

Texts and Documents

A NORTH-RIDING DOCTOR IN 1609

by

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THE account here presented was written by a doctor who practised in the North Riding of Yorkshire; it records the names and homes of his patients, their ailments, treatments, and payments through the year 1609. It seems to be the earliest record of its kind to be published. The original is written in double columns on each side of the first fly-leaf of a copy of Thomas Geminus's English *Anatomy* printed in London in 1553. This copy was bought by the Royal College of Surgeons of England from the executors of the late Dr. W. H. Newton of Walmer, Kent, in the spring of 1959; its previous history is unknown.

The writer of the account does not give his own name nor say where he lived, but from the names of the villages where his patients lived we see that his practice lay in the country round Thirsk and Northallerton, from beyond the Swale eastwards across the low country and over the Hambleton Hills into Ryedale. This district measures roughly fifteen miles in each direction. A few patients came to him from places outside this district, but all from within the boundaries of the North Riding. The author varies his handwriting, using sometimes an old-fashioned English secretary-hand, sometimes a 'modern' Italianate script. He slips with equal ease, often in the same entry, from English into Latin and back again. These variations of language and script are not connected.

The account runs through one whole year in the old reckoning, from April 1609 to March 1610. The writer has summed his earnings month by month, but since some of the individual entries are defective we cannot check his arithmetic. We may notice however that his monthly sums add up to £16 17s. 6d., while he says that his sum for the whole year was £17 4s., 'for which I praise God'.

Most of his patients were no doubt ordinary country folk, but a few belonged to families of higher position. The Acroydes, Ascoughs, and Pallissers were landowning families well-known in their day; Mr. Key is described as 'a Fellow of Sidney's College'; Mrs. Metcalfe of Tilehouse, whose maid Elizabeth Barwick was also a patient of our doctor, seems to have been a lady of at least local importance. One patient is described as 'Mrs. Talbot's tenant's wife', and another as 'Mr. Wm. Fairfax his man'. Mrs. Bell of Allerton, mentioned several times, was the wife of a prominent burgher of whom there is record; she paid her doctor in wine and spices to the value of 3s. 'for former help', and sent another 3s. worth of 'wine and good perry, for letting her blood'. From one patient he accepted a cheese, from another 'conies 2 couple worth 18d.', and 'Margaret Clark for counsel sent fish worth 8d.' Many of his patients could no doubt be traced in the publications of the Yorkshire Parish Register Society, if the search were worth-while.

His usual fees were 1s. for a vomit or a purge and 2s. 6d. for more extensive treatment. He charged 4s. for blood-letting and an eye-lotion, though Mr. Walker the school-

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master at Osmotherley was charged only 2s. 6d. for three purges and three powders. To Roger Horsley of Thornton, for his epileptic daughter 'I prescribed a diet, and made him a drink with 3 vomits, lent him a bottle', and charged 10s. The fees were presumably paid forthwith, for only very occasionally does he record a debt. It is clear that most of his patients came to him and that he dispensed his own medicines; frequently indeed a husband or father came to collect medicine for a sick wife or child. He records being present when one patient died, but there is no mention of child-birth: doubtless that was attended by a committee of local matrons. Once or twice he must have ridden well beyond his usual rounds, in March 1610 for instance he was at Richmond, ten miles to the north-west of Northallerton.

Purges and vomits of unspecified prescription were the staple of his treatment. Senna he prescribed often, occasionally polypodium or euphorbium, once each coriander, rhubarb and 'dialacca' (powder of lac); except for this one exotic and now forgotten remedy, his medicine was simple and conservative, in an age of compound and extravagant prescriptions. He made up ointments and broths, he recommended quince marmalade and once prescribed a bath. Blood-letting was a routine procedure, once he set a broken arm, and one patient paid for 'sundry smokings with realgar'.

Ailments he often noted by a single Latin word, usually an adjective applied to the patient: *apostematicus*, *astmaticus*, *dysintericus*, *epilepticus*, *faebriticans*, *hydropicus*, *ictericus*, *ischiadicus*, *pleureticus*—these are self-explanatory. *Melancholicus*, *phlegmaticus*, and *spleneticus*, expressive of the accepted humoral pathology, are perhaps half-way to their modern psychological meaning, but their subjects were treated by physical means. What precisely he indicated by *purulentus*, and how he differentiated this from *suppuratus*, cannot readily be determined. He also used a few colloquial or now obsolete English terms.

I have numbered the entries for convenience of reference, and added a few explanatory notes. In compiling these and the indexes, I have used, besides the sources quoted in the notes and maps of the district, the following authorities:

PAGE, WILLIAM. *The Victoria History of the County of York North Riding*. I-II and index vol. London, Constable 1914-23 and 1925.

SMITH, A. H. *The place names of the North Riding of Yorkshire* (English Place Name Society, v). Cambridge University Press, 1928.

TEXT OF THE ACCOUNT

(1)		April 2 1609. I begane th()	
(2)	1	An Gamble age 16 for feuer came to be phlebotomized i(n) medi()	
(3)	2	maie 5 Dame Palister <i>astmatica et capite</i> ()	ijs vjd
(4)	3	10 Thomas Tod <i>suppuratus pro vomitu</i>	ijs vjd
(5)	4	11 filius Thomas willis puer septem annorum ()ens <i>prae-</i> <i>scripsi Reub. in infusione cum sena sc() cu()</i>	iijs
(6)		12 Dame Pallister for one vomit	xijd
(7)	5	magaret waterton for one vomett	xijd
(8)		16 Anthony Pickring consumption of the liver and weaknes of stomack for counsell	xijd
(9)		henry Scruton for one vomit for his wyfe	xijd
(10)		18 margaret Clerke for one purgacion	xd
(11)		19 Henry Milner of kirkby wisk splenicus for one purgacion	xviijd

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(12)		francis Jackson of Sowerby purulentus pro concilio	ijs vjd
(13)	26	henry Scrutons wyfe for one vomit	xijd
(14)	28	mrs metcalfe of Tylehouse for counsel pro purgatione et puluere pro stomacho	xijd
(15)		Cook dwelling about Topliefie hydropicus. I praescribed a purgacion of Euphorbium et Diet vide Dialaccam maiorem	xijd
(16)	31	mrs Talbots tenants wyfe for one vomit	ijs vjd
(17)	June 3	margaret Clerk for counsell sent fish worth	vijjd
(18)	16	mr Dicsons Cousin faebriticans	xijd
(19)		harlands wyfe one vomit	xijd
(20)	24	Scrutons daughter for a wyfe hauing paynes in her back	xijd
(21)	July 2	besse wills sick of vermes in stomacho praescribed a drink for phlegm	js
(22)	15	Mr Stoanes of Allerton for his frend Dysintericus	ijs vjd
(23)	24	Alice Hill Hydropica drink whyte wine: purge Euphorbium	js
(24)	27	william sims sister corrept feбри ardente proxima morti praescripsi phlebotomiam et balneum	xijd
(25)	August 4	John Lawson of ye Daletowne old 20 sick of an ague	xijd
(26)	5	Raper of Angram ictericus praebui vomitum erat moribundus habuit vrinam admodum nigram	ijs vjd
(27)	8	Elizabeth Barwick mrs metcalues mayd sick in hypochondrijs wth an ague	xijd
(28)	10	Robert wilkinsons wyfe of Thimbleby trubled wth woremes in her stomach	xijd
(29)		W. Bruson febricitans one chese	xijd
(30)	16	Mrs Garbie of Allerton for settlinge her ryght arm broken in fr()	xijd
(31)		Lawrie Johson pro vomitu	ijs
(32)		()at one ()ell	
(33)		Hic ()	xlijs
(34)	Aug. 18	Thomas Pa(. .)sle of (. .)	
(35)		Margaret Scot of the so()	
(36)		Gyles Clark of haunby for one purge fish ()	
(37)		Mr. key mr of Art, a felow of Sidnes colledg ()	
(38)	September	michael Slater pro iudicio circa vrinam, homo Astma()	
(39)		George wasse of Cousby ischiadicus ()	
(40)		Gyles Clerk of haunby	
(41)	11	Mr wm fayrfax his man febricitans, I praescribed Diet and phlebotomie in the lower vayne et sanus factus est.	iijs
(42)	13	Gyles Clerk a windy timpayne, I caused him to vomit & purged him and blouded him in Cephalia dext.	
(43)	16	Mrs Metcalfe of Tylehowse febricitans	vs
(44)	17	George was antescrip	
(45)		Simon Gatards wyfe of Sowerbye phleg. pro vom	ijs
(46)	18	The wyfe of Thimbleby above written for powder of senna	xijd
(47)		old harwood for counsell to purg phlegm	xijd
(48)	24	Roger horsley of Thorneton his daughter epileptica, I praescribed a dyet and mad him a drink, wth 3 vomits, lent him a bottle	xs
(49)	26	widow Preston of old Baland sexagenaria pro vomitu	ijs vjd
(50)		a man wth a bald head of haunby parish, pro filia, vomitus	ijs vjd
(51)		Simpson of Braford vomitus pro sorore	ijs vjd

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(52)	29	Roger Smyth a vomit for his daughter	ijs vjd
(53)	30	Robert Miller of ottrington pro consilio pleureticus	ijs vjd
(54)		summa antea scrip. ex superiore summa	49s.
(55)	October 1	Mr Hurwood conyes 2 cople worth	xvij(d)
(56)	3	Elizabeth Thomson of old byland melancholica pro pul. se.	
(57)		Thomaz Langdale of Ottrington febricitans ping. of sen.	ijs vjd
(58)	5	Wm hodgson. Cockhold debet pro vomitu	ijs
(59)	7	Peter wood of old bylande pro Puluere senae	ijs ()
(60)	9	two women of Sandhuton for two vomits ()	
(61)	13	websters daughter apostematica in dextro cu ()	
(62)	14	william Simpson of Vpsall pleuriticus, pro ()	
(63)	20	mr hurwood for one purgacion pulueris se()	
(64)		Ann Telford of Sandhuton for ij dragh of s()	
(65)		James marwood his wyfe for one vomit ()	
(66)		Anne Ascoughe splenetica for a purgacion ()	
(67)		christofer Pomefrey of Silton faebriticans pro vomitu	ijs vjd
(68)		Taylford of Sandhuton et alius pro vomitu et marmelat	ijs
(69)		Robert Carter phlebotomized in basilica	
(70)		summa huius mensis	24s
(71)	Nouember	Anne mynta of old byland for one vomit	js
(72)		Mr Ri: Marsh phlegmaticus pro vomitu et purg.	xijd
(73)		Ro: Carter ischiadicus pro vomitu	
(74)	4	Rowland webster of Hollme bower for one pow	xviijd
(75)	6	Anthony Hornar of Caud Kyrby pro vomitu et purg	xviijd
(76)		James Lanchester for one purgacion	xviijd
(77)	12	Mr Kay of Allerton pro consilio	ijs iiijd
(78)		mr Georg Stoanes of Allerton pro consilio	ijs
(79)		bessie ward alias smythe of Thirsk for phlebotomie	ijs vjd
(80)	19	mr James Greene of landmoth pro purg.	xijd
(81)	20	a taylier of kiluington for his child a potion for black iaundise	xijd
(82)		Robin brownes daughter phlebotomized for scabb	
(83)	29	Simpson of Pharom for his wyfe one vomit	ijs vjd
(84)		Thomaz Tod of upsall one vomit	ijs vjd
(85)		harlands wyfe for one purgacion of sene and col.	ijs vjd
(86)		summa	24s
(87)	December 1	william hutwhates daughter for powder stom.	ijs vj(d)
(88)	6	James wryght of Knayton for one vomit ()	
(89)	8	Hutons daughter for one vomit	ijs (vjd)
(90)		sample of Thimbelby for one purgacion	ijs (vjd)
(91)	12	Thomaz potts of upsall for one vomit	()
(92)		wilfrey trumans wyfe for one vomit	ijs (vjd)
(93)		Langdall of murton for one vomit	ijs (vjd)
(94)	13	Dan of Thorneburg for one vomit	ij(s vjd)
(95)		Reming of great ottrington for one pur	ijs (vjd)
(96)		Thomlins wyfe for one vomit ()	
(97)		()ington for one purg	ij(s) v(jd)
(98)		() one purgacion of senna et polip	ijs vjd
(99)		()urg. of sena and polipodium	ijs vjd
(100)		()er of kirkby wysk for powder made of ()eede etcc	ijs vjd
(101)		() Richinson de eadem for a purgacion mortuus	ijs vjd
(102)		() metcalfe of Thirsk pro iudicio in vrinam	ijs
(103)		(a y)onge man of maunby pro iudicio in vrina m	xijd

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(104)		mr walkar scholemr of osmotherley for 3 pur and for powder to drink in whyte wine 3 tymes	ijs vjd
(105)	23	Sighwell his child for one vomit	xijd
(106)		Nicholas Eden his wyfe for one vomit	
(107)	24	Georg metcalfe pro puluere p ad sistendum tussim	ijs
(108)	27	mr walkar for one vomit	xijd
(109)		one of murton for counsel to bloude	xijd
(110)	28	one of hemsley for counsel to bloud	xijd
(111)	29	Legg Proud & one child of kiluington for 2 vomits	xijd
(112)		ware of Thirsk for one vomit	xijd
(113)		summa huiq mensis	xliijs
(114)	Januarie 1	one of hemsley for a purgacion	ijs
(115)	2	wilfrey feyster of old steade for preparing him ius galli antiqui	xs
(116)	3	william Bels wyfe of Thirsk for one vomit and for making purg. against ye sciatica	
(117)		william Chipping for one vomit	
(118)		John of Siltons child vomit	xijd
(119)		mr Tankards man for iudgment	xijd
(120)		this day died wilfrey feyster I (be)ing present	
(121)		()rigs wyfe for one vomit	xijd
(122)		wm Chipping for 2 vomits	ijs vjd
(123)		()rley for one vomit to his wyfe	ijs vjd
(124)		()ell for one vomit	
(125)		() for a purgacion	
(126)		() old Stead for a vomit and purg.	vs
(127)	16	wares wife of Thirsk for one vomit	xijd
(128)	17	mr byerley for his wyfe	vs
(129)		wm helme for his wyfe	xijd
(130)	18	Thomas Collier for preparing a cullis for his wyfe	ijs iiijd
(131)	19	Thomas Cockrill dwelling by Pickering for vnguentum splenicum, and for powder to purge his wyfe	vs
(132)		wm Chipping for sundry smokings with realgar and for a potion galli antiqui	iiijs
(133)	29	Raper of Cockhold for counsel agaynst the phrensi	ijs
(134)		summa huius mensis	xlvijs
(135)	februarie	mr Stones of Allerton for plasters to her leg, and for counsell against the wildfire	vs
(136)		mr Acroyde for counsell against his feuer	xijd
(137)		Gatenby of kerkby for consel against could	xijd
(138)		kilueton of Thirsk for one vomit and one cerecloth to his wyf	ijs
(139)		mr Acroyde for trauel and consel	iijs
(140)	3	Thomas Cartar pro cons	xijd
(141)		Thomas Cartar for pro potione	xijd
(142)		Thomas Jackson of kerkby pro pot	xijd
(143)	4	Robert Jackson of Silton pro vo	ijs vjd
(144)		Raper of Cockhold vomit	ijs vjd
(145)		of Georg Roberts mayd for phleboto. (agai)nst the pleuresie	ijs
(146)		wm Raper of Cockhold for phleb against phrensi and for pouder	iijs
(147)	10	Roger wayre of kepweek for iudgment	xijd
(148)		a felow of bagby for bludding	xijd

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(149)		John Scotsby of Thirsk pro vomitu	ijs vjd
(150)	12	Twhaytse of Thirsk pro vomitu	xijd
(151)	17	mr graunt of Picol for one vomit	vs
(152)		Dame Chilton of Allerton pro vomitu et pul.	ijs
(153)		mr Acroyd to stay the lask	ijs
(154)	18	wm bells mayde one vomit	xijd
(155)	19	willm jopsons syster a mayd of thirkeleby for a vomit	ijs
(156)	26	of wm pert for one vomit	ijs
(157)		Summa mensis	xliiij vjd
(158)	March 1	michael Slater for one vomit	xijd
(159)	2	at Richmonde for one vomit	ijs vjd
(160)		for blouding one at hackenyeats	ijs vjd
(161)		christofer Bowes for counsel and one vomit	ijs iiijd
(162)		of one of the dale for counsel	xijd
(163)	8	of mr meynel of haunby for counsell for his daughters splenetick and ()	iiij vjd
(164)	9	John hoggard wyues brother for phleb. and for a Collierie to his cie	iiij
(165)	10	mr betson for counsell in Pleresin	ijs
(166)	11	marshall of Allerton for iudgment on his vrine	xijd
(167)	12	a webster of Thirkeleby for a vomit	xijd
(168)	13	John ascough for one vomit	xijd
(169)		of old Orray for a vomit	xijd
(170)	14	John Loggin of kilvinton for one vo	xijd
(171)		Thomæs martin of Thornton in ye mor	ijs vjd
(172)		Ri. bretten de ead. for a vomit	xijd
(173)	19	whytlark of baudersby for a purg	ijs vjd
(174)		mr metcalfe of maunby for counsel	xijd
(175)	21	for one vomit	ijs vjd
(176)	23	Scurre of Scauton for one purg.	ijs vjd
(177)	24	mrs farrar of Cockshold for one purg, etcc	vs
(178)		mrs Clark of skipton for one vomit	iiijd
(179)		mrs Bel for former help wine and spices	ijs
(180)	26	mr wheelwrights tenant for one vomit	ijs vjd
(181)		Staford of Arome for one vomit	ijs vjd
(182)		key of Picoll for one vomit	ijs vjd
(183)	27	of mrs Bell for letting her bloud in wine and good perie	iijs
(184)	28	christofer Richinsons daughter of kyrkby phle.	ijs vjd
(185)		mr simpson of Cochold for a vomit debet	ijs vjd
(186)		James Chambers boy for one purg	xijd
(187)	29	mr wheelwrights mans wyfe for powder	xijd
(188)		Ann Lowick of osmutherle for one vomit	ijs vj(d)
(189)		summa huius mensis	iiijl ijs
(190)		Summa totius anni	xvijli iiij
(191)		for which I prayse god	

NOTES

1. This entry is written above the second column, but seems to refer to the complete account.
Column 1 comprises nos. 2–33. The author has numbered the first six items as 1–5, the fifth item being without a number; thereafter he gives dates only.
2. The end of the line is illegible; probably *in media vena*.
3. The word following *capite* is obliterated.

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4. *suppuratus* is written below *astmaticus*, which originally followed *Thomas Tod*.
5. Defective entry: 'Thomas Willis's son a boy of seven years . . . I prescribed rhubarb in infusion with senna. . . .'
6. *Ann* is crossed through before *Dame*.
12. *Sowerby* i.e. Sowerby on the Codbeck, near Thirsk, mentioned again at no. 45.
14. *Tilehouse* is an outlying grange at the east of Old Byland parish, above Ryedale.
15. *Euphorbium*: 'the poisonous gum-thistle', Gerard's *Herbal* 1597, p. 1014. The use of this herb derives from Dioscorides, but it is impossible to identify precisely the various species of Euphorbiaceae described by Dioscorides; Gerard evidently refers to an exotic species.
dei is crossed through before *Diet*.
Dialacca major: a powder whose principal ingredient was gum-lac, the red oriental resin used for making lacquer; Gerard's *Herbal* 1597, p. 1350, says that 'it prevaieth against the dropsy'.
23. *Euphorbium*: see note to no. 15.
24. '. . . seized with burning fever, nigh unto death, I prescribed blood-letting and the bath'. *ferb* is crossed through before *febri*.
26. '. . . jaundiced, I gave a vomit, he was dying, he had very black urine.'
Angram (North Riding) is twenty-five miles west of Thirsk, and there is another *Angram* in the West Riding as far to the south; perhaps *Ingram* six miles north by east of Northallerton is intended, it was sometimes written 'Angram' in the sixteenth century.
27. *in hypocondrijs*: probably to be read with *sick*, in its original anatomical sense of 'the abdomen': the figurative psychological sense is of later usage.
- 30-3. These entries at the foot of the column are very much faded and partly defective.
34. The first entry in column 2, but see the note to no. 1. This column comprises nos. 34-96; nos. 34-7 and 59-66 are defective at the outer margin.
37. *Mr Key mr of Art*: presumably Thomas Kay who was born in Yorkshire, admitted a sizar at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge in April 1601 and proceeded M.A. from Caius in 1608. He was ordained in 1610 and was afterwards a prebend of York. His son Richard was at Coxwold school. (Venn *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.) The form 'Master of Art' (not Arts) was usual till the late eighteenth century.
44. *antescrip*: *antescriptus*, above-written, i.e. at no. 39.
John is crossed through before *George*.
45. *Sowerby*: see note to no. 12.
46. *above written*, i.e. at no. 28
51. *Braford*: probably Brafferton, six miles south of Thirsk.
53. *Thim* (Thimbleby) is crossed through before *otrington*.
54. 'The sum of the foregoing entries since the last total.'
55. *xvij*: 'xviiij.d' is probably intended, but the ends of several consecutive lines are here compressed in the margin.
56. *pro pul. se.*: for powder of senna.
57. *ping. of sen.*: pinguofaction of senna. The word 'pinguefaction' is known in a medical context in 1597, apparently formed from the contemporary usage 'pinguefy' to soften with grease, and is used of an application for this purpose (*Oxford English Dictionary*).
58. *pro se* is crossed through before *of Cockhold*.
61. *apostematica . . . cu* (*bito*): having an abscess in her right elbow.
64. *dragh*: drachm.
67. *Christopher*: written with Greek XP abbreviation as 'xpofer', here and at nos. 161 and 184.
68. *marmelat*: marmalade of quinces and sugar; 'marmelo' is the Portuguese for quince. Johnson in his *Dictionary* (1755) records this meaning alone; the earliest reference to orange marmalade in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is of 1769.

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69. *po r* is crossed through before *phlebotomized*.
74. *Hollme bower*: possibly represents Holme Wood near Pickhill.
78. *of Rippon* is crossed through between *George* and *Stoanes*.
79. *ward alias* is written above the line.
82. *scabb*: scabies, whose parasitical cause was not recognized before the end of the seventeenth century.
83. *Pharom*: an obsolete form of Harome, written 'Arome' at no. 181.
85. *sene and col.*: senna and coriander, formerly called 'coliar'; 'col' was the apothecaries' customary abbreviation.
97. The first entry in the left-hand column on the verso of the leaf; this column comprises nos. 97–144. Nos. 97–103 are defective at the margin.
- 98–9. *polip.*: polypodium, a species of fern; its use as a purgative derives from Dioscorides. Gerard's *Herbal* 1597 recommends a dose of 1 to 3 ounces of 'the roots boiled with a little honey, milk and pepper'.
100. Perhaps Henry Milner, named at no. 11.
101. Perhaps Christopher Richinson, whose daughter is named at no. 184. *mortuus* is written above the line.
107. The *p* after *pulvere* is probably inadvertent, not an abbreviation.
- 121–6. The outer margin is defective.
123. Perhaps Mr. Byerley, named at no. 128.
124. Perhaps Wm. Bell, named at no. 154.
127. Ware of Thirsk is named at no. 112.
130. *cullis*: meat broth.
131. *unguentum splenicum* is not found in the contemporary pharmacopoeias; perhaps written in error for *ung. splanchnicum*, a standard ointment of the period.
132. *realgar*: arsenic sulphide.
135. *mr.* is followed by *her*—probably an error for *mrs*, since George Stoanes of Allerton is named without prefix at nos. 22 and 78. *wildfire*: erysipelas.
137. *Kirkby*: probably Kirkby Moorside, but there are several Kirbys and Kirkbys in the district.
138. *cerecloth*: cered or waxed cloth, here probably equivalent to 'cerate', a stiff ointment spread on a cloth; Culpeper prescribes such a cerecloth for application after childbirth. The more familiar usage, meaning a winding-sheet for a corpse, is a derivate from this general term.
145. This is the first entry in column 2 of the verso.
150. *vomitu*: the MS has *votumitu*.
153. *lask*: diarrhoea.
155. *willms* is crossed through before *a mayd*, and *willm jobsons syster* is written below the line.
160. *hackenyats*: perhaps Hackness near Scarborough, for which the form 'Harkenys' is recorded; but that lies further to the east of our doctor's district than Richmond, where he was at the previous entry, lies to the north-west.
161. *Christopher*: see note to no. 67.
162. *The Dale*: probably Ryedale.
164. *collerie*: collyrium, eye lotion.
178. *Skipton*: i.e. Skipton on Swale, between Baldersby and Sand Hutton.
180. *for*: the MS has *ofor*.
181. *Arome*: Harome, written 'Pharom' at no. 83.
182. *Picoll*: Pickhill.
183. *perie*: perry, cider made from pears.
184. *Christopher*: see note to no. 67.

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