missed if we resorted solely to the external

30 Maria Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (London: Croom Helm, 1986) 153-4

31 H.C. Cook, “Good Advice and Little Medicine,” *The Journal of British Studies* 33.1 (Jan. 1994): 1-31.

32 Maslen 481-486.

historical facts to explain them, an approach that many studies have unfortunately taken.

There is a final source that I would like to discuss, even though it does not relate to the scholarly study of Boorde *per se*. Katherine Lack's *The Cockleshell Pilgrim* collates some extracts of Boorde's *Introduction* as travel testimonies of an imagined pilgrimage to Compostella, placing Boorde's texts within the realm of fiction.[33] She uses the same amalgamation of styles that we find in Boorde's *Introduction*, and places the author and his work as part of a historical construct. This literary device puts text, history and fiction at the same level, blurring the boundaries between them. Lack's text allows us to see how the medieval itinerary and the production of early modern travel texts are connected, and how the separation in period or genres creates an artificial breach in the literary continuum. Indirectly, this is the only treatment that transforms Boorde's text into a substantial example of the corpus of travel literature of the time, an idea which has not been reinforced in any of the aforementioned studies enough. At the same time, it connects it with the medieval tradition of the travel itinerary, mainly represented by the pilgrimage itinerary; a tradition that influenced Boorde in the writing of his *Introduction* and which would keep on developing during the following centuries.

INTRODUCING THE *INTRODUCTION*

As we have seen, the available secondary literature addresses questions of

33 Katherine Lack, *The Cockleshell Pilgrim. A Medieval Journey to Compostela* (London: SPCK, 2003) 118, 132. Lack gathers in her book other cognate literary sources such as the itineraries of William Wey, Arnold von Harff and Leo of Romitzal, as well as better known texts such as *The Book of Margery Kempe*, *The Canterbury Tales*, with more historical-related sources such as the *Lybel of English Polycie,* chronicles and testimonies from wills.

historicity, material culture, authority and genre up to a point, but its foci of interest remain scattered and Boorde's individual texts still require more comprehensive treatment. This thesis will try to fill in some of the gaps left by the critics by focusing on one particular book: *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*.[34] This is one of Boorde's most varied and enjoyable books. Its variety of styles and themes makes it a useful starting point for a comprehensive study of the author and his works, allowing it to be tackled from a variety of critical standpoints.

The *Introduction,* an itinerary *cum* encyclopaedia of Europe, was written in 1542 while the author was studying in Montpellier. As mentioned earlier, it is one of the few books dedicated to the princess Mary.[35] In it, Boorde narrates a very personal Grand Tour of Europe through its nationalities, describing their character, their produce, attire and most important cities. His route starts in the British Isles, including Scotland, Wales and Cornwall, and traces a circular itinerary to Turkey and back to Calais, with a final look at Jerusalem. He includes short sentence dictionaries at the end of each national description, offering a translation into English of the most useful expressions for the traveller to find room and board when sojourning abroad. In its very first page the book presents itself as a serious encyclopaedia intending to "teache a man to speake parte of al maner of languages; and by it one maye knowe the vsage and fashyon of all maner of countres or regions, and also to know the moste part of all maner of coynes of mony, that which is currant in euery prouince or region" (112). Parallel to this didactic intent, we soon find the humorous style of the author in the introductions to each chapter, where the national

34 This book will be referred to as the *Introduction* during this paper. All the examples gathered for this work have been taken from Furnivall's Early English Text Society edition.

35 See p. 7.

characters present themselves with a set of comic rhymes where fashion, customs and accents are mocked, accompanied by a woodcut depicting their clothing. Among all this information, Boorde also finds time to include personal anecdotes, a chapter on himself and a short dialogue between himself and an imagined Latinman.

The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* dates the edition of this work in or after 1547, following Furnivall, but no extant copy has arrived to us of this first edition. Its extant copies are dated 1555 and 1562 and were finished by Robert Copland's successor, William Copland, in two different workshops (Rose Garland and Lothbury) after Boorde's death in 1549. Without the first edition we cannot evaluate to what extent the original text was edited by the printer. When compared, the editions are almost identical but for the interchange of some of the woodcuts and for some textual variations in paragraphs related to contemporary events - paragraphs that Furnivall describes furthermore as examples of Copland's rhyming style.[36] These discordances have been instrumental for Furnivall in dating the published editions and in explaining reasons behind instances of editorial reconstruction. At the same time, they highlight the strong connection between the text and its context. The 1562 edition omits the references to Henry VIII, since by then Elizabeth was already on the throne; thus the oath "but euer to be trew, to god and my kynge" (115), from the earlier edition, is dropped in the latest. The conquest of Bologne by Henry VIII, praised in the 1555 edition, disappears in 1562, since the city had been regained by France at this point: "Boleyn is now ours by conquest of ryall kyng Henry the eyght" (209). The earliest reference to "matins or masse" is also changed during Elizabeth's reign to "anye of gods seruasse" (141).

36 Furnivall, 'Forewords,' *Introduction* 19.

Given the restricted length of this thesis, I will concentrate on the analysis of the textual strategies employed in the *Introduction* to respond to the instability of the period, focusing on the text's relationship with the construction of nation and the representation of the individual. Aspects of these questions have already been introduced in some of the articles enumerated as secondary literature, but I will approach them from the generic perspective of the travel book while employing a range of theoretical approaches. In the first chapter, the question of nation will be addressed from the standpoint of colonial theories and cultural materialism, analysing the construction of the new Europe through the parallel use of word, geography and material references. Maps, clothes and language become an intrinsic part of the textual effort to represent otherness, establishing a geography of cultural boundaries and national alliances. The second chapter will devote its attention to the construction of the individual within this background, focusing on the establishment of authority, the description of the self in contrast with the foreign, and the fragmentation of both the subjects presented and the authorial persona. The last chapter will reassess the status of the text focusing on its reception and the influence it had on contemporary and later authors, evaluating the *Introduction* within its historical context and from a modern perspective as a self-sufficient literary production.

Chapter 1
Surveying Nation and Culture

"And of other Ilondes I haue shewed my mynd;
He that whyl trauell, the truthe he shall fynd."[37]

Born from the experience of geographical movement and confrontation with the foreign, travel literature offers a range of perspectives on the multiple relationships between the external "other" and the indigenous "self." The idea of nation as a political and cultural entity develops in the background of the travel narrative as an underlying level of meaning parallel to the description of foreign realities, offering a first-hand insight into the ways in which authors from different periods and backgrounds understood their world. As Sylvia Tomasch explains in *Text and Territory*, these narrations "territorialize and textualize" the objects described; they map through the written word the conceptual boundaries between geographical spaces and national cultures.[38] This textual exercise is not only employed to establish the differences between peoples as a means of entertainment or as a compendium of curiosities; it is also designed to possess them via the description of their secrets. Knowledge becomes the key tool to "master human others", fulfilling the need to bind geographically and possess narratively other cultures.[39] Travel literature stands now as a privileged witness to and promoter of the

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37 Boorde, *Introduction* 144.

38 Sylvia Tomasch "Introduction: Medieval Geographical Desire," *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages,* eds. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998): 1-14 (5).

39 Sealy Gilles, "Territorial Interpolations in the Old English Orosius," *Text and Territory,* eds. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998): 79-96 (91).

colonial policies that were spreading through Europe during the Age of Discoveries.

There is a great variety of early travel texts in which this fascination for the strange develops. The numerous pilgrimage itineraries that mapped the theological landscapes of Christendom, the medieval maps that depicted the known world surrounded by monstrous races, and the narrations of missionary and commercial expeditions bringing news from the far East can be studied as colonial narrations. Given the stylistic diversity of these sources - ranging from the visual map, to the epistle, the personal diary or the constructed fictional narration - scholars such as Taylor have opted to classify them under the generic title of "geographical" literatures.[40] This is an umbrella categorisation that highlights the comprehensiveness of this textual corpus. Taylor identifies within this generic group works on astronomy, mathematics, natural philosophy, geographies and cosmographies, works concerned with topography, with descriptive and human geography, chronicles and histories, books of travel and surveyors' and navigators' manuals (2). Even though she only lists textual sources, this genre can also include geographical artefacts.

The variety in matter and shape of the geographical genre enables its study from different academic perspectives, from the historical and the strictly geographical to the literary, making it possible to elicit a number of interdisciplinary readings that converge in the written text as a common means of translation and representation of the world. Nevertheless, this same variety seems to have proved negative for the appreciation of some of these geographical witnesses as literary texts by critics who consider that

40 Eva Taylor, *Tudor Geography (1485-1583)* (London: Methuen, 1930) 1.

"literariness" is linked to an exclusive set of aesthetic and generic characteristics.[41] Taylor's work on geographical texts, comprehensive as it appears, suffers from this flaw: it is only designed to integrate texts that deal scientifically with geographical thought. In this chapter, her categorisation will be used in a more flexible way, acknowledging the scientific or historical within the literary text, and the literary qualities of scientific or historical writing.[42]

In more modern studies, such as Gregory's *Geographical Imaginations,* Mary Baine Campbell's *The Witness and the Other World* and Tomasch and Gilles' *Text and Territory*, a better insight into the possibilities of geographical texts can be found.[43] In contrast with Taylor, Gregory's appreciation of the geographical text is centred on the quality of its discourse, not simply on its subject matter. He describes the geographical discourse as "thoroughly practical and politicised" (8), concerned above all with the establishment of a "topography of power and knowledge" (11). This approach is based on the colonial theories that study the dialogues of power found in literary productions, presenting the travel text as witness to the relationships between literature and the political changes of the time, and making it an active part in the promotion of or reaction against these same political movements. Even though the term "colonial" echoes a modern empire, focusing on the literary connections between metropolis and colonised periphery, and applied generally to the literary production of cultural "minorities," its

41 See Robert Tate's critique on the works of scholars such as A.G. Dickens in "Robert Langton, Pilgrim (1470-1524)," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 39 (1995): 182-191 (182).

42 For a comprehensive chronological list of geographical texts see Taylor's "Catalogue of English Geographical or Kindred Works to 1583," Appendix 1, 163 – 190.

43 Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994), Mary Baine Campbell *The Witness and the Other World. Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (London: Cornell University Press, 1988).

readings based on political, economical and cultural differences can still be applied to early travel narratives.[44] Complementing the colonial approach to travel narratives, Campbell, Gilles and Tomasch also refer to their historical and political relevance, and underline the status of geographical productions as works of art. Geographical narrations are thus studied as aesthetically fulfilling literary texts, addressing traditionally literary issues such as the development of authority, the relationship between fact and fiction, the struggle with the expectations of a changing type of audience and even the choice of language itself.[45] Cultural material approaches are also implemented by these authors to add a new dimension to the colonial and the aesthetical outlooks already mentioned. This type of analysis enables them to tackle the relationship between the written word and the external world, presenting the texts as cultural artefacts and artefacts as literary narrations.

As we have seen, a historical approach can offer a number of possibilities, but colonial theories and cultural materialism fill in deficiencies in the study of those geographical texts that have not attracted the attention of earlier literary scholars. The flexibility that these approaches offer in the interpretation of a text opens a whole new range of possibilities for the "geographical" genres. This chapter will thus tackle the role of Boorde's *Introduction* as more than just a descriptive narrative. The strategies employed to survey and possess the territories described and to address the foreign cultures will be assessed as tools for the construction of nation. Its colonial message and the use of cultural references, fashion above all, will be essential to address the text's

44 An example of these colonial theories can be found in Edward W. Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge, Massachussetts: Harvard University Press, 1983).

45 Campbell, *Witness* 2.

relationship with its historical background and to disclose not only the different layers of meaning that it offers but also the fragmentation hidden within its representation of the world.

THE *INTRODUCTION* AS CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

Even though we do not find any of Boorde's works in Taylor's listing of geographical literature, it is within this category that the *Introduction* belongs. The precise surveying of the European territories, its practical travel itineraries, dictionaries and lists of produce, as well as the interest in human geography it displays, place the *Introduction* under the wide umbrella of the "geographical." The variety that it offers is not restricted to its subject matter; it is also found in the mélange of genres and literary devices used to transmit its content. The pilgrimage itinerary is mixed with the costume book and the encyclopaedia, authoritative description with distortion and exaggeration, and satire cohabits with lyric interludes and serious exhortations to the readers. It is a book designed to be practical and resourceful, offering precise information on foreign realities - "with other necessary thynges to be knowen, specially for them the whiche doth pretende to trauayle the countrees, regions, and prouinces, that they may be in a redines to knowe what they should do whan they come there"[46] - whilst being also a book to be enjoyed.

Even though the *Introduction* is seemingly concerned with a straightforward description of foreign countries and their cultures, Boorde shows an underlying preoccupation with the concept of nation throughout the work. In a period of tense

46 Boorde, *Introduction* 146.

relationships between England and its continental neighbours, the text becomes a literary weapon against any kind of foreign invasion, asserting the cultural supremacy of the witness against the strangeness of the countries described. As in other travel narratives, the representation of otherness and the enhancement of the differences between neighbouring cultures is instrumental in creating a sense of national solidarity. The text is used as a defence against "cultural invasion" from a threatening "other." Even though traditionally this "other" was located outside the boundaries of Christianity – among heathen tribes and monstrous races, Boorde identifies otherness with continental Europe, transforming what was before the known and safe *oikoumene* into a near and palpable threat. The *Introduction* deploys its own physical strategies to challenge this invasion: it excludes the alien cultures behind fictional boundaries in an effort to separate England from Europe, as if it were tracing real borders between the countries on a map. This boundary does not merely separate; it also protects what is left within, that is the homeland, promoting national cohesion. The text reinterprets and restructures the external world, offering a clear example of the conceptual geography of Europe that was being created in England during the Reformation.[47]

Mapping Europe: Textual Strategies of Appropriation

The *Introduction* presents itself as an abridged encyclopaedia of Europe. Each short chapter offers a thorough study of the main characteristics of each country: their

47 See Lesley B. Cormack, "Geography and the State in Elizabethan England," *Geography and Empire,* eds. Godlewska and Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994): 15-30 (18).

natural disposition, money, and language.[48] Boorde uses the term “natural dysposicyon” to describe the character or temper of the nationals and their social habits, voicing the medieval concept of the “natural” determination of each nation by the planetary forces influencing their geographical position (146). The organisation of Boorde's book seems similar to the medieval itinerary: it traces a route from one city or country to another and stops on the road to highlight the landmarks. An illustrative example of such linear itineraries can be found in the work of Matthew Paris, where narration and image are combined to trace the routes to the Holy Land, as seen in the image below:[49]

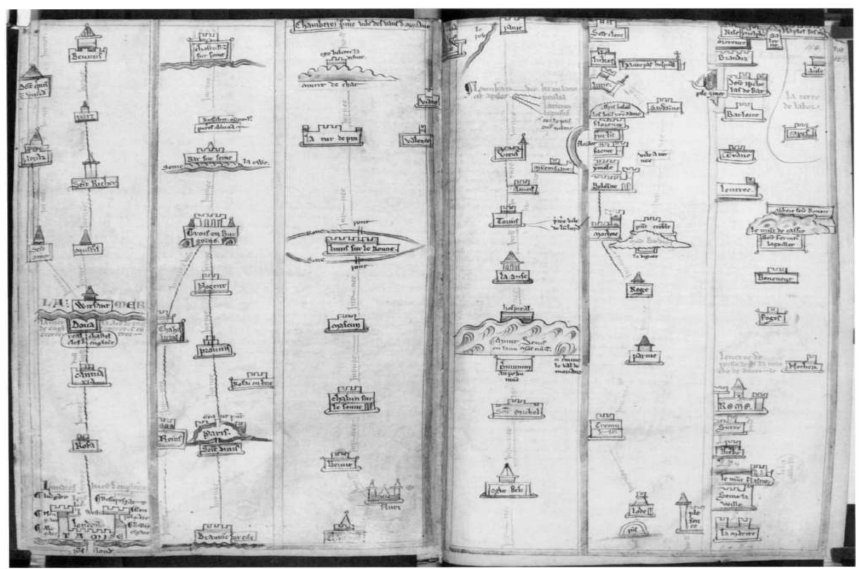

Figure 4. A linear itinerary. Matthew Paris, *Liber Additamentorum*. London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D i, fols. 183v. 184r.

This linearity gives a very practical idea of the stages of the journey to the traveller, while creating a sense of expectation with the passing of the pages or the movement of the eyes

48 The regions described are England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, Shetland and Friesland, Norway and Iceland, Flanders, Zealand and Holland, Brabant, Guelderland and Cleveland, Julich and Liege, lower and higher Germany, Denmark, Saxony, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Greece and Constantinople, Sicily and Calabria, Naples, Italy and Rome, Venice, Lombardy, Genoa, France, Catalonia, Andalusia, Spain, Castille, Navarre, Bayonne and Gascony, Normandy and Picardy, Barbary, Turkey, Egypt and Judea.

49 Image 4 taken from Daniel K. Connolly, “Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris,” *The Art Bulletin* 81.4 (Dec. 1999): 598-622 (609).

along the road, leaving behind one station after another until the yearned for end of the line – the Holy Land – appears.

However, Boorde departs from the simplicity of the linear structure of the itinerary by expanding each of the "stacions" of the way, creating a more comprehensive and ambitious project with several layers of meaning. The *Introduction* goes beyond the purely practical book of directions: instead of delineating a one-way narration from a departure point to the target, "shewynge the myles, the leeges, and the dystaunce from citye to cytie, and from towne to towne," the presentation of geographical movement in the *Introduction* is circular (145). This organisation allows the author to anchor the focus of interest on the actual experience of the journey and the landscapes described, rather than on the targeted destination. The idea conveyed is that "knowledge" can only be reached from the experience of travel, not from the arrival at a set destination. Thanks to the journey, the reader will have acquired wisdom; a journey that instead of a physical activity becomes a reading experience.[50]

The keen interest in foreign cultures for the sake of knowledge is one of the ideas that the *Introduction* develops; but there is also a strong underlying message of political connotations. By tracing a circular itinerary around Europe, the author encloses these territories, locating them and possessing them within the sphere of power of England (and the sphere of knowledge of his readers).[51] This colonial message is conveyed at different levels, both through the narration and through the physical structure of the book. An approximate representation of this narrative map of Europe's nations and cultures can be

50 This strategy was commonly used in earlier travel narratives, such as Mandeville's *Travels* or even in certain *mappae mundi*, where geographical knowledge was achieved *in stabilitate*.

51 Gilles 85.

found straight away in the order of the chapters; an order which, in itself, can be reworked and presented as a map:

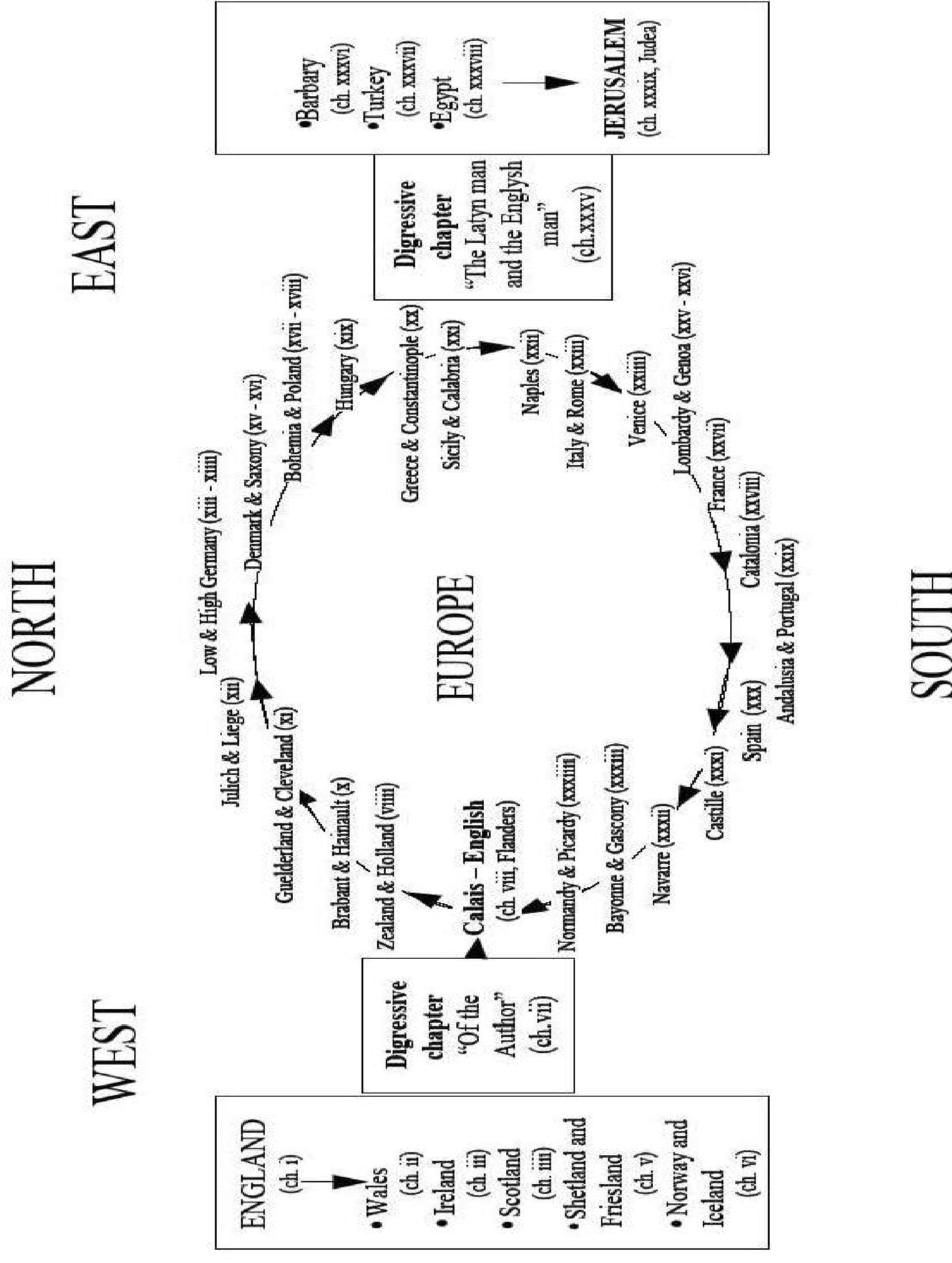

Figure 5. A visual representation of the chapter structure of the *Introduction*

This diagram is designed to represent the perspective of the world around which the *Introduction* revolves. It also locates the centres of interest of the narrative, highlighting certain relationships established between chapters, and exemplifying the movement and the stages of the itinerary, transforming the narrative text into a map. Naomi Reed Kline explains this iconographic device in *Maps of Medieval Thought*: in the early encyclopaedic maps the strange peoples and the far-away places, many of them not even real but part of a long tradition of Biblical and Pagan texts, were put together in specific sections – usually the margins, against the inner section occupied by the Christian West with Jerusalem at its centre.[52] These strange "others," once located, became a lesser threat, and knowledge was thus embodied and restrained within the familiar "cosmological construct of the Church" (147). In this case, the *Introduction* can be also read as an encyclopaedic map containing (and restraining) the realities that it narrates, which are measured up against the cultural framework of the homeland.

As can be seen see in the diagram, the first chapters focus on the Atlantic isles, physically separated from the rest of Europe by the English Channel and, in the narration, by a digressive chapter about the author, which serves as imaginary bridge between the Island and the mainland. Furthermore, England is connected with the continent through the fragile "pale of Calais." As the author explains, "if a man wolde go out of England , or other landes annexed to the same, he should go to Calis; and from Calys I haue set the cyrcuyte or the cercumferens of Europ, whyche is al Chrystendome, and am come to Calys again" (209). Calais becomes the cultural and political bridge between the islands and the continent. Its liminal position can be interpreted as representative of the difficult

52 Naomi Reed Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001) 150, 162, 205. The Hereford Map (c.1300) is one of the best known examples of this pictorial marginalization of "otherness."

relations that were developing between England and her neighbours at the time. This bridge would be soon broken with the loss of the French territories in the 1550s.[53] Calais is described as "the welfauered towne" standing "commodiously for the welth and succor of all Englande; in the whyche towne is good fare and good chere, and there is good order, & politike men, great defence, & good ordynaunce for warre" (147). Material wealth, order, successful policies and a readiness for war are the main characteristics of this "little" England situated on territory rightfully claimed from the enemy. Earlier texts such as *The Libelle of English Policy* had already highlighted the relevance of Calais as stronghold for English interests, as can be seen in the following excerpt:

> ... Calys and Dovere,
> Of alle your townes to chese of one and other
> To kepe the see and sone for to come overe,
> To were oughtwardes and your regne to recovere,
> Kepe these too townes sure to youre mageste
> As youre tweyne eyne to kepe the narrowe see.[54]

Boorde was aware of the town's strategic position and commercial relevance for the cloth trade, and follows the tradition established by the *Libelle* with the choice of Calais as point of departure and return for his itinerary. This option is both practical and political. Calais was the commercial link with Flanders and the rest of Europe and a military position essential to exert pressure on the French and on the economy of the

53 In the 1562 edition the mention to Boulogne will have been erased by the editor. See Boorde, *Introduction* 209.

54 *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye. A Poem on the Use of Sea-Power,1436,* ed. George Warner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926) 2. This 1436 anonymous poem exhorts the English government to focus on conquering the seas around the island to control politically and economically the rest of Europe, basing its argument on economic interests – above all on the relevance of cloth trade.

Spaniards, who traded with Flanders via the sea. As voiced in both Boorde's text and the *Libelle*, the interest surrounding the town is mainly political and colonial, but also cultural. Against the chaos and incivility that Europe stands for, Calais boasts of its good order – the order of England. Its wealth and civility serve as examples to the continent and belittle the wealth and trade of the neighbouring nations. The description of the town's defences, and the reference to its strategic relevance for war, voices the confrontational approach of the English budding empire against any type of physical or cultural invasion. This is reinforced on the author's return from his European tour: "Normandy doth partaine to England, and so doth al Fraunce by right" (208). Boorde will explain the rights of England over France in the end of the European tour by reminding the readers "that yf Fraunce ware not England, King Henry the sixth should not haue been crowned kinge of Fraunce in Parys, he being in his cunables and an infant" (208). Boorde is here appropriating back the territories lost to France a century earlier, recalling better days of the English empire. This appropriation is made through culture also: instead of establishing cultural barriers, Boorde collapses them. French culture is akin to the English culture. Describing it as "a rych countre & a plesaunt" (191), whose peoples are "ful of new inuencions... toyes and fashions," and from whom all nacions "example do take" (190); he seems to be depicting his homeland again. We have only entered the European territories when colonial claims are already being pressed, and from the very beginning of the book, cultural supremacy will be the decisive factor of power.

Returning to the map of chapters, Europe is introduced through a core of nations whose variety hides ideological, linguistic and cultural breaches. Rome, the centre of the Christian West during the Middle Ages, has lost its supreme position; it is shown as a city

of decay and immorality, surrounded by nations that have opted out from its religious grip and from the supremacy of the Latin language. The cultures presented within Europe are but a showcase of poverty and chaos in contrast with England: the continent is now a headless giant.

There is a short interlude in chapter xxv, where the Englishman establishes a dialogue with a *Latinman.*[55] The role of this chapter is to serve as a bridge between the continent and the east, like the chapter about the author earlier on, while showing the two ways to understand Christianty: the new English way and the old Latin way.

Alienated by its cultural and religious differences, the East is, as in the Middle Ages, a place of chaos and magical wonder that separates the civilised West from the sacred Jerusalem – now populated by "infydele alyons" (217). Black men, distorted beliefs and wild animals dwell in the marginal regions of Barbary, Turkey and Egypt, echoing the narratives of the Hereford Map and Mandeville's *Travels*. Alien to the European way of life, they stand as a link with the metropolis: Jerusalem. In an uncanny turn of parallels and mirror descriptions, the peoples of Norway and Iceland (and even those from Scotland, Wales and Ireland) are located in a similar position in relation to England, and, as the heathen nations, are also defined as "beastly creatures, vnmanered and vntaughte" (141). Nevertheless, there is an exception among the heathen nations. Turkey stands out as a country of wealth and military prowess, and the Sarracens are presented as men that "conquere and subdue, as well by polyce and gentylnes, as by hys fettes of ware" (215). The references to military, political and cultural supremacy echo the description of Calais: both transitional locations mirror each other.

55 Boorde, *Introduction* 210-211. The figure of the Latinman will be developed in Chapter 2, pp. 46-65.

Following this game of parallels and correspondences, the *Introduction* finishes with the description of Judea and Jerusalem. The position of the Holy Land mirrors that of England in the map. London and Jerusalem are set on both extremes of Europe, the *alpha* and the *omega* of the West, as independent and powerful entities, outside the colonial boundaries of the map/itinerary. They are cultural counterparts and major heads of the new map of Christianity, detached from the Pope and Rome.

The map of chapters of the *Introduction* can be read as a map of power. By establishing narrative boundaries, Boorde is including and excluding territories. Europe is not the compact Christian empire but a concatenation of different national identities. At the same time, England becomes an autonomous entity that intends to present itself as the Jerusalem of the West following the need to support the Act of Supremacy introduced in 1534. Political and cultural parameters are used to trace this map; Europe is set as a foreign "other," parallel to those fantastic "others" that populated the medieval maps. As with the monstrous races, the act of narrating and locating the nations and cultures of Europe changes their threatening status; they are still strange, but cultural differences have been now mastered and allocated in a set and manageable space within the narrative map.

The Garments of Nation: the Role of Fashion in the *Introduction*

The *Introduction* develops further its dialogue of cultural power and national association through the numerous references to the material aspects of each described culture. We have references to the diet and favourite drinks of each country, to their

religious ceremonies, their manners and their fashion. It is the latter, though, that stands out as the most striking national feature, being an essential visual means of identification in the woodcuts and central in the creation of humour in the rhymes that accompany each figure. The way that the *Introduction* presents fashion links it with a genre that was becoming popular during the second half of the sixteenth century: the costume book. These books resorted also to the representation of national characters and their national dresses in woodcuts or etchings accompanied at times by explanatory rhymes, as Boorde does in his *Introduction*, mapping the world through its fashions.

Even though Ulrike Ilg locates the first examples of costume books in the sixteenth century in "The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe," the interest in fashion was not new to literature.[56] As in the medieval maps and other medieval geographical works, dress (or the lack of it) is not only part of the cultural strangeness of the "other," but it is one of the main strategies used to create figurative types of the peoples of the globe, making the identification of each easier for the audiences.[57] Paul Zumthor proposes the example of the oriental peoples, "identifiable by way of a turban or some other apt detail of clothing" (817). Following this tradition, the *Introduction* also presents the Turks in their usual headdress.

Figure 6. The Turks, wearing long gowns and headdresses. The *Introduction,* 214.

56 Ulrike Ilg, "The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe," *Clothing Culture,* ed. Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate,2004) 29-48.

57 Paul Zumthor, "The Medieval Travel Narrative," trans. Catherine Peebles, *New Literary History* 25.4 (Autumn 1994): 809-824 (817-8), and John Scattergood, *Reading the Past. Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996) 240-57.

As they explain, “in my rayment I am not varyable” (214). This is the only reference to their attire in the chapter, since the readers would already be familiar with the concept of Turkish fashion and would need no further explanation to imagine its most characteristic details. This assertion reinforces the idea that the description of dress had become standardised and fixed in literature, both in its appearance and its interpretation.[58] Fashion was then used to challenge strangeness: making it recognisable, familiar, and graspable. This familiarity would enable the reader to possess the nations presented thanks to the knowledge of their culture.

At the same time, fashion is essential to define the national character of the indigenous self and to assert it against other nationalities. As Scattergood explains, clothing “is meaningful as well as practical: it is a gesture, a statement as to how one sees oneself in relation to the rest of the world” (240). The act of defining oneself through clothing is parallel to the act of defining oneself as a national subject. The *Introduction* will tackle both costume and custom in relation to nationality as parallel realities, and employ them as part of its colonial message.

This colonial / political reality was connected with the importance of the textile industry at the time; an industry not lacking in strong competition from Flanders and Spain. Such was the relevance of this aspect of commerce for the English that earlier narratives had already voiced their anger at the lack of protectionist measures from the government. John of Reading, in the 1463 *Statutes of the Realm* complained that

> As well men as women, have worn and daily do wear excessive and inordinate array and apparel, to the great displeasure of God, and

58 Ilg 42.

> impoverishing of this realm of England and to the enriching of other strange realms and countries to the final destruction of the husbandry of this said realm.[59]

The Libelle of English Policy also revolves around the idea of textile trade as the pillar that supports the nation, and includes it within its expansionist proposal of possessing the sea routes to disrupt the trade of other nations:

> For Spayne and Flaundres is as yche othere brothere,
> And nethere may well lyve wythowghten othere.
> They may not lyven to mayntene there degrees
> Wythoughten oure Englysshe commodytees,
> Wolle and tynne, for the wolle of Englonde
> Susteyneth the comons Flemmynges I understode.[60]

The concern for clothing was twofold: the economy of the land needed to be supported, and the use of foreign fabric not only damaged it but was also a form of cultural contamination. Boorde made full use of this duality in meaning.

Costume and Custom: The Colonial Supremacy of English Fashion

In the *Introduction*, England is presented as the centre of fashions; for its women "be ful of bewty, & they be decked gayly [and] they fare sumptiously" (119). London is an orderly city "in maners, and good fashyons, & curtasy" (119), in contrast with the chaotic and poor fashions of the other European nations. But "Fashyon" is more than just dress. The Middle English Dictionary defines "fashion" as the style of dress, the physical

59 Quoted in Scattergood, *Reading the Past* 246.

60 *The Libelle* 5-6.

form of an object, the established order of a nation, and an intrigue. This last definition highlights the doubleness of dress, the fact that it can hide a second meaning. In the *Introduction*, fashion is a material and abstract concept, fitting the dictionary's definition: it represents not only the attire of a nation but also its established order, and it bears essential connotations of wealth, cultural supremacy and religious affiliation. In a display of cultural bravado, Boorde traverses Europe criticising its fashions, using to the full the interchangeability between “costumes” and “customs,” a doubleness inherited from its origin: the Italian *costumi*, which means both mores and garments.

European dress is presented as old and unfashionable, indicating the economic poverty of the nations concerned. In some cases, the broken gear is hidden beneath new garments. This act of hiding one's ragged garments symbolizes the act of hiding one's true nature. Shame and treachery become thus the underlying characteristic of, for example, the Spaniards, who hide their “olde cote and myn other broken gere” under their Spanish “clokes” (198). National attires are ridiculized further: Boorde describes them as distorted and exaggerated images of the “correct” fashion. Hence, the women of Bayonne “be dysgysed as players in enterludes be, with long rainment; the sayd clokes hath hodes sewed to them, and on the toppe of the hod is a thing like a poding bekyng forward” (207). This description relegates the nationals to the status of clowns in a farce, dressed for the entertainment of the superior witness – in this case, the author and his English readership. The Spanish women also wear a similar attire, “polyd lyke freers; the women haue silver ringes on theyr eres, & coppyd thinges standeth vpon theyr hed, within ther kerchers, lyke a codpece or a gose podynge” (199). The female attire contains derogatory terms that link it to strange and unexpected realities: the hoods described as “poding

bekyng forward" and "gose podynge," which relates them to the environment of the kitchen, create an uncanny and distorted association with the image of a woman wearing food instead of fabric on her head. This distortion and satire, relating to the body and its functions (such as feeding), continue when parts of the dress are described upside down; their figures almost turned into fashion mishaps by the alocation of a "codpece" to the head. Body parts and genders are thus confused through dressing, transforming the wearers into monstrous creatures and the female into male to add up to the comic effect. The mixture of genders already seen in the Spanish women and their codpieces, is used on men too, as when the Portuguese are described as wearing their hair "handgyng one there shoulders" in a feminine way (197). To increase the effect of this sexual change, Boorde connects these descriptions with the field of the religious, enhancing the farcical strangeness of the national characters. Spanish women are thus "polyd lyke freers" (199) while the Portuguese have a "garland about the lower part lyke a Barfote Frier" (197). The clothing exchange between female and friar can be humouristic but it may also imply an underlying reproach of the religious orders accusing them of sins of the flesh. Fashion, an essential way to identify individuals, their nation, gender, and social status, is warped in the *Introduction*, filled with double meanings and bizarre associations.

Only the French and the Venetian fashions seem to be admired. The Venetians enjoy a certain praise, perhaps because of their status as one of the wealthiest nations of Europe. Even though the Duke of Venice's headdress is also described as a "podynge or a cokes come," returning to the world of food (which is perhaps Boorde's favourite subject), the material it is made of is precious "sylke... of .iii. handfoll longe" (185), denoting abundance and splendor, and separating this description from the ridiculous and

distorted hoods of the European women. Nevertheless, there may be a subjacent criticism: on the one hand, venetian silk was associated with "papistry and lasciviousness," and on the other, the "cokes come" was a symbol of vanity – and the cap worn by professional jesters.[61]

The Frenchman claims to create "new toyes and fashions; Al nacions of me example do take, Whan any garment they go about to make" (190). Brought to the country by the Hainaulters, French fashion was popular and admired by the English noble classes.[62] Already in the fourteenth century, writers voiced their discontent about this craze, which could only bring trouble to the nation, weakening its trade and its cultural cohesion. The influence of the French over fashion is relevant, though in a deeper way, since it trespasses the world of the material and imbues another essential aspect of national culture: language. Boorde uses French adjectives to describe the Englishman, higlighting with these words the worse influences of foreign fashions and the attitudes they promote. Thus, he says: "Now I am a frisker, all men doth on me looke... That I am a minion, for I were the new gyse" (117). The term "frisker" comes from the French "frisque," meaning lively and playful, "minion" from "mignon," a darling and pretty person.[63] Fashion in itself is finally described as "gyse," another French derivation. Certainly these words were a substantial part of the English language, inherited much earlier from Old French, but the fact that the French are actually possessing not only

61 Hentschell, *Treasonous Textiles* 545. See also "Coxcomb," *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

62 The Hainaulters were the courtiers that followed Philippa of Hainault to England when she married Edward III. An example of the criticism of the fashions that they brought can be found in the works of John of Reading. See p. 34 and Scattergood, *Reading the Past* 244.

63 "Frisker" and "Minion," *Oxford English Dictionary* and *Middle English Dictionary*, online, 1 July 2005.

fashion but the language connected with it can be read as a successful exercise of cultural appropriation from a foreign nation. The only way to react against it is to stop using their materials and fashion. Thus why the terms are actually designed to enhance the relationship between materialistic and vain behaviour and the wearing of French fabrics and fashions. Once these fabrics are eradicated, the associated language and attitudes will also disappear.

This craze of the English for new foreign clothes was a real cause of divisiveness. "Newfangledness" made the English vulnerable.[64] Boorde criticises this attitude, presenting the Englishman as a naked man, defenceless against any attack: "musyng in my mynde what raiment I shal were; For now I wyl were I cannot tel what. All new fashions be plesaunt to me" (116). He blames the love of foreign clothes for the weakening of the nation since it was eroding the traditional dress values of English society – apart from their association with vain and sinful behaviour.[65] Boorde voices this fear when explaining that if the English "were true wythin themselves, thei nede not to feare although al nacions were set against them" (119). By hiding their true nationality

Figure 7. The naked Englishman, shears in hand to cut himself a garment and a piece of the world. The *Introduction* 116.

64 Hentschell, *Treasonous Textiles* 547.

65 Warneke 881, 884. The "new gyse" of the English can also be associated with one of the characters of *Mankind*, a morality play of the time, where the three main sins: "Mischief," "Newguise," and "Nowadays," tempt the hardworking "Mankind" into living a life of unholy pleasures. Newguise, at some point, offers Mankind "a fresh jacket after the new guise." See G.A. Lester, ed. *Three Late Medieval Morality Plays: Mankind, Everyman, Mundus et Infans* (London: A&C Black, 1999) 42.

under foreign garments, as if they were ashamed of it, they are lying to their own countrymen, comitting an act of treason against their nation.[66] This dialogue of nation and dress discloses the relevance of “material” colonization. In this case, the alien has gained access to the heart of the nation through costumes and fabric.

Not only was this campaign against the materials themselves, but also against the connotations they carried. The allocation of moral associations with fabric was a standard practice of the time, and thus French fashion or the use of Italian silks would signify lasciviousness and moral debility, as seen in the description of the Venetians, while English fabric would be associated with charity, hospitality and humility.[67] The use of these parallels in the *Introduction* is aimed at making people aware of the dangers of cultural invasion from abroad. But there is a further layer of meaning within the relationship of fashion and morals; dress becomes a marker of religious affiliation.

The *Introduction* uses its own set of moral connotations when describing fashion: “old” and “new” are the simple adjectives preferred by Boorde to refer to the adherence to Rome (the old fashion) or to the Reform (the new fashion). Thus, some remain faithful to the Catholic faith, as the people from Liege: “The fashyon of my rayment, be it hot or cold, I wyl not leue in ony wyse, be it neuer so old” (154), while others discard this same old fashion and are cursed for it, but happy. Thus the Saxons assert proudly:

> I am a Saxson, serching out new thynges;
> Of me many be glad to here new tidinges.
> I do persist in my matters and opinions dayly,
> The which maketh the Romayns vengians on me to cry;
> Yet my opinions I wyl neuer leue;

66 Henstchell, *Treasonous Textiles* 544.

67 Hentschell, *Treasonous Textiles* 545.

> The cursyng that they gyue me, to the I do bequeue;
> The fashion of my rayment I wyl euer vse,
> And the Romayns fashion I vtterly refuse. (164)

The Saxons are creating their own fashions, tailoring them with the fabric of religion. Fashion, a metaphor for political and religious opinions, is for the Saxons a cultural imposition from Rome. They are an independent people, and Boorde reminds the reader of their connection with the origins of England, but he seems to despise the idea that such a small country was able to invade his homeland.[68] Furthemore, their connections with Luther make the author uneasy – possibly influenced by the opposition of Henry VIII to the Lutheran doctrines. The new fashion of the English, related to their support of royalty against the dominion of the church, seems to be transgressed in Saxony, taken to an extreme, and to become the form of support of a heresy with which Boorde does not agree. Perhaps the Saxons have gone too far in "serching out new thynges" (164).

The Bohemians highlight the fact that "the more the fox is cursed, the better he doth fare" (166). This statement, present all over the *Introduction* (in the description of those nations that wear the new fashion), seems to accommodate to the support of English supremacy, since Henry VIII had been excommunicated himself and taken the same attitude, enforcing the idea that he was the only monarch over his country and that Rome had no power to curse him. Rome is thus presented in every possible occasion as a negative colonial power, trying to impose its culture forcefully onto the rest of Europe. It is in the chapter describing the Greeks that the fiercest direct attack against the Catholic church appears, denouncing the practice of employing excommunication as political

68 Boorde, *Introduction* 164-5.

measure (as Boheme and Saxony implied in their disregard for the curse), and, above all, the selling of pardons:

> For theyr wodnes and cursyng I do not care;
> Al nacions vnder them, they woulde fayne haue;
> Yf they so had, yet would they more craue;
> Vnder their subiection I would not lyue,
> For all the pardons of Rome if they wold me geue. (172)

Cursing and malediction surround the choice of fashion of these countries, whereas England wears its "new gyse" gracefully (117), presenting itself as the positive new force of Christianity. To enforce the idea that England is on the correct side of the varied range of new fashions developing in Europe, Boorde reminds the readers that London, as Constantinople, Jerusalem and Venice has also a patriach, and that none of the "aforesayde patriarkes hath not, one for one, so many bysshops vnder them as the patriarke or metrapolytan of England" (119). Religious boasting contrasts with the twist hiding behind the English "newfangledness;" this craze for change and novelty has left the English naked and confused not only physically but also morally. Due to the quick changes imposed during the first stages of the Tudor government, the English subject finds no solace in the wealth of its Metropolitan. As an individual, he is still naked and insecure, unable to decide which religion – and dress – he should wear.

Boorde takes a diplomatic approach and avoids commenting directly on the conflict with the Pope, leaving each of his countrymen to decide on their garments. He makes clear though that the Saxons and the Bohemians have earned their liberty from the enslaving power of Rome by adhering to the wrong fashion: a fashion that is "neuer nyce" because it is based in the "synistrall opinions" of Martin Luther and the articles that

Wyclif "dyd not wel" (165-6). Boorde erases the complexity of the Reformist debate and structures his arguments about two radical and single minded poles of opposition, hiding his evaluations behind something as seemingly innocent and uninvolved as the choice of clothes.

Finally, Rome is also evaluated through the garments of its inhabitants. Its fashion, "spyed" by everyone in the past is now losing its grip on Europe, and its decay is reflected externally in the state of the city: its people are "homly and rude" and its cathedral "fal downe to the grounde." The "abhominable vyces" and little virtue present in the old capital of Christianity make their fashion unsightly to the author.[69] Boorde uses the terminology of the most fervent anti-popish treatises, depicting the see of the papacy as a cradle of vice, abuse and decay. These same concepts, repeated in the Reformist literature, imbue the fabrics and fashions imported from Italy. A simple choice of fabric could define a political and religious affiliation without words.

Boorde has thus guided his audiences through the map of clothing of Europe. A map that shows the way religious affiliations were changing slowly. England is presented as a nation of virtue and religious commitment to the right cause, but that cause is still uncertain. Its people is left "naked," pondering which foreign fashion they should choose, while on the continent Lutheran and Romanist fashions attack each other. Boorde is presenting the fragmentation of the subject among the changes, the inability to adapt, and offering a solution: to resort to their own English fashion, being true to one's nation. In this dialogue of cultures truth is conveyed by not hiding one's clothes under foreign fabrics and by cutting one's garment from the material of virtue.

69 Boorde, *Introduction* 178.

BOORDE'S CULTURAL MAP: ADDRESSING CHANGE IN THE NEW EUROPE

Cultural supremacy has been used throughout the *Introduction* to legitimise the new position of England in the map of Europe, a map that, as has been shown, is not only narrated but physically constructed in the organisation of chapters. It guides the reader through the old continent and locates the new foci of interest and power, working on connections, parallelisms and mirroring positions.[70] More than ever, the island is now separated from the continent by the political events that led to the Reformation. Boorde will see to reinforcing this schism, not only through geographical references but also by differentiating and separating English culture from the rest of Europe.

The role of the *Introduction* as a means to address political and cultural conflict has been developed around two main strategies. First, I have shown how the text employs a geographical survey to propose a new order of the world, tracing a number of frontiers that protect the homeland and separate the alien nations, forcing these nations into a specific location in its conceptual map. The book / map reorganises in this way the political geography of Europe. Secondly, the European cultures have been translated by Boorde, who explains them and distorts them, playing with one of the most important elements of national definition: its fashion.[71] Once each culture has been defined and put beside safe frontiers (textual frontiers in this case), and dressed with a certain type of recognisable garments, the text will have succeeded in "insulating" England against cultural invasion.

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70 Edward W. Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983) 9.

71 See Campbell, *Witness* 11 on the concept of the translation of cultures.

This new order presented by Boorde echoes the new order of the world that was starting to appear in the sixteenth century. During the Middle Ages, Europe was a coherent entity, cemented by the mortar of Christianity and the eminence of Rome. Boorde now presents it as an entity divided by religious and political conflicts, where Rome is not the centre of the world anymore and where "otherness" is located within the familiar boundaries of Europe. The individual's personal "affective adherences" are shifted towards one's homeland instead of Rome (as the head of Christianity), supporting therefore English supremacy and separation and promoting the development of a strong sense of national independence to stand against the neighbouring "others," who are recognisable by their fashion. [72]

Nevertheless this "imperial posturism," as Cormack defines it in "The Fashioning of an Empire," hides an underlying feeling of fragmentation and a fear of external influences.[73] The cohesive force of Rome has disappeared and the individual, as a national subject, has to face a sudden crisis of political and religious alliances (exemplified by fashions). This fragmentation is present in the *Introduction,* not only in the division of Europe, but within England itself, enforced by the lack of national cohesion of its subjects, by the external influences of international trade as the conflict of cloth and fashion shows, and by the personal dilemma of the English subject, divided between the old and the new ways. Still immature and vulnerable, the naked Englishman needs to choose his allegiances carefully and Boorde will try to guide him in this decision.

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72 Anthony Goodman, *Margery Kempe and her World* (London: Longman, 2002) 152.

73 Cormack 15.

Chapter 2
A Survey of the Self

"For I am who I am and not as I was
And where my metre is ryme dogrell,
The effect of the whych no wyse man wyll depell,
For he wyll take the effect of my mynde,
Although to make meter I am full blynde."[74]

In medieval and early modern first-person travel narratives, the journey is the chosen framework to present and embody both territory and self. The description of 'other' cultures and foreign landscapes often allows us to construct an image of the surveying persona. In *The Witness and the Other World,* Campbell develops this theory, addressing different instances of authorial self-representation in travel literature as linked with autobiography (6). As she explains, autobiographical texts construct the subject by means of the narration of his or her circumstances and life experiences. The author integrates his past life with his present – the present of the narrative, shaping all the events through his personal perspective. But we do not need to resort to texts concerned explicitly with the life of a character to study subjectivity: the autobiographical drive can be found in all sorts of narratives. Elusive or impersonal as it may appear in texts that present themselves as solely concerned with the experience of a journey, selfhood is expressed in travel narrative through contrast.[75] It can be found in the occasional autobiographical references that the author may include in the text, in the point of view

74 Boorde, *Introduction* 144.

75 See Campbell, *Witness* 20, and Douglas Grey, "Finding Identity in the Middle Ages," *Sixteenth Century Identities,* ed. Amanda Piesse (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000): 9-33 (19).

and reaction to the “others” displayed, and in the linguistic choices, such as the choice of language or the choice of pronouns – first person for proximity and acceptance, third person for alienation and cultural separation.[76] The combination of all these factors adds an element of autonomy to the authorial voice, increasing the contrast between the object described and the voice describing it. The narration of cultural and geographical differences and the presentation of an individual's perspective found in certain travel narratives can also be understood as a way for the individual to make sense of the world and to integrate within a particular culture, usually, the culture and values of the homeland.[77]

In contrast with earlier medieval works that focused on the divine landscapes of religion – dealing with events but obviating physical descriptions – and fashioned the individual in the imitation of Christ, the observer now describes the territories surveyed through the senses: seeing, hearing, drinking and eating.[78] The text becomes evocative of physical sensation, connecting the reader with the world through the body of the witness, as expressed through the body of the text. At the same time, the witness can take advantage of his creative position and colour the perceptions offered, determining how the world will be understood and how the events described – including those of his own life – will be remembered.[79] The manipulation of perspective can reach different levels,

76 Campbell, *Witness* 20.

77 Gray 20.

78 Gilles 91 and Campbell, “ 'Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita': The Palpability of *Purgatorio*,” *Text and Territory*, eds. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998): 15-28 (20).

79 Laurence De Looze, *Pseudo-Autobiography in the Fourteenth Century: Juan Ruíz, Guillaume de Machaut, Jean Froissart and Geoffrey Chaucer* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997) 14.

and thus some texts will display a highly factual and detached nature – like William Worcestre's *Itineraries* – whilst others may be highly fictionalised – like Mandeville's *Travels*.

Questions on the Concept of Self

A further background consideration to take on account when studying the development of the individual in early travel literature is raised within the debate on periodization. One of the arguments for a separation between early modern and medieval works is the sense that there is a more perceptible presence of an autonomous self in artisic productions from the sixteenth century onwards.[80] This idea is developed in Weimann's *Authority and Representation in Early Modern Discourse*. He explains that in the early modern period there was a relocation of the authority of writers following the demise of the Catholic supremacy in Europe and the appearance of protestantism (5). The rejection of the old order and the sources of validity associated with it, enabled authors to start relying on their subjective experiences instead of resorting to classical and Biblical sources to authenticate their narration. They consequently became more autonomous, independent from the influences of external sources of knowledge and free from "the coercion of outside authority," as Weimman describes it (4). The medieval first-person travel narrative, highly reliant on topical and allegorical references, shifted its sources of authority in the sixteenth century to the individual's personal experience.

80 Gray identifies the figures of Colin Morris, Caroline Walker Bynum and John F. Benton as main examples of this debate (15).

The new system of authorization has been described as based on referentiality and individuality. But this departure from tradition should not be taken as exclusive of the sixteenth century or as proof of a radical separation between periods. This one-sided approach would lead us to deny any traces of autonomous individuality during the Middle Ages and to obviate the continuing relevance of some medieval sources during the early modern period. First, the development of a self-fashioning trend had already started during the Middle Ages, setting a foundation for future developments.[81] We find examples of individuality in medieval works – as in the case of Margery Kempe and her very personal account of her life and travels. Second, certain medieval narratives, based fully on traditional materials, were still being printed and enjoyed during the early modern period; Mandeville's *Travels* is, again, one of the best known examples.

The problems of addressing identity and the construction of the self exclusively within historical periods has been explained by Gray in "Finding Identity in the Middle Ages." He argues that our standards of "selfhood" are flawed, since we are using the nineteenth-century concept of "unique individual" as measurement for the definition of "self," and thus unfairly imposing a modern bias upon the "medieval man." Compared with the modern independent and unique self, the "medieval man" appears as a fixed and communal entity, highly standardised and unable to differ from the general norm.[82] Greenblatt, also concerned with the development of selfhood in the Middle Ages and early modern period in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, explains that this preconception may arise from the fact that self-consciousness and the power of the individual to "shape

81 Gray 10.

82 Gray 15.

identity" were deeply influenced and almost coerced by Christianity during the Middle Ages.[83] Role models and attitudes were imposed by the church in a drive for unity against the threat of the heathen (the monstrous "others" so common in travel narratives and visual depictions of the world). But this does not mean that individuality was eradicated: it means that it was constructed in a different way. Greenblatt goes so far as to remark that it was not in the Middle Ages but in the sixteenth century that the individual had less autonomy to shape himself (or at least to develop an independent authorial voice), being now under the rigid observation of the unpredictable institutions of church and state (1).

Even though it is unrealistic to try and allocate different levels of individuality to one period or the other, these arguments bring a central idea to the fore: the acknowledgement that there was a change in the strategies used to convey selfhood. Be it in the twelfth century or the sixteenth, individuals had started fashioning their identity through the material instead of the spiritual, through nation and politics instead of religion and faith.[84] Travel literature was a favoured medium to convey this message.

This chapter will focus on the development of the individual's identity in Boorde's *Introduction*. The strategies involved in the presentation of the self, its relationship with authority, and the role of nation and culture to develop a sense of selfhood, are some of the questions that will be addressed. The *Introduction* will be studied as a first-person travel narrative built on different levels of representation. It is earthbound, by its interest in the material aspects of the external world, and introspective, by its concern in

83 Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning. From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980) 2.

84 Grey proposes the XIIth and XVIth centuries as possible moments for this representational shift (14).

conveying a specific perception of the authorial persona. It also combines “modern” characteristics with traditional “medieval” methods of representation. As this chapter will show, Andrew Boorde's intent to expose the foreign nations in his survey of Christianity was also intended to disclose his true colours as author and individual. But is this narrative a truthful expression of the author's self or an exercise in recreation?[85] The aim of this chapter will be to asses how the author, as individual, is trying to construct within the text an image of himself that would replace any other images of him outside the text.

THE AUTHORITATIVE SELF

Boorde's texts have left an image of the author that has been succinctly summarized in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* For the modern readers he is a “physician and author;” an individual defined by his trade and his written words. But how has Boorde manipulated these to convey an image of himself during his own lifetime? In the *Introduction* Boorde's role as witness and translator of the world is the prime point of contact between him and the readers, and it is in the development of this aspect that he constructs himself as learned scholar and national subject. He has located foreigners and nationals within their geographical and cultural boundaries, and now needs to fix himself clearly within his own culture – the English culture which, at the time, was deeply divided. With this aim, he employs a range of self-fashioning strategies: he creates different characters through the use of a flexible first-person narration, resorts to

85 “Is autobiography written to express selves, or to create them?” Helen Wilcox, quoted in Piesse's introduction to *Sixteenth Century Identities,* ed. Amanda Piesse (Manchester: Manchester University Press): 1-8 (7).

traditional sources to establish his authority, accommodates the expectations and the external pressures of church and government, and fashions himself as representative of and benefactor to his nation and culture. But first of all, and so that this exercise of self-fashioning succeeds in developing a credible Boorde, he needs to make sure that his text is read as factual (despite its jocularity) and that his words come through as authoritative.

Boorde's choice of a "firsthand experience" itinerary as the narrative mode for his *Introduction* shows a willingness to make himself actively present in the text (as witness and object described), displaying a good deal of authorial confidence and conveying a sense of truthfulness. In the writing of an itinerary, the traveller usually resorts to experience to assert his authority.[86] Nevertheless, to strengthen the truth-value of his narration, regardless of its veracity, he may also need to cite external authorities, such as the Bible. Boorde goes a step further: instead of using the firsthand mode because it was popular among the audiences of travel itineraries or as a "didactic" or "representative I," as Campbell defines the first person used in early travelogues (20), he is using it to assert his "ownership" of the text and his participation in it.[87] Instead of leaving his experiences unstated, using the rhetorical disclaimer "they say" that allocates any responsibility for the knowledge obtained to other sources, Boorde authorises the *Introduction* through the use of the first person, possessing fully his narrative, the experience, and the knowledge contained in it.[88] The assertion of his authorship through the "I" is not just a rhetorical

86 Campbell, *Witness* 3.

87 Weimann 4, 15.

88 Macleod Higgins, "Defining the Earth's Center in a Medieval Multi-Text," *Text and Territory*, eds. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998): 29-53 (36), develops further the study of the connection between rhetorics and textual authority in medieval travel narratives.

device used to elaborate on known topical allusions, as Mandeville does in his *Travels*, but a further way of fashioning himself in the real world. The creation of a narrative voice becomes in the *Introduction* part of the shaping of Boorde's own identity.

The personal nature of the narrative voice chosen by Boorde, a friendly and almost submissive "I," enhances also the presentational value of the text. As can be first seen in the dedication, the author is offering his text – and himself through it – to his dedicatee: "remembryng your bountyful goodnes, [I] pretended to make thys first booke... to your grace" (112). The *Introduction* becomes an exclusive production, truthful and authoritative, like its author:

> And of other Ilondes I haue shewed my mynd;
> He that whyl trauell, the truthe he shall fynd.
> After my conscience I do wryte truly,
> Although that many men wyl say that I do lye. (144)

Here, Boorde is challenging the reader to test the veracity of his account by experiencing the journey themselves (not by comparing his description with the traditional bookish sources). This insistence on personal veracity was of great relevance for Boorde, both in his narrative and his life: the accusations he mentions ("although that many men wyl say that I do lye") refer not only to his role as author but also to his personal life. This challenge is directed to the readers that may have thought he was writing a fiction and to those persons that doubted his conversion to the new faith. As a former member of a Romanist institution, the Charterhouse, Boorde was suspected of leading a double life by being "a proctour for the papists."[89] Boorde needed to make sure that these dangerous

89 Bishop Ponet*, An Apologie Fully Avnsweringe by Scriptures and ... a Blasphemose Book Gatherid by D. Steph. Gardiner* quoted in Furnivall, 'Forewords,' *Introduction* 66. See also Furnivall, 'Forewords' to the *Introduction* 65-74, for a full account of the charges made against Boorde in his time.

accusations and the references to his past that may have surrounded him in the courtly and educated circles were discarded by both patron and audience. By referring to his "mynd" and "conscience," he is presenting his soul to the reader for examination, showing that his conversion is not just external posturism. The use of a straightforward and seemingly sincere *encomendatio* (a device used since the Middle Ages in many travel narratives, including those that dealt with material extracted from traditional sources and with fantastical locations) is nevertheless part of Boorde's strategy of self-fashioning. Boorde is building an authorial persona that will work as middle-man between his real self and the audience, and it is as highly crafted a construct as any of the other fictional characters that he creates in his text.

Truthfulness had to be combined with authority, since he needed to be believed and respected. In *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, Minnis describes the "auctor" as "someone who was at once a writer and an authority," and this is the identity that Boorde creates.[90] The relevance of traditional erudition in the conveyance of scholarly authorship is still latent in the *Introduction*. He refers to authoritative sources in his description of Asia: "auctors, cronycles, & ... the wordes of credible parsons, the whiche haue trauelled in those parties" are included in his account to support the descriptions of peoples and places he had never visited (145). He presents his narrative person as being openly frank with the audience, specifying where he really was and where he "was neuer in" (145). Nevertheless, his continuous reference to frankness can also be a further construct designed to assert his authority and veracity in a way that other travel authors, such as

90 Alastair J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship* (Ashgate: Wildwood House, 1988) 10.

Mandeville, also used. Combining thus the use of traditional sources of the Middle Ages with his real-life experience, Boorde includes passages from the *vitas patrum*, accounts of Mahometan false miracles, and pilgrimage stories that would have been familiar to his audience.[91] This gives the audience the option to participate actively in the survey of the lands described, verifying the information offered through the common knowledge that both author and readers shared beforehand, without the need of resorting to actual travel. The individuality that personal experience entails has been mixed with the communal experience that the traditional sources represent. Reader and author are connected through a familiar knowledge of the world, and once the author's truthfulness has been asserted by this reference to well known stories, all the rest of the narrative can be also taken as authoritative and he can be counted as a "credible parson" too (145). Nevertheless, there is a difference between Boorde and other authors that may have resorted to the same type of strategies regardless of their veracity: Boorde needed that credibility to affect his external life. The text, designed to authorise the perspective of the eyewitness, is also designed to authorise the perspective of the writer himself in real life, positioning him within his context, in line with the current affairs of the time.

Not only is Boorde fashioning himself as literary and surveying authority, but grounding this authority on his status as learned scholar. The mention of classical sources used to enhance his veracity can also be seen as a way to boast of his extensive education. As a trained physician, he was expected to display a sound moral character and a university education worthy of praise, personal characteristics that would contribute to promoting his new self – a self parallel to the authorial persona of the book. Education

91 See chapters xxxii (Navarre, where the pilgrimage miracle is told), xxxvii (Turkey) and xxxviii (Egypt) of Boorde's *Introduction* 202-6, 214-8.

and character had to go hand in hand in his trade to convey what was known as "science": "an advanced education... more than mere knowledge," as Cook explains in *Good Advice and Little Medicine* (17). As a good scholar he boasts of his knowledge of Latin in the dialogue with the Latinman in the *Introduction* (210), which adds to his credibility and authority. Once he has secured these, Boorde can address his readers with humility in a further display of the traditional *encomendatio*, claiming that to make metre he is "full blynde" and that his rhymes are "dogrell" (unworthy and poor) whilst reminding his readers that "the effect of the whych no wyse man wyll depell," which seems to contradict the initial dismissal of his own words and persona as unworthy (144). This will be repeated further on, when he hopes that his readers are not discontent since he is not writing out of "a malycious nor of a peruerse mynde, nor for no euyll pretence, but to manyfest thinges the whiche be openly knowen" (145).

Boorde uses the *encomendatio* to distance himself from any Romanist preaching, alluding directly to characters that would have been recognized at the time:

> Pascall the playn dyd write and preach manifest thinges that were open in the face of the world to rebuke sin; wyth the which matter I haue nothyng to do, for I doo speke of many countryes & regions, and of the natural dysposicyon of the inhabitours of the same, with other necessary thynges to be knowen, specially for them the whiche doth pretende to trauayle the countrees. (145)

Even though we have no certainty as to whom he is referring as "Pascal the playn" in this paragraph, he seems to be trying to dissociate his words from any religious intention – and thus the real self from his former priesthood.[92] He will nevertheless forget about this

92 This enigmatic passage has been taken to identify Pope Pasquil II, the scholar John Paschal, and Pasquil the Playne, protagonist of a 1533 work. See Furnivall, 'Forewords,' *Introduction* 145, and Shrank, *Politics of Identity* 13.

claim and allow himself to get involved in the religious debate, accusing directly people like the Maid of Kent for their "subtyll and crafty castes" (216), or criticising the false relics found in other European shrines such as Santiago de Compostela, saying: "I assure you that there is not one heare nor one bone of saint Iames in Spayne in Compostell."[93] Following the denial of any religious involvement in his text, which, as has been shown, is only a narrative device to cover for any misrepresentation of his words from his audience, Boorde sets himself up as a neutral and unacknowledged educator of the nation, connecting with the humanist movement. But his diplomatic intention to not "dispraue no man in this booke perticulerly" and to offer his knowledge "for a generall commodite and welth" (146), clashes with the numerous references to the religious debate found in the aforementioned remarks about Catholic religion and in the criticism of Lutheranism: "Martyn Leuter & other of hys factours, in certayne thynges dyd take synistrall opinions" (165). Commodity and wealth, material issues of interest for all those that saw travel as an essential tool to establish commercial routes, become an alibi to deal with religious and political affairs. He even dares admonish his own nation because "treason & deceyt ... is vsed craftyly" (119). The adverb "craftyly" appears again, as in the reference to the Maid of Kent, highlighting the threat of the false religions for national unity: Muslims and Catholics are allocated this term, which links their beliefs and practices with witchcraft.

Even though Boorde apparently began by displaying a neutral approach to his description of Europe, his personal comments have strong political and religious

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93 Boorde, *Introduction* 204-5. The Maid of Kent, Elizabeth Barton, was a Catholic nun that prophesized the death of Henry VIII if he divorced Catherine of Aragon to marry Anne Boleyn. She was executed for treason in 1534.

connotations. If he expects to be respected and believed as both author and individual he must clarify his view on the current debates, and religion is the most important. The construction of the authorial voice becomes a further social comment and vice versa; social comment becomes the way to shape his personal and authorial identity. Boorde attempts to define himself in the argument between the old ways and the new ways by proxy, using the authorial persona of his literary production to demonstrate his allegiance to the Crown and the Reformation and his repudiation of the power of Rome.

THE SELF AS NATIONAL SUBJECT

Apart from constructing himself as travel witness, scholar, authoritative physician, writer and supporter of the King's supremacy, Boorde constructs himself above all as Englishman; a further step separating him from Rome. His authorial persona (and his real self by association) is shown as exemplary of what an Englishman should be: educated and diplomatic, boasting of his nation's grandeur and seeking national unity. But what is it to be English? In the first chapter of the *Introduction*, Boorde presents his audience with an unpredictable Englishman, whose problems with fashion echo the dilemmas that the English people faced during the first half of the sixteenth century in their choice of religion. This insecure Englishman, reminiscent of Henry VIII (who always wished to be seen in the latest fashion), can represent either the English nation or Boorde himself, uncertain as to which religious option would suit him better.[94] Boorde

94 A study of the king's politics of fashion is offered in Maria Hayward's "Fashion, Finance, Foreign Politics and the Wardrobe of Henry VIII," *Clothing Culture*, Catherine Richardson ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) 165-178.

develops his choice indirectly throughout the text, setting himself in contrast to other foreign nationals.

The best example of definition by contrast appears perhaps in chapter xxv, where the Latinman and the Englishman maintain a friendly dialogue evaluating the position of the Latin language.[95] The Latinman is the physical representation of classical knowledge. He stands for scholarly erudition and also for the ways of Rome; as he says, "wyth the Roman and Italyon I haue dwelled longe" (210). But he seems rather unhappy about the state of affairs since "they haue done wronge / In corruptyng my tonge and my ryalte." Even though he dwells "in euery place," he is looking for nacions "wher I shal be dayly accept and vsed, / Regardyng not them where I am abused" (210). This rhetoric of abuse, corruption and wrong ways is reminiscent of the description of Rome, the old source of knowledge and authority for Christianity, now decaying and profane, where "vertu... is greatly abused" (178). The Latinman becomes representative of the virtues abused and now needs to find shelter in a new welcoming nation that does not corrupt his "ryalte." A nation where knowledge is praised and where, duly developed, the alliance with the Latinman will make them become the new authority in Christianity. The Englishman is thus happy to receive him with open arms: "In thy tounge I am wel sped, & neuer was in thy countre" (210), which highlights the troubled relationships with Rome and the humanistic developments that were taking place at the time, regardless of this separation from the former centre of European culture. By sheltering the Latinman, England becomes metaphorically the centre of knowledge and Christian authority; the alliance with the Latinman entails a new Classical Renaissance of education and religious

95 Boorde, *Introduction* 210-1.

splendour.

The Englishman speaking for his nation has not been named; he seems to be another figurative character, until we find in the dialogue that his name is Andrew Borde ("Andreas parforatus").[96] The author is here both translator and diplomat, representing his nation in the dialogue between the old fashioned Europe and the new English trends. He masters both the vernacular and the Latin and guides the conversation, shifting easily from English to Latin and conveying with this strategy the idea that both languages are parallel and as important in the scene of world politics. This device connects with the colonial message of the narration: the Englishman is possessing the Latinman by acquiring and using his language to his advantage, as with the rest of the national dictionaries that appear in the *Introduction*. With the Latinman, and his knowledge and authority, now dwelling in England geographically and linguistically, London becomes the new European metropolis, and its language the new source of knowledge.

Boorde juggles with both Latin and English, but writes his book in English, even though he considers that "the speche of Englande is a base speche to other noble speches, as Italion, Castylion, and Frenche; howbeit the speche of Englande of late dayes is amended" (122). These may be the languages pandered to by scholars, but they contain strong political and religious affilitations, since Italy, Castile and France were the Catholic strongholds at the time. In his determination to be seen as he is now and not as he was in his Carthusian past, Boorde has detached himself linguistically from the intellectual power of Rome and decided to spread his knowledge in English. His choice of language reflects the resurgence of the vernaculars in the drive for national cohesion,

96 Boorde, *Introduction* 210.

above all in the case of England.

Reforming the Old Self

Furnivall uses the authorial digressions to create a picture of Boorde in his forewords to the *Introduction*. This has been possible because the author makes sure that he is present in each chapter, reminding the reader that he has personally taken part in the events and cultures described (asserting thus his authority), and using his experience to ground firmly his connection with the English cultural and political ideals (fashioning himself as the exemplary Englishman).

Boorde's nationalistic drive appears in the description of his homeland, which is full of words of praise, and in the role he creates for himself as not only witness but representative of his nation abroad. This strategy can be found in his depiction of Scotland, where he reminds us that the English people are hated, but he, thanks to his “scyences & other polyces” was kept in favour (137). The author is presenting himself thus as the messenger of English culture and political righteousness to the outskirts of the metropolis, contrasting with the disorganised and deceitful foreigner. He faces the dangers of mingling with the unfriendly “other” to promote his nation and to serve it. The reference to “scyence” reminds us of the role of the authoritative physician, and highlights his education against the chaotic and barbaric Scots. The term “policy” refers to his role as diplomat between nations, as developed metaphorically in the dialogue with the Latinman, and is reminiscent of his role as “foreign correspondent” from Scotland for

Cromwell.[97] The King's associate was dead at the time, but Boorde seems more than keen to remind his new patron, the princess Mary, that he has carried out some worthy tasks for the government. Such "policy" thus can also be taken as the unacknowledged role of the diplomat at the time: to spy on other nations while befriending them and sending the information gathered back to his home country. The *Introduction* becomes the object of such a policy; hidden behind a screen of scientific knowledge and of naïve witnessing, it becomes a political tool adequate to highlight the flaws of the enemy.

Even though Boorde has made clear his alliances, there are a set of events of his past life that need to be shown under a reformist light and accomodated to the changing times. Preaching was one of these, and pilgrimage was the other. The author, aware of the dangers of associating himself with the traditions of the old ways (since he includes visits to many shrines frowned upon by the Reformists), devotes a long tirade to his experience in Santiago de Compostela. His visit to the shrine needs to be explained: it becomes part of his duty as representative of the English government abroad. The pilgrimage to Compostela is transformed into a denunciation of the idolatrous practices that take place there: the church representatives "illude, mocke, and skorne, the people, to do Idolatry, making ygnorant people to worship the thyng that is not here" (204). Boorde makes this statement indirectly, through the words of an unnamed doctor of divinity that resorted to him as physician, seemingly dissociating himself from any full religious criticism. But he gets directly involved later on, when he denounces the practice of visiting Compostela by some "incipient parsons, specially of some Englyshe men and Skotyshe men" (205), evidence for the continuity of old-fashioned religious practices in his homeland during

97 Furnivall, 'Forewords,' *Introduction* 59-61.

the Reformation.

Boorde himself had visited all the other shrines of Europe before the writing of the book and even advises readers on where to find the real relics. This acknowledgment highlights the ongoing need for the author to reconcile old beliefs with the new religious ways: his devout regard for the relics of christianity and the practice of pilgrimage, as has been seen in the case of Santiago, needs to be re-evaluated. He transforms all the other visits to shrines into a politically involved practice. The same happens when we compare the description of St. Winifred's Well, a false shrine, which he has "proued... in sondry tymes" (127), or St. Patrick's Purgatory, which is "not of that effycacyte as is spoken of" (133), with a regard for the royal miracles: "the kynges of England, by the power that God hath gyuen to them, dothe make sicke men whole of a sycknes called the kynges euyll" (121), or when he authorises the commonly believed tradition that Merlin had built Stonehenge "by the deuels helpe & crafte" (121). Boorde is happy to promote the practices and beliefs that are profitable to the cause of the King's supremacy, turning his relationship with traditional beliefs to his advantage, and fashioning himself as a new Erasmus who, through science and trial, lays bare the malpractices of the Roman church in the promotion of false shrines.

An Inward Narrative. The Self as Object of the Travel Book

The *Introduction* is not an autobiography *per se*, but it emanates a self-consciousness essential for understanding the text and its circumstances. In a book mainly about "others," it is the "I" that stands out as source and reference for all knowledge.

Boorde fashions himself – as author and as the individual behind the authorial voice – in different guises: a scholar, a physician, a servant of the reformist cause, a witness and an Englishman, each influencing each other to convey their veracity and aimed at influencing the perspective that readers may have had on the book and himself. He has created a credible image of himself through association with his own culture, by separating from the foreign and the Romanist, and by adopting a strong nationalistic pose. He has even transformed events of his past life such as pilgrimages, turning them into fully accepted Reformist practices. The self and his circumstances become a manipulable reality; a persona materialised in the narration, a cultural artefact employed to define what Englishness should be and to prove that the author is part of that national construct.[98] Nevertheless, there are still some contradictions in the authorial persona, such as the regard shown for relics, proving that it is as fragmented as the Englishman that it presents: torn between the old ways and perspectives on life and the new ways, and trying to reconcile both by giving a new perspective to his Romanist past. Behind the fragmentation of Europe and its nationals he is trying to fashion himself as a complete and unified character, fully reformed.

The *Introduction* is the way for Boorde to deal with the changes happening in his homeland. Its final message concerning the creation of the individual is clear: there is a lack of unity both in Christendom and within the borders of England, and this can only weaken the power of the nation. National and cultural unity are the only way forward, but this unity is not found in religion: it is found in cultural pride. The individual, confused and variable, like his nation, also needs to find his own personal unity and decide for one

98 Clifford Geetz, quoted in Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* 3.

side or the other of the debate. Boorde tries to tackle his personal insecurities through the text, reforming and transforming his identity in the construction of an authorial persona: the text becomes the material used to create a fixed national garment with which he will clothe himself.

Chapter 3
Reception and Readings of the *Introduction*

For divers pregnant wits be in this land,
As well of noble men as of mean estate,
Which nothing but English can understand.
Then if cunning Latin books were translate
Into English, well correct and approbate
All subtle science in English might be learned[99]

Audiences are essential for the survival of the literary work and the continuous renovation of its message, since it is in the act of being read that a text fulfills its final communicative aim. Authors, aware of the need to attract readers and fulfill their expectations, shape the generic, linguistic, and thematic choices of their work to the tastes of their audiences. But, more than establishing a single act of communication conveying a unique and specific message, the narrative text acquires a multiplicity of meanings through the different readings that the audience elicits from it. The singular message that we call the "intention" of the author, a highly speculative and dangerous concept, is superseded by the reinterpretations offered by each reader when making sense of the text.

Paul Zumthor highlights the relevance of audiences in travel literature when describing it as a production designed to respond to "a need of the educated public" (809). Demand becomes one of the main shaping forces behind the production of travel texts, turning them into social constructs; a means of entertainment and instruction produced for the "pregnant wits" of the time, but also shaped by them.[100]

99 John Rastell, *New Interlude of the Nature of the Four Elements*, quoted in Taylor 9.

100 The social efficacy of the medieval text is addressed in W. Travis "Affective Criticism and Medieval English Literature," *Medieval Text and Contemporary Readers,* eds. Laurie A. Finke and Martin B.

Understanding the reception of a text means understanding its society and the relationships it established with its artistic productions. But the readers from the past, finite in time and alien to us, can only be "imagined." Nevertheless, they can be reconstructed by collating the historical information we have of their period with references from the same text we are studying, by resorting to the general characteristics of the genre, or to comments and evaluations offered by other contemporary authors. At the same time, later readers, different to those that the the text addressed initially, also add up to the scope of the text's reception: the historical reception of the text, including our modern readings, will be part of the patchwork of meanings of the literary work.

The *Introduction* is one of these texts directed at an audience of the past and at the same time affected by its historical reception. The editions that have reached us are only those that were published after Boorde's death, and we cannot ascertain to what extent they are faithful to an original or reconstructions of a lost 1542 manuscript. The *Introduction* as we know it is not the original product that we may want it to be but a highly edited version that has reached us only by the intercession of its printers and editors. Why it was reprinted and by whom it was read are the questions that motivate this chapter; although they cannot be answered with scientific certainty, they can be explored through the relationship between the *Introduction* and its audiences. The influence of patronage in its production and an overview of the historical reception of the *Introduction* allow an assessment of the text and of some of the readings that may be elicited from it.

Schichman (Ithaca: Cornell University Press: 1987): 201-215 (205).

Patron, Printer, Reader: Contexts for the Production of the *Introduction*

In her study of the production of humanist books, Dowling uses the dedications of the texts as evidence to identify individual readers and to evaluate the reading tastes of the time (238). Boorde, in line with his time, has also left us a dedication in his *Introduction* as witness of the relationship of the book with a prospective patron.[101] The didactic message of the *Introduction*, written for the "common wealth" of his readers, seems to have a very defined and important audience in mind: Princess Mary, its dedicatee.[102] She fitted the profile of a courtly patron: educated, powerful and, possibly with a political agenda in mind. At the time, Mary was in the line of succession (even though this would be a thin and troublesome line), which indicates Boorde's high aspirations for his work. We find another parallel here between Boorde and Skelton, since both produced books to put learning at the disposal of royalty. Skelton had presented works on "royal demeanance, sovereignity and honorous state" to Henry VIII before becoming his preceptor.[103] Perhaps Boorde was attempting to become Mary's preceptor with this work of learning, policy and manners.

The *Introduction* could have been a useful piece of nationalistic propaganda suitable for the furthering of the English monarch's supremacy, or it could have been used as a somewhat jocular book of policy for a young nobleperson. But what kind of

101 See p. 6-7 for previous comments on the relationship between Boorde and his former patron, Thomas Cromwell, and for a general overview of the relationship between Humanism and book production at the English court.

102 For an explanation of the audiences that Boorde had in mind, see his address to the readers in Furnivall, 'Forewords,' *Introduction* 21.

103 Scattergood, *John Leland* 63, and Dowling 13.

education was he offering to his dedicatee? Mary was a resolute Catholic and the *Introduction* claims to be quite the opposite. One wonders whether Boorde was being inconsistent or trying to educate and convert his dedicatee. We cannot assess whether this book was ever read or even received by Mary, and whether she had any influence in its distribution and reprints. But what is clear is that the *Introduction*, as part of the network of patronage established at the time, was tuned to the interests of the court. Ideology, economy and social status have been crucial factors in the production of the *Introduction*.[104]

Nevertheless, the court and its entourage of noblemen were not the only catalysts for book production and for the distribution of propagandistic compositions.[105] Merchants and printers contributed to the humanistic and political set of interest of the book trade – an environment aptly termed a "market of cunning" by Betteridge.[106] Consider Copland's comments on the tastes of the public, who demanded ballads and amusing pieces - "tryfles" and "wanton toyes" - whereas he would have rather offered books "of moral wisdom" and "common consolation."[107] The role of readers, editors and printers as a demanding public was essential in shaping the literary text, and in determining its afterlife by re-editing and promoting it or by relegating it to oblivion; an influence which can only be appreciated from a historical distance.[108]

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104 André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London: Routledge, 1992) 16.

105 Dowling 55.

106 Tom Betteridge, *Literature and Politics in the English Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press: 2004) 9.

107 Quoted in Warneke 883 and Dowling 201.

108 Hans Robert Jauss, *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1982) 100.

The *Introduction* thus left Boorde's hands and developed its afterlife in Copland's atélier, as we see in a short note appearing in the Register of the Stationers' Company; "Recevyd of William Coplande, for his lycense for pryntinge of [a] boke intituled 'the introduction to knowledge.'"[109] William Copland was sucessor to Robert Copland, the same printer who was keenly interested in books of learning and morality. With this detail in mind, we can now imagine the interest that the printer may have had in acquiring the rights for publishing the *Introduction,* for its didactic scope could have attracted a wide audience as well as contributing to the educational trends of the time, fulfilling its social function as a "cunning" book, and allowing for "all subtle science in English" to be learnt.[110] Edited in an ornate style, with wide margins and a wealth of illustrations accompanying the text, it did have the presentational value that a courtly audience may have cherished. But these characteristics may also indicate the care that the printer put in offering an attractive book of learning for a wider audience, composed of "marchantes, gentylmen and wymmen... knyghtes, and other great men, whiche were desyrouse to to knowe the effycacyte and the effecte of his aforesayd bokes."[111] For these eager learners, the abundance of images and the clear and uncluttered disposition of the text would have made of this encyclopaedic work an easier book to be read and remembered.

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109 Furnivall, 'Forewords,' *Introduction* 18-19.

110 John Rastell, *New Interlude of the Nature of the Four Elements*, quoted in Taylor 9.

111 Barnes, *The Treatyse Answerynge the Boke of Berdes. Compyled by Collyn Clowte, Dedycatyd to Barnarde Barber Dwellynge in Banbery,* 1541. Quoted in Furnivall, 'Forewords,' *Introduction* 17.

Historical Reception: the Influence of the *Introduction*

The fact that the *Introduction* was reprinted a number of times indicates that the reception of the text was favourable. Since there is no trace of a patron paying for the new editions, it may be inferred that this was a response to public demand, which would have made the reprint profitable. The best way to ascertain the impact of the *Introduction* is nevertheless to gather the significant references to its message found in works published by later authors. These references, also focusing on the didactic and concerned with the construction of the English nation, are proof of the enduring mark that the *Introduction* left in the minds of its audience.

Harrison, in his *Description of England* (1586), praises the characterization of the Englishman found in the *Introduction*, centring his argument still on the past of the author and pondering on how it could have affected its reading:

> "An Englishman, indeuoring sometime to write of our attire... when he saw what a difficult peece of work he had taken in hand, ... drue the picture of a naked man, vnto whome he gaue a paire of sheares in the one hand, and a peece of cloth in the other... Certes this writer (otherwise being a lewd [popish hypocrite] and vngratious priest) shewed himself herein not to be [altogether] void of iudgement, sith the phantasticall follie of our nation, [euen from the courtier to the carter] is such, that no forme of apparell liketh vs longer ... you shall not see anie so disguised, as are my countrie-men of England"[112]

But Boorde, that writer "not... altogether void of iudgement" by Harrison's standards, would disappear behind the recursive references to his fictional Englishman in literary productions of the following century. His naked Englishman would become

112 Quoted in Furnivall, 'Forewords,' *Introduction* 171-2.

almost a commonplace description of the nation's foibles. For example, Lyly uses the description of the newfangled national to develop his argument about nation in *Euphues and his England,* a novella which saw at least seventeen reprints.[113] In this work, he condemns the lack of national communion: "For this is straunge that it is alwayes incident to an English-man, to thinke worst of his owne nation, eyther in learning, experience, commo[n] reason, or wit, preferring alwaies a straunger rather for the name, then the wisdome" (196). In this paragraph he is recalling the same criticism that appears in the *Introduction*; the newfangled Englishman is always searching for new fashions instead of searching for knowledge or acknowledging the value of native English learning.

The *Introduction*, by being reworked into other texts, is re-read in different ways and transformed in the process; the original text disappears behind these readings, and the readings themselves become entities independent from the text that created them. Thanks to such "reworkings" we can now understand the foci of interest considered fundamental to the text by audiences of the time, in this case the narrative of nation and the self-reflecting critique of the English subject. Thus, the Englishman of the *Introduction* has a number of afterlives in texts concerned with morality, such as Thomas Dekker's *The Seven Deadly Sinnes of London* (1606).[114] Books of customs and manners, concerned with the education of the young such as Robert Codrington's in *A Discourse upon some Innovations of Habits and Dressings* (c.1651), also use the image of the Englishman for

113 John Lyly, "Euphues and his England," *The Complete Works of John Lyly,* ed. R. Warwick Bond, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902) 194-6.

114 Thomas Dekker refers to the image of the Englishman as dissociated from the *Introduction*: "Wittie was that Painter therefore, that when he had limned one of every Nation in their proper attyres, and being at his wittes endes how to drawe an Englishman: At the last (to give him a quipp for his follie in apparell) drewe him starke naked, with Sheeres in his hande, and cloth on his arme, because none could cut out his fashions but himselfe." Quoted in Henschell 546. Her references are taken from *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Alexander Grosart (London, 1885).

didactic purposes.[115] And finally, in a paradoxical return to the original literary background, later travel books such as Thomas Coryate's *Crudites* (c.1611) also found a space for the naked Englishman.[116]

The Romanist past of the author did not seem to hinder the reading and publishing of the *Introduction,* as has been seen in Harrison's comments; it was the message elicited by the audiences that mattered. All these texts have taken from Boorde's work the material that suited them most at the time, in the fully-fleshed campaign for the supremacy of the English empire developed during Elizabethan times. The *Introduction* was thus reused to create a better sense of unique Englishness and to improve the nation in the eyes of the world, leaving a deep mark in its time regardless of the personal fortunes of the author, who, in the end, was of less interest than the possible meanings of his work.

Modern Readings

Even though Boorde's most obvious achievement seems to have been the creation of a powerful image that impacted upon readers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we should not overlook the impact that his work may have now in our modern

115 Codrington's pamphlet appears as an appendix to Francis Hawkins' *Youths behaviour, or Decency in Conversation Amongst Men,* Early English Books Online <http://eebo.chadwick.com> [5 Sept. 2005]. Codrington, as Dekker, associates the image with a painter, not with the *Introduction*: "an Outlandish Painter thought he had quit hemselfe upon us with a handsome peece of drollery, when having abstracted the habit of divers Nations into one table, and represented a man of each country in his native apparell, he painted an English man with a paire of Sheers in his hand, as being yet to seek of a fashion" 54.

116 Coryate is quoted in Hentschell, *Treasonous Textiles* 549, describing the Englishman as "starke naked with a paire of shears in his hand, making his fashion according to the vaine invention of his braine-sick head, not to comliness and decorum."

perception of the travel literature of the time.

The *Introduction* has been neglected for a long time and only a few scholars have found anything useful or worthy of study in it. Aesthetically, and as an attractive text for the modern mind, it is clear that the *Introduction* brings back to us that sense of "otherness of a departed past" that Jauss locates at the centre of the experience of alterity.[117] The mindset of the reader has changed; the exactitude and reliability it claims are already a thing of the past, and the topical allusions it works around do not elicit any emotive reactions from the modern reader. We may have become estranged from the referentiality of the text and its connotative nature, from the sources of knowledge that the text took for granted or the feelings about the world it worked upon. We do not need to learn what it was designed to teach anymore, but its worth can still be acknowledged on different grounds. It still contains the playfulness of the authorial voice, a sense of humour and mockery that can be enjoyed regardless of historical periods. Its statements may have become obsolete but through historical knowledge we may be able to bridge that "separation of sensibilities."[118]

What may have been a book of entertainment and current affairs, a political pamphlet or simple guide for European travel in its time, is now a witness to the relations established between individuals and literary texts. It also offers an insight into the pillars upon which the concept of nation was founded in Tudor times; a concept that we now take for granted but that was still forming at the time. The *Introduction* can also be for the modern reader a book of "cunning," but this time, with other matters to teach.

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117 Hans Robert Jauss, "The Alterity and Modernity of Medieval Literature," trans. Timothy Bahti, *New Literary History* 10.2 (Winter 1979): 182.

118 Jauss, *Alterity* 185.

Conclusion

Research for this thesis began in the overview of a genre, a comparative study in which Boorde's *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* had only a secondary role among other literary examples. Yet careful reading revealed the multiplicity of themes, literary connections and formal considerations contained in this text, requiring detailed attention beyond the limits of generic criticism.

The *Introduction* raises many questions concerning the ways in which we deal with the unacknowledged literary productions of the past. Debates surrounding the validity of systems of periodization, generic division and, in general, how we acknowledge the worth of a text, emerge in each chapter of this thesis, making reflection on current systems of knowledge an essential part of tackling the text. Boundaries between genres and periods become blurred in an effort to explain the variety of themes that the *Introduction* offers and the influences that have shaped it, both from its past and in the present. This offers the critic a useful, if challengingly complex, opportunity to examine the narrative structures and tactics of the text in more wide-ranging and interdisciplinary ways.

Despite the echoes of highly standard narrative modes in its argument, the *Introduction* is unique in the strategies it employs to develop its message. Its combination of old and new sources in an eclectic and flexible construct makes of it a chameleonic text, open to the changing expectations of the reading public in ways that are not often

found in other travel texts. Its multilayered structure provides a context for key topics of its time, such as the construction of nation and the clash of cultures, and a textual map for the guidance of its readers through the narrative of experience. Word, image and book are used as parallel and interrelated devices, complementing each other and actively involving the reader in the creation of meaning.

Although Boorde's interesting life and historical situation provide a valuable context for interpretation of the *Introduction*, ultimately Boorde's narrative persona can be most profitably read as a constructed fiction, disengaged from the afterlife of the text he produced. Yet the *Introduction*, detached from its author, retains its own worth despite its long neglect by both readers and critics. The range of this thesis is necessarily limited, but it contributes to the vital process of paying attention to the literary nature of this text rather than its historical veracity. More work remains to be done in the study of its possible readings, which are as yet still largely undisclosed to a modern audience.

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