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A text preserved at the Aghmacart Medical School: Bernard de Gordon's *De Prognosticis*, Book II, 9

Beatrix Faerber

BERNARD OF GORDON, or Bernardus Gordonius (*c.* 1258–before 1330) who was professor of medicine at the University of Montpellier since 1283, wrote several medical treatises of which Irish translations, in whole or in part, are extant in Irish, Scottish, and British Libraries.[1] His *Lilium Medicine* is the longest and most famous of his works, but his *De Prognosticis* (or *Prognostica*)[2] is also well-known.[3] This article presents an edition of an Irish translation of *De Prognosticis*, Book II, 9, entitled 'Capitulum quod docet pronosticare secundum naturam complexionis' (i.e. 'a chapter which teaches prognosticating according to the nature of the complexion'). The authoritative critical edition of this Latin treatise is that of Alberto Alonso Guardo, which also includes a Spanish translation.[4] The Latin text as a whole runs to about 3363 lines, of which Book II, 9 extends to 60, including the heading. Within Ireland, a Latin version of the *De Prognosticis* (not used by Guardo) is extant in Marsh's Library, Dublin, MS Z 4.4.4.[5]

The Irish version of *De Prognosticis* is extant in three manuscripts, two of which originated in the Aghmacart school.

1. MS **R**: RIA MS 3 C 19 (439) ff 241–88, the basis for the present edition.[6] This manuscript originated in the medical school of Aghmacart, Co. Laois

[1]Special thanks are due to Professor Pádraig Ó Macháin, UCC, Professor Luke Demaitre, University of Virginia, and Professor Aoibheann Nic Dhonnchadha, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, for reading and commenting upon a draft of this article, and to Professor Alonso Guardo, Universidad de Valladolid, for permission to reproduce the Latin text from his edition

[2]His treatise is also known under the titles 'Liber pronosticorum', and 'De crisi et creticis diebus'.

[3]For his background, work and life, full treatment of treatises ascribed or attributed to him and a list of manuscripts, see the authoritative study by Luke E. Demaitre, *Doctor Bernard de Gordon: professor and practitioner* Studies and Texts 51 (Toronto 1980).

[4]Alberto Alonso Guardo, *Los pronósticos médicos en la medicina medieval: el* Tractatus de crisi et de diebus creticis de Bernardo de Gordonio (Valladolid 2003), the Latin text is on pp 246–51, with a facing Spanish translation.

[5]First described by Vivian Nutton and Cornelius O'Boyle, 'Montpellier medicine in the Marsh Library Dublin: the Manuscript Z 4.4.4', in *Manuscripta: a journal for manuscript research* 45–6 (2003) 109–132: 128; the tract is on ff 238ra–265vb.

[6]It was catalogued by Winifred Wulff in Thomas F. O'Rahilly, Kathleen Mulchrone et al., *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy* I–XXVII (Dublin and London 1926–58) pp 1167–73; that description now accompanies the digitial images of the manuscript available on the Irish Script on Screen (ISOS) website, www.isos.dias.ie/.

(formerly Queen's County), the subject of two ground-breaking articles published in earlier numbers of this journal by Aoibheann Nic Dhonnchadha[7] The portion of the manuscript containing our text (ff 256vb13–257va12) was written at Aghmacart in 1590 by Risteard Ó Conchobhair (1561–1625), a member of this school. According to Prof. Nic Dhonnchadha, the original translation found in MS 3 C 19 'had been completed by *c*. 1468, the date of writing of the digest of that work found in National Library of Ireland, MS G 11, pp 425–38'.[8]

2. MS **P**: RIA MS 24 P 15 (444) pp 131–93, written in 1583–84 by Corc Ó Cadhla (Corc óg mac Emuind mheic Cuirc), (*fl*. 1577–84) at Cell Clogain (angl. Kilcloggan), Co. Wexford; Book II, 9 is on pp 153a1–153b45; this translation of the *De Prognosticis* is fragmentary, but our chapter is complete.

3. MS **A**: National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates 73.1.22, ff 237v10–238r30. The manuscript was written at Aghmacart, between 1596 and 1600, by Donnchadh Albanach Ó Conchubhair (1571–1647),[9] a medical scholar from Scotland, associated with the MacDougalls of Dunollie in Argyll, with help from others.[10] The interesting notes by him and his fellow scribes have been commented upon by Nic Dhonnchadha.[11] The *Prognostica* was started in Baile Cuthad (Baile Cuad, angl. Ballyquaid, par. Skirk), ten miles north-west of Aghmacart, on 24 August and finished there on 9 October 1596.[12] The manuscript images and the recent catalogue description compiled by Ronald Black are to be published on the ISOS website.[13]

Orthographical variation aside, the translation in P and A is the same as that in R, the wording being often identical. This might be expected from R and A, but

[7] 'Téacs ó scoil leighis Achaidh Mhic Airt', *Ossory, Laois and Leinster* 1 (2004) 50–75; 'The medical school of Aghmacart, Queen's Co.', *Ossory, Laois and Leinster* 2 (2006) 11–43.

[8] Aoibheann Nic Dhonnchadha, 'Mac Duinnshléibhe [MacDonlevy], Cormac (*fl. c.* 1459)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004) s.n.

[9] Nic Dhonnchadha, 'Medical school of Aghmacart', 29–36.

[10] See Brian Ó Cuív, 'The Irish language in the early modern period', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, F. J. Byrne (ed.), *A New History of Ireland: Volume III: Early Modern Ireland 1534–1691* (Oxford 1976) 509–45: 519. On Donnchadh Albanach see also Iain Macintyre and A. Munro, 'The ancestors of Norman Bethune (1890–1939) traced back to the Bethunes of Skye, leading members of the MacBeth/Beaton medical dynasty', *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh* 43 (2013) 262–9: 266.

[11] 'The medical school of Aghmacart'.

[12] Donnchadh was in Ballyquaid ministering to Fínghean mac Diarmaid an Bhealaigh (angl. Fynine McDermot Evealla, *OLL* 4 (2010) 39, identification by P. Ó Macháin): see Nic Dhonnchadha, 'Medical school of Aghmacart', 33–4.

[13] I am greatly indebted to Dr Ulrike Hogg, National Library of Scotland, for so kindly making available to me the catalogue description and digital manuscript images in advance.

is a surprise in P. However, the relationship of P with R/A, and the activities of its scribe, might be studied separately. Here, only significant variants, or those relevant to establishing the Latin basis of the text, are given. The Latin text is reproduced with Professor Alonso Guardo's kind permission.

Book II, Chapter 9, has been selected for presentation in this article as being indicative of the work and expertise of the Aghmacart School, and of Bernard of Gordon also of course. In addition to its historical, scientific and linguistic interest, this chapter also presents philosophical content deserving of attention (see n. 36), and contributing to our understanding of the intellectual interests and abilities of the medieval Irish men of learning.

The Translator

The Irish text was translated by Cormac Ó Duinnshléibhe (*fl. c.* 1459), who came from an established medical family, known by the epithet Ultach.[14] These were hereditary physicians to the Í Dhomhnaill of Tír Conaill, and were originally a branch of the Í Néill. The Í Dhuinnshléibhe were a wealthy family, reputed for their hospitality. The death in 1395 of one of Cormac's forbears, Muris mac Póil Ulltaigh, 'ollamh leighis Chenél cConuill' is recorded in the *Annals of the Four Masters*,[15] and other family members are mentioned in the years 1497, 1527 and 1586.[16]

Cormac Ó Duinnshléibhe translated a number of other medical tracts, such as a section of Isaac Israeli's[17] *De dietis particularibus* in British Library MS Arundel 333, ff 112a–113b, written in his own hand. The colophon states he was a *basillér a fisígecht* ('a bachelor in physic'),[18] suggesting that he must have received his medical training in a university in Europe, but so far no further details have been ascertained; the colophon further records that he had translated the tract for Deinis Ó hEachoidhern (Donnchadh Ó hEichthigern).[19]

[14]This account is indebted to Nic Dhonnchadha, 'Mac Duinnshléibhe'.

[15]John O'Donovan (ed.), *The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters* I–VII (Dublin 1856) s.a.

[16]Nollaig Ó Muraíle, 'The hereditary medical families of Gaelic Ireland', in Liam P. Ó Murchú (ed.), *Rosa Anglica*: *reassessments* Irish Texts Society, Subsidiary Series 28 (London 2016) 85–113: 107.

[17]Alias Ya'qub Ishaq Ibn Suleiman al-Isra'ili, Isaac Israeli ben Solomon, or Isaac Israeli the Elder (*c*.832–*c*.932). (A Latin manuscript from the second half of the 13th century is available on http://digital.blbkarlsruhe.de/urn/urn:nbn:de:bsz:31-28295.)

[18]In NLI MS G 12, p. 30b, he is referred to as *baisiler annsan ealadhain leighis 7 annsna healadnaibh ele* ('bachelor in art of medicine and in the other arts').

[19]Standish Hayes O'Grady and Robin Flower, *Catalogue of the Irish manuscripts in the British Library* I–III (London 1926, 1953) I, 231–58, especially 257–8.



Bernardus Gordonius, 1313
(*courtesy* Wellcome Collection, creative commons licence CC BY)

Cormac also translated Bernard de Gordon's lengthy treatise *Lilium Medicine*.[20] This translation is undated but had been completed by 1482, the date of writing of the earliest extant copy, British Library MS Egerton 89. Furthermore, Cormac provided an Irish translation of Walter de Aguilon's *De Dosibus medicinarum* (in BL Harley 546, ff 1r-11r, finished by 1459 in Cork)[21] and of part of Guy de Chauliac's *Chirurgia* on anatomy (TCD MS 1436, pp 17a–35a).[22] His translation of a section of the *Rosa Anglica* has been noted by Nessa Ní Shéaghdha.[23] Of non-medical matter, he translated a tract by Thomas Aquinas, *De operationibus occultis naturae* ('On the secrets of nature'),[24] and a small part of the Lucidarius, vel, Almagest by Bertrandus de Turre (Bertrand de la Tour, *c*. 1262–1332).[25]

The Scribe

The principal scribe of RIA 3 C 19 is Risteard Ó Conchobhair (1561–1625), a member of a medical school in Aghmacart whose kinsman Donnchadh Óg Ó Conchubhair was chief physician to Mac Giolla Phádraig, Lord of Upper Ossory. He wrote the manuscript for his own use.[26] He copied the *Prognostica* partly in Abbeyleix, Queen's County, as he recorded in a note on f. 288r, and then finished

[20]RIA MS 24 P 14 (443), pp 1–327.

[21]Incipit: '[M]edicinarum / quedam sunt [*omitting* 'simplices'] / quedum composite .i. ata cuid do na leigheasaibh aenda'; explicit: 'is lór so ar dosisibh na leigheas'. See O'Grady and Flower, *Catalogue* I, 171. Digital images are available on the British Library website at www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_546_f001r (accessed 12 Sept 2017). The tract was edited in the form of a *textus conflatus* from five manuscripts by Shawn Sheahan, *An Irish version of Gualterus De Dosibus* (Washington D.C. 1938). An electronic version is available on the CELT website.

[22]Eithne Ní Ghallchobhair (ed.), *Anathomia Gydo* (Dublin 2014).

[23]Nessa Ní Shéaghdha, *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland* Fasciculus I (Dublin 1967) 97; cf. Winifred Wulff (ed.), *Rosa anglica sev Rosa medicina Johannis Anglici*: *an early modern Irish translation of a section of the mediaeval medical text-book of John of Gaddesden* (London 1929).

[24]Donald Mackinnon, *A descriptive catalogue of Gaelic manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and elsewhere in Scotland* (Edinburgh 1912) 38. This text has not been edited. See Francis Shaw, 'Medieval medico-philosophical treatises in the Irish language', in John Ryan (ed.), *Féil-sgríbhinn Eoin Mhic Néill .i. Essays and studies presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill* (Dublin 1940) 144–57: 150 § 10.

[25]Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 129, ff 56v14–57v2. The text is unedited.

[26]Nic Dhonnchadha, 'Téacs ó scoil leighis Achaidh Mhic Airt'; eadem, 'The medical school of Aghmacart', 11–16. Paul Walsh, 'Notes of two Irish medical scribes', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 5/20 (July-December 1922) 113–22; idem, 'Scraps from Irish scribes: Risdeard Ó Conchubhair', *The Catholic Bulletin* 19 (August 1929) 730–46.

it in Aghmacart: his colophon of 1 April 1590 has been reproduced and translated by Nic Dhonnchadha.[27]

That Risteard Ó Conchubhair was a very diligent and conscientious scribe is not only borne out by the careful execution of the text, but also by his remark on f. 234va36–vb12:

> Et gach ion*ad* isin leabh*ar* so i*na* nd*errn*u*s* dr*och*-sg*r*ībhneōirea*cht* (f. 234vb) do ur*ī*gh *chu*m*ur*dh*acht*a *agus* g*ur*bh eōl da*m* a sg*r*īb*adh* nī bu fea*rr agus* g*ach* ion*ad* i*na* nd*errn*u*s* d*er*mad *agus* g*ach* io*n*ad i*na* nd*errn*u*s* ainfhios *agus* n*ach* do bhr*īgh chu*mh*ar*dh*acht*a nā d*er*muid do rōnus. I*arr*ui*m ar* sgothuibh na ufealm*ac* do sg*r*ībh a hion*n*shamhuil so do lánobh*air no* chuireas roi*m*e fē*n* a dhēn*amh agus* aga ufhuil fios g*ach* n*eith*e do chuirf*edh* buaid*r*edh *ar* sg*r*ībhneōir do b*eith* a riachtan*us* g*ach* uili cunganta mo ceartug*ad* gan sgan*n*ail *agus* b*heith ar* mo lethsgél do ghnāth. Oir atāi*m* umhal dōiph *agus* g*ach* aon dā dhēn*adh* mo co*mair*le.
>
> *And every place in this book where I have written badly due to brevity, knowing that I could write better; and every place where I made a mistake and in every place where I displayed ignorance, where it was not through brevity or error that I did so; I ask the best of scholars who have written, or intend to write, a long work like this, and who know everything that would trouble a writer who would be in need of every assistance, to correct me without reproach, and ever to accept my apology. For I defer to them and to everyone who would advise me.*[28]

As we know that Risteard made the manuscript for his own use, his remarks about accepting criticism from others imply that he might loan his transcription to members of his medical fraternity later. In discussing this note, Walsh drew attention to 'the evidence of the high ideal the scribe put before him as a scholar', and added: 'Indeed all the indications are that the poets and other men of learning in medieval Ireland paid a scrupulous attention to exactness.'[29]

After his work on the *Prognostica*, Risteard undertook the copying of the translation of Bernard's lengthy treatise *Lilium Medicine*, from May to November 1590, travelling throughout Kilkenny, Kildare and other counties as he did so, diligently recording his journey, and the friends and kinspeople he stayed with, in a most

[27]Nic Dhonnchadha, 'Medical school of Aghmacart', 14–15.

[28]This is part of a longer note that was translated and insightfully commented upon by Paul Walsh. 'Notes', 118–19. The translation is fresh and was developed with the help of Pádraig Ó Macháin.

[29]Walsh, 'Notes', 119.

interesting note in MS 3 C 19.[30] As Walsh observed, the note 'shows that the habits of the Irish doctors in the practice of their profession were similar to those of the bards. Besides being officially attached to particular families, they became itinerant at times, and sought for patronage over wide areas.' Risteard informs us in the same note that he had lost his father at the age of twelve. In Kilkenny he visited Éamonn, second Viscount Mountgarret (Edmund Butler) and his wife, Gráinne Fitzpatrick, who had 'for the most part provided for' his education since then. She was the daughter of Brían Óg Mac Giolla Phádraig (Barnaby Fitzpatrick), first Baron of Upper Ossory, and related to Risteard on his mother's side.[31]

Content and context of *De Prognosticis*

As regards the background and context of the treatise, Bernard de Gordon's *De Prognosticis*, which is based on Galen's *De Crisi* and *De Diebus Criticis*, discusses the art of medieval prognostication that was fundamental to Galenic medicine and was integrated in the Montpellier university teaching of his day. As diagnosis and therapeutics improved over time, prognostication lost much of its former importance. Various modern authors have noted the inverse relationship between prognosis and therapy, and the better diagnosis and treatment are, the less attention is given to prognosis. Even so, a favourable prognosis has always been a powerful instrument to inspire confidence in a patient, having great benefits for the doctor, too. Correct prognosis made the patient obedient, leading to the right course of action in treatment, and increasing the doctor's fame, and if he was teaching, the number of his pupils.[32] Often a doctor's livelihood depended on being able to make an accurate prognosis, and being careful to keep his good reputation, he could and did refuse to treat patients whose condition indicated a bad prognosis. This was not considered unethical, but was recommended by Hippocrates, and followed by medieval practitioners such as Bernard.[33]

In the genre of prognostications, all external and internal circumstances that helped the doctor arrive at his prognosis were discussed. At the base there was a comparison of the sick and the healthy, observing their bodily functions, and correctly interpreting bodily signs of illness, noting where the patient's condition

[30]Walsh identified most of the people and places mentioned ('Notes', 115–17); additional details about his travels and his relations with his patrons, especially Gráinne, are provided by Nic Dhonnchadha, 'Medical School', 22–3.

[31]Regarding this family see David Edwards, 'Collaboration without anglicisation: The MacGiollapadraig lordship and Tudor reform', in Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards, and Elizabeth FitzPatrick (ed.), *Gaelic Ireland, c.1250–c.1650: land, lordship and settlement* (Dublin 2001) 77–96.

[32]See Luke E. Demaitre, 'The art and science of prognostication in early university medicine', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 77/4 (Winter 2003) 765–88. Guardo, *Tractatus*, 33, 118–19.

[33]Demaitre, *Bernard de Gordon*, 153–4.

deviated from the healthy and balanced state, and restoring the latter. Unlike the empiricists, who rejected any healing based on theoretical principles, the ancient and medieval rational doctors adhered to a system based on Galen's doctrine of the four humours (yellow bile or choler, blood, phlegm and melancholy or black bile) which influenced individual temperaments.

As summarized by Demaitre,[34] the foundation of the Galenic system was to be found in Aristotle's natural philosophy which posited that everything was composed of the four elements (fire, water, earth and air), and hence prone to decay. The elements contained the four qualities of heat, cold, moistness and dryness. Heat and cold were considered active qualities, moistness and dryness passive ones. In man, these elements with their qualities blended to form an individual mixture. Health was defined as an equilibrium of this mixture.

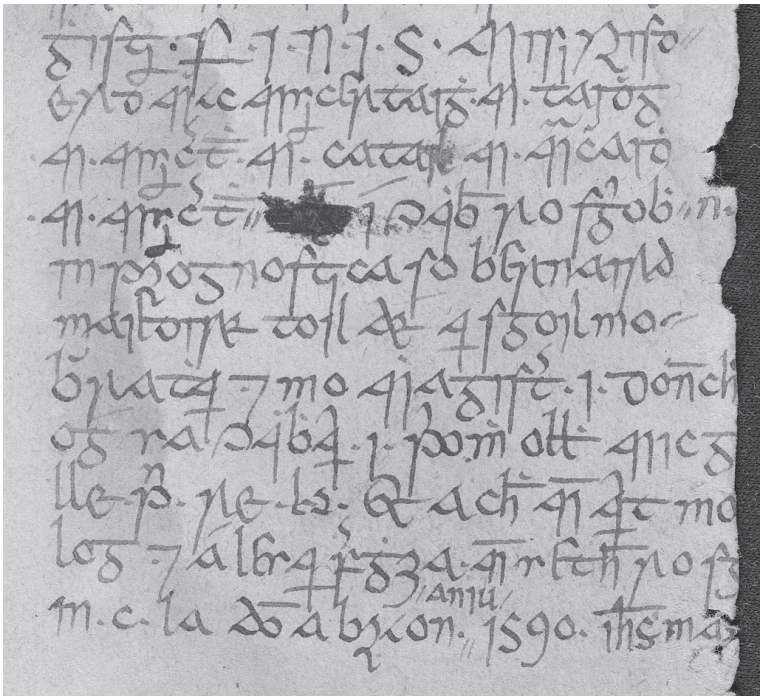
Health needed to be carefully managed and maintained in each individuum, all the body parts, and the whole body. The distribution of these qualities varied across individuals, but was influenced by diet, living conditions, exertion, sleep, sexual intercourse and mental activity (the six non-naturals)[35] and other factors, such as sex and age. Bernard de Gordon stated explicitly that there were nine complexions – that is, constitutions arising from the mixture of elements – only one of which was balanced (temperate), whereas the remaining eight were imbalanced (distemperate). These comprised the simple ones where only one quality dominated, and the compound ones, where two qualities together dominated.

A humoral imbalance, or *mala complexio*, could lead to disease or even death, unless it was rectified. Each of the four humours had a characteristic mix of qualities that came into play: yellow bile was regarded as hot and dry, blood as hot and moist, phlegm as cold and moist, and black bile as cold and dry. In the present text Bernard de Gordon succinctly presents these principles within the art of prognostication. He defines the nine complexions, the temperate body, and explains how to prognosticate based on an understanding of the relevant intrinsic and extrinsic factors that may affect the balance.

The intellectual and medico-philosophical environment in which the Latin tract was written, and the scholastic discussions relating to the characteristics of the elements and their implications for the physicians was the topic of a recent study on Montpellier teaching by Michael McVaugh. As he noted, the key question arising

[34]Luke Demaitre, *Leprosy in premodern medicine: a malady of the whole body* (Baltimore 2007) 105, 114–15.

[35]Hippocrates, *Epidemics* VI, cited in Luis García-Ballester, J. Arrizabalaga, M. Cabré, L. Cifuentes, and F. Salmón (ed.), *Galen and Galenism: theory and medical practice from Antiquity to the European Renaissance* (Aldershot 2002) 108–10.



Colophon of Risteard Ó Conchubhair (Achadh Meic Airt 1590) to his copy of the *Prognostica* (RIA MS 3 C 19, f. 282rb, *reproduced by kind permission*)

in this particular context was (cf. section 1 of Irish text) whether 'when two substances are mixed together and produce a new substance, can the substantial forms of the original ingredients persist [. . .] in the new product?', or would the prior forms be destroyed once a new one emerged?[36] The implications directly affected the question if compound medicines, being mixtures, would be effective or not, in other words, if their ingredients would interact with each other to make a powerful medicine or not. This seems a very modern question indeed.

The Irish text

The text in the Irish manuscript is a little less complete than its Latin model. This fact sometimes distorts the original meaning, but in general it is still quite close.

[36]Michael McVaugh, 'In a Montpellier classroom', in Gideon Manning and Cynthia Klestinec (ed.), *Professors, physicians and practices in the history of medicine*: *Essays in honor of Nancy Siraisi* Archimedes Series 50 (New Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology, Cham 2017) 57–76: 71.

As Prof. Nic Dhonnchadha has observed, sometimes the omission of material was deliberate, as the copyist himself affirmed, for instance in one case where his master instructed him to leave out passages deemed not to be relevant.[37] In our case, however, the omissions are quite short. A deliberate omission seems likely in section 7 where two examples have been left out in all three witnesses. Apart from that the text has been very carefully copied, apart from one lacuna which can be complemented from the two other witnesses, and the spelling is consistent, with lenition regularly shown. The scribe often uses *u* instead of *bh*.[38]

In this edition, manuscript abbreviations are expanded in italics. Unmarked historically long vowels in the manuscript are indicated by macrons. Tall *e* is rendered *ea* before a following broad vowel. Word division, hyphenation, capitalisation, and paragraphing are editorial, though the scribe often indicates hyphenation by using a double virgule at line end. Punctuation is editorial, each of the three witnesses displaying its own practice is this regard; MS R in particular is liberally punctuated, but this punctuation is often at odds with the sense required and might be a topic for separate study; MS A is very sparsely punctuated. The Gaelic ampersand (7) has been expanded *agus*; its use as a conjunction is nearly always indicated in the manuscript by a dot under the cross-stroke of the abbreviation. It may be noted that the Latin division of paragraphs often, though not always, coincides with Latin *Et* written plene. This is the case at the start of paragraphs 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, while *agus* appears at paragraphs 6 and 8 in all three manuscripts.

Irish translation

1. [256vb13] An .9. c*aibidil*[39] do thaisgēlt*ughad*h na n-easl*āinte*dh do r*ēr* n*ādūire* na gco*m*pl*ex*. [**C**]**um**[40] **eleme*n*ta confr*a*cta sint**[41] **in mixto et minimu*m* uni*us***[42] **tangit minimu*m* alterius** .i. ō taid na dúile co*m*mbrūiti an*n*sa ní chu*mus*gtha *agus* go mbeanan*n* rand roibheag dúla dhíbh re ran*n* roibheag na dūla *eile,* ni bhfhuil*ed* i*n*a ufoir*m*eann*a* s*u*bstaint*eac*ha fē*n* an*n agus* nīr t*r*ēgead*air* i*a*d go huil*idh*i; *agus* ērgidh in ta*n* sin ō gnīo*m* na t*easaidheacht*a *agus* na f*uaraidheacht*a cāil ēgi*n*, *agus* ērghidh cāil *eile ō* gnīo*m* na t*irmaidheacht*a *agus* na fl*iuchaidheacht*a, *agus* in chāil

[37]See Aoibheann Nic Dhonnchadha, 'The Irish Rosa Anglica: manuscripts and structure', in Ó Murchú, *Rosa Anglica: reassessments* 114–97: 147.

[38]This usage was not followed by Giolla Pádraig mac Giolla na Naomh meic Mhuireadhaigh Í Chonchubhair, who copied the tract *De Decem Ingeniis* in NLI MS G 12; an edition of this text is the subject of the present writer's doctoral dissertation at UCC.

[39]Added above line with insertion marks.

[40]There is a square space left out for C over three lines, which was not filled in, but indicated by a guide letter.

[41]sunt L.

[42]unius O [=Oxford Canon Misc 455] a manuscript dated to the 15th century, described at https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_3491 (accessed 20 November 2017).

ērgheas ōn ran*n*chuidiug*a*d si*n* na gcāile ngnīm*uigh*theach *agus*[43] ufuilngtheach, is di goirt*er* c*om*pl*ex*[44] *agus* atā in com*m*brisidh si*n* uilio*m*dha mas *edh* ata an coimpl*ex* uili*mda*.[45]

2. Et atāid 9 gc*om*pl*ex*a an*n* .i. ēnc*om*pleax meas*ardha agus* na c*om*pl*ex*a *eile* ai*n*mheas*ardha*, *agus* in tan ad*erar* c*om*pl*ex* meas*ar*dha nī hō mh*ed*ug*a*d[46] caind*igh*ea*cht*a an a*dhbhuir*[47] ad*erar* é, ōi*r* do bú neamh-chu*machtach* a u*eth* m*ur* sin. Ōir is a*mlaid* atā in tene roighnīomhuighthe*ach agus* dā *m*b*edh* sī comhthru*m cu*a*n*digheac*ht*a [257ra1][48] do r*ēr* a*dhbhuir*[49] risna dūilibh *eile* an*n*sa nī cu*mus*gtha, do ion*n*tōch*adh* na dūile *eile* i*n*a haigne fēn, *agus* is beag do m*air*f*edh* dhībh an*n*sa cu*m*usg nō nī mh*air*fed aonr*éd*. Et g*i*d *edh dā* labhru*m* do *cu*and*igh*ea*cht* na br*ígh*i fē*tur* na dūile do[50] u*eth cu*d*ru*ma an*n*sa meas*ur*dh*acht*. Ōir f*ētur* a ní *cumus*gtha égi*n* ra*nn* f*uar* do u*eth* an*n* no*c*h chath*aigh*is[51] a n-agh*aid* ghnīomha an rain*n* t*easaidh*i, *agus* is m*ar* si*n* t*uic*tir don fhli*uchaidh*ea*cht agus* do*n* t*irmaidheacht*. Mās *edh* is *edh* is c*or*p meas*ardha* an*n* in c*or*p aga bhfhuil aonran*n* io*m*shl*án* t*e* do r*ēr* ur*ī*ghi an*n agus* ao*n*ran*n* f*uar*, *agus* r*ann* fl*iuch agus* [rann][52] t*irim*, ōir is ī si*n* in mheas*ar*dh*acht* dīleas.

3. Ad*erth*a*r* c*or*p meas*ar*dha a m*od eile* do rēr[53] chirt, m*ur* atā in nī is f*err* fh*ētus* na hoibr*igh*ti dlight*eac*ha dhā ghnē fē*n* do dhēnamh *agus* is m*ur* sin fē*tur* ēnc*or*p meas*ar*dha do tabh*air*t in gach uile ghnē. Ōir is ē dui*n*e is meas*ardha* do *n*a daoin*ibh* in dui*n*e is tog*aidh*i *agus* is f*err* n*ādūir*, *agus* is ro-ghlioca *agus* is eagn*aidh*i; *agus* is ē is ro-mheas*ar*dha a ngnē na g*con* in cú is f*err* do-nī fiag*ach agus* is fear*r* aithn*igh*is a tig*er*na *agus* a teagh[54] fē*n*; et is ē coinín is meas*ar*dha

[43]Erasure covering the space of about ten letters, but there is no text missing.

[44]uillimdha A add.

[45]L 'ideo complexio est multiplex': mas . . . uili*mda*] P, mas *edh* ata an coi*m*plex uilimdha A, *om.* R.

[46]MS mh*éd*ug*a*d

[47]MS .a. with superscript ur, a contraction which is expanded a*dhbhur*, a*dhbhuir.* It occurs for example in 23 N 16, also from Aghmacart, f. 72r7, and variously in *Lilium Medicine* II, 9, RIA 3 C 19, f. 60ra1–va11.

[48]Dittography in MS due to start of new page: comhthru*m cu*a*n*digheac*ht*a [257ra1] co*m*thru *m cu*a*n*d*igh*eac*ht*a.

[49]This corresponds to 'quoad materiam' in three manuscripts and corresponds to an error for 'quoad naturam' in the majority of the manuscripts and the critical edition. Cf. Guardo, *Tractatus*, 246.

[50]'do' added above line.

[51]P noch cath*aigius* R noch cath*ius*.

[52]*om.* R, supplied from P.

[53]Added above line.

[54]P tigh, A teag.

do*n*a coinīnibh in coinīn is f*err* thetheas *agus* foil*igh*is é fē*n, agus* m*ur* si*n* da g*ach* uile c*om*plex do r*ēr* an oibr*igh*thi dl*eagur* dā gnē fē*n*.

4. Et ad*er*muid anois g*ur*ob fog*us* meas*ar*dh*acht* in chui*r*p dh*aonn*a don mheas*ar*dh*acht* do r*ēr* thomhais *agus* don r*éd* diaghdhi uacht*ar*ach *agus* atā in c*or*p d*aonn*a ro-meas*ar*da id*ir* na substaintibh go huil*idh*i.[55] Ion*nu*s n*ach* fuil ēnnī fh*ēdus* dul a ng*air*e dhon mheas*ar*dh*acht* si*n agus* dā bhfhaghth*ar* in fhoir*m*[56] si*n* an*n* dl*eagur* a mhaisiughadh,[57] *agus* is neamh-chu*machtach* a faghāil.

5. Et atāid 4 c*om*pl*ex*[58] ao*n*da ainmheas*ardha* an*n*, m*ur* atā t*e agus* fl*iuch*, f*uar* ag*us* t*irim*.[59] *Agus* atāid a 4 *eile*[60] c*om*shuighighthi an*n* .i. t*e agus* [257rb1] t*irim*, t*e agus* fl*iuch*, f*uar agus* t*irim*, f*uar agus* fl*iuch*, *agus* do ghebhm*uid* m*ur* soin 8 gco*m*pl*ex*a maill*e re* ha*dhbhur*[61] *agus* a h8 *eile* ga*n* a*dhbhur.*

6. *Agus* ad*er*m*ui*d g*ur*ob 5 c*om*pl*ex*a atā ag na c*or*p*aibh* d*aonn*a .i. ēnc*om*pl*ex* meas*ardha* – *agus* aithint*er* si*n* ōna ghníomhuibh *agus* ōna oibri*gh*thibh am*ail* adubhru*mair* – *agus* a 4 ainmheas*ar*dha. *Agus* atā c*om*pl*ex* dībh sin t*e* t*irim agus* is m*ur* so aithint*er* é: ōir bīd a chuisleann*a* l*eth*an folamh *agus* in p*u*lsa ro-luath cruaidh f*er*gach *agus* bīdh fion*n*f*a*dach. *Agus* atā c*om*pl*ex eile* t*easaidh*i fl*iuchai*dhi an*n agus* is amlaidh aitint*er* ē .i. bíd a chuisl*eann*a l*eth*an lán *agus* bīdh mail*e re* m*ōr*ān feōla *agus* bīdh a dhath c*um*uisgthi ō d*er*gi *agus* ō ghile, *agus* m*ur* si*n* do*n*a n*eithibh eile*. *Agus* atā c*om*pl*ex eile* f*uar* fl*iuch* an*n*[62] *agus* is m*ar* so aitheant*ur* ē[63] .i. bīd a chuisleann*a* c*um*ang lā*n agus* bīdh geal bocc m*éith*[64] maill*e re* fion*nfa*d t*er*c. *Agus* atā *com*pl*ex eile* f*uar* t*irim* an*n agus* is m*ur* so aithint*er* é .i. bīd a

[55]L *in universa substancia*.
[56]P foirm, A *f(h)oirm*.
[57]a maisiug*a*d P, a maisiuga A
[58]P coi*m*pl*ex*a.
[59]L *cum excedunt* add.
[60]P ní A ele.
[61]P an*n* add.
[62]In the Latin passage, the description of the cold and dry complexion precedes that of the cold and moist one; in the Irish the order is reversed. See note regarding Latin text.
[63]Added above line.
[64]meith P, meit A.

chuisleann*a* c*um*ang falamh *agus* bīd cl*aochluighteach*[65] droch-aicīd*eac*[66] eagl*ach* maill*e re* p*u*lsa b*eac*, *agus* mar sin dona n*eit*iph ele.

7. Et intī dharub aithne na n*eith*e so f*ēd*uidh a thaisgēltughadh go ngineann *g*a*ch* nī dhiph easl*āint*i is cosm*ail* ris fē*n* do r*ēr* aoísi *agus* aimsire *agus* c*om*pl*ex*a *agus* a gcosm*ai*le. *Agus* dā r*ēr* sin dā bhfhaic*im* f*ear* l*eann*a r*uaidh* a bhfi*abhrus* ad*er*muid g*ur*ob ō l*ionn* r*uadh* do-nīt*er*, *agus dā* bhfhaic*im* f*ear* f*ol*a d*erg*a [ad*erur*][67] g*ur*ob ō f*uil* d*eirg*, *agus* m*ur* si*n* don*a* c*om*pleaxuibh *eile*.[68]

8. *Agus* na heasl*áint*i do-nīt*er* ō l*ionn* r*uadh agus* ō f*uil* d*eirg*, is g*earr* a gc*r*īochnug*a*d *agus* is guas*achtach* a n-aic*íd*i; *agus* na heasl*āint*i do-nīth*ir* ō l*ionn* f*ionn agus* ō l*ionn* d*ubh*, is f*a*da a gc*r*īochnug*a*d[69] *agus* is neamh-ghuas*achtach* a n-aic*íd*i, *agus* m*ur* tuigt*er* si*n* don c*om*pl*ex* t*uict*e*r* m*ur* in c*ēad*na dho*n* aois *agus* do*n* ai*msir agus* do*n* rēgiō*n agus* do*n* ghnāthug*a*d *agus* dona n*eit*iph *eile* go huil*idh*i.

9. Et bīth a l*eigheas* m*ur* so .i. gach [257va1] uile dhroch-c*om*pl*ex* do t*r*eōrug*a*d go neamh-oban*n* chu*m* meas*ar*dh*acht*a le*n*a *contrārda acht* mu*n*a toirmisgidh ri*acht*an*us* a leas na beatha é. Ōir is f*earr* do*n* gabhuin*n* u*eth* i*n*a f*ear* l*eanna* f*inn* nā c*or*p meas*ar*dha do u*eth* aigi do r*ēr* an oibr*igh*thi n*ach* f*ēad*an*n* do s*ea*cnadh ar so*n* ēgeantuis na b*eath*a; *agus* is f*earr* do*n* iasg*air*e u*eith* i*n*a f*ear* l*eanna* r*uaidh* nā c*or*p meas*ar*dha do u*et* aigi; *agus* m*a*d áil lin*n* coi*méd* do dhēna*m* do rér

[65]Latin ‘quia sintheticus, timidus’. *Claochluightheach* in medical texts usually means ‘alterative, inducing a change’ defining a medicine’s characteristic. ‘Prone to decline’ is suggested here since it describes a person. For L sintheticus, sintecticus see DMLBS s.v. sintecticus ‘suffering from a wasting disease’, Lewis and Short s.v. ‘ill of consumption, consumptive’; other sources explain ‘sintecticos’ by ‘macilentos’, and ‘animo deficiens vel viribus exhaustus’ (Boleslaw Erzepki (ed.), *Bartlomiej z Bydgoszczy Slownik lacinsko-polski* (Poznan 1900) 145a, available at http://rcin.org.pl); ‘syntetictus de consumptione’, Plinius 22, 105; 28,88. Alonso Guardo translates ‘la persona es apocada’ (despondent, dejected). However it is possible that ‘sintecticus’ was not in the Latin version on which this translation is based.

[66]*DIL* does not record *aicídech* in the sense ‘diseased’, but merely *go haicídech* ‘accidental’, and ‘indirectly, artificially’; but cf. Dinneen s.v. *droch-aicíd* and *aicídeach.* Ó Donaill s.v. records *drochaicíd* ‘bad, dangerous disease’, and *aicídeach*, ‘diseased, prone to disease’; for Scottish Gaelic, Dwelly records *acaideach* ‘sickly’. Cf. Lilian Duncan, ‘A treatise on fevers’, *Revue Celtique* 49 (1932) 51: *fedtar na drochaicidi do beith dasachtach* ‘the unfavourable ailments can be violent’.

[67]*om*. RP.

[68]Here the Latin is rendered incompletely, omitting the last two examples. This omission does not correspond to any of the manuscript variants cited by Guardo, and may have been the translator’s decision.

[69]L erunt longe et male determinacionis; some manuscripts and the printed editions have terminacionis. See Guardo, *Tractatus*, 250 n.

cosm*ail*is dl*igh*mu*i*d a den*am* do r*ēr* ai*msi*r*e agus* n*ādūire*,[70] *agus* m*a*d áil lin*n* ní do t*r*eōrug*a*d do cu*m* a *contrārda* dlighmuíd a dhēna*m* go neamh-obon*n*.

English translation

1. The 9th chapter on prognostication of the diseases according to the nature of the complexions. Cum elementa confracta sint in mixto et minimum unius tangit minimum alterius, i.e. since the elements are broken up in the mixture and a very small part of one element affects a very small part of the other, they do not exist in it [i.e. the mixture] in their own substantial forms and [yet] they did not completely abandon them; and at that time, from the action of the heat and the cold, a certain quality emerges, and there emerges another quality from the action of the dryness and the moistness, and the quality which emerges from that sharing of the active and[71] passive qualities, is called complexion, and that disintegration is all-manifold, accordingly the complexion is all-manifold.[72]

2. And there are nine complexions, i.e. one temperate complexion, and the other complexions intemperate, and when it is called a temperate complexion, it is not from weighing[73] the quantity of the matter it is so called, as it would be impossible to be like that.[74] For fire is very active, and if it were of equivalent quantity regarding matter with the other elements in the mixture it would convert the other elements into its own essence, and little or nothing of them would last in the mixture. If, however, we speak of the quantity of the virtue, the elements can be equivalent in temperateness. For in some certain mixture there may be a cold portion present that combats the action of the hot part, and the same applies to

[70]L in specie et natura; only the printed editions used by Guardo have *tempore* for *specie,* see Guardo, ibid.

[71]Ten letters are erased, but with no loss of text.

[72]Compare for this paragraph ideas formulated by Aristotle, *De Generatione et Corruptione* Book 1, chapter 10. When Bernard wrote his tract, those ideas had been the focus of scholastic debate, such as in Thomas Aquinas's (1225–1274), *De mixtione elementorum* (*c*. 1270–73).

[73]L quoad pondus, 'in an absolute sense'. To elucidate the terms *quoad pondus* and *quoad iusticiam* Guardo, 247, cites P.-G. Ottosson, *Scholastic medicine and philosophy* (Naples 1984) 143: 'The equal *complexio* is estimated in accordance with either of two criteria, in an absolute sense (*quo ad pondus*) or in relation to justice (*quo ad iustitiam*), following Galen's *De complexionibus*.' Ottoson continues: 'If a *complexio* is balanced in the absolute sense the elements are supposed to be mixed in precise, equal parts. This *complexio* is hardly possible in reality but is primarily a theoretical construction. Admittedly a body may possibly be absolutely balanced at a transition from one *complexio* to another, since every transition is supposed to go via a medium. Yet, in practice it is only possible to find the *complexio* which is fairly tempered, signifying that it has the most suitable mixture of the qualities for the fulfilment of its function.' The interpretation of 'quoad iustitiam' is set out in more detail in Joel Kaye, *A history of balance, 1250–1375*: *the emergence of a new model of equilibrium and its impact on thought* (Cambridge 2014) 206–209.

[74]L hoc enim est penitus impossibile ('for this is wholly impossible').



Remnants of the monastic foundation at Aghmacart

moistness and dryness. Therefore the temperate body is the body which has one whole hot portion according to the virtue,[75] and one cold portion, and a moist and a dry portion, for that is the proper temperateness.

3. It is called a temperate body in another way according to propriety,[76] that is, that which can best fulfil the proper functions of its own species, and accordingly one temperate body can be cited in every species. For he is the most temperate man of all, he who is the choicest and the best as regards nature, and who is most intelligent and wise; and that hound is the most temperate in the species of hounds which hunts best and best recognizes its master and its own house; and the most temperate of rabbits is that rabbit which flees and hides itself best, and so on with every complexion according to the function proper to its own species.

[75]L in virtute; here and in line 1 of his Latin edition Guardo translates 'cualitativamente' (lacking in the Latin version on which the Irish translation is based).

[76]L quoad iusticiam ('in relation to justice').

4. And now we say that the temperateness of the human body is close to temperateness in an absolute sense[77] and [this is] due to the divine heavenly cause, and the human body is very temperate among all the substances. So that there is nothing that can attain that temperateness, and if that form is found it ought to be honoured, however it is impossible to be found.

5. And there exist four simple intemperate complexions, i.e. hot and moist, cold, and dry. And there exist four other compound ones, i.e. hot and dry, hot and moist, cold and dry, cold and moist, and we thus obtain eight complexions with matter, and eight others without matter.[78]

6. And we say that it is five complexions the human bodies have, i.e. one temperate complexion – and that is recognized by its actions and by its functions, as we stated – and four intemperate ones; and one of those complexions is hot and dry, and it is recognized thus: because his [*sc*. the patient's] veins are dilated and empty, and the pulse very rapid, hard, angry, and he is hairy. And another complexion is hot and moist, and it is recognized like this, i.e. his veins are dilated and full, with plenty of flesh, and his colouring is composite of ruddiness and paleness, and so on with the other things. And there is another cold and moist[79] complexion, and it is recognized thus, i.e. his veins are narrow and full, and he is pale, soft and heavy, with sparse body hair, and there is another cold dry complexion and it is recognized thus: the veins are narrow and empty, and he is prone to decline, afflicted with a bad disease, timid, with a small pulse and so with the other things.[80]

7. And he who knows these things can prognosticate that each of these things brings about its corresponding disease, according to the age, season, complexion and similar things. And accordingly, if we see a choleric man in a fever, we say that it is caused by choler, and if we see a sanguine man it is said that it is from sanguine humour, and so with the other complexions.

8. And the illnesses that are caused by choler and by sanguine humour are of short duration, and their symptoms are dangerous; and the illnesses that are caused by

[77]Literally 'according to weight', L ad pondus. Alonso Guardo translates 'de forma absoluta'.

[78]Guardo, 249, provides a parallel from Avicenna, *Liber canonis medicine cum castig. A. Bellunensis* (translatus a m. Gerardo Cremonensi, Venetiis 1527), Canon I, Fen I, Doct. cap. II, 4: 'unaquaque autem harum octo complexionum aut est sine materia . . . aut est cum materia.'

[79]For the order of discussion of the complexions in the Irish and in the Latin at this point see n. 62 above.

[80]The Irish text confuses the description of the phlegmatic and melancholic complexion, by providing under the label of 'cold and moist' the description of the 'cold and dry', or melancholic complexion, and leaving out the description of the 'cold and moist' one, which follows in the Latin.

phlegm and by black bile are of long duration, and their symptoms are not dangerous, and as that applies to the complexion so it applies to the age and the season, region, custom, and all the other things.

9. And its cure is thus, i.e. to reduce every bad complexion slowly towards temperateness with its opposite, unless the exigencies of life of life prevent it. For it is better for a smith to be a phlegmatic man than to have a temperate body, due to the work that he cannot avoid, due to the necessities of life; and it is better for the fisherman to be a choleric than to have a temperate body. And if we wish to retain [the complexion] in its appearance, we should do so with respect to season and to nature, and if we wish to reduce something towards its opposite we ought to do it slowly.

Latin text

The Digital Archives for Medieval Culture project[81] lists the following Latin manuscripts containing the *Liber pronosticorum* or *Tractatus de crisi et de diebus creticis*.

Bernkastel-Kues, Bibliothek des St. Nikolaus-Hospitals, 308, ff. 117r–136v
Bernkastel-Kues, Bibliothek des St. Nikolaus-Hospitals, 309, ff. 2r–21r
Citta del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1083, ff. 285v–308r
Citta del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1098, ff. 187v–224r
Citta del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1116, ff. 88r–109v
Citta del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1174, ff. 73va–103ra
Citta del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1235, ff. 70vb–112vb
Citta del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1284, ff. 154ra–165vb, 130ra–137rb
Citta del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1331, ff. 198ra–216vb
Dublin, Marsh's Library, MS Z.4.4.4
Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Inc. 8° Med. pract. 80/85
Innsbruck, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol (*olim* Universitätsbibliothek), 455 I, ff. 70vb–87vb
Kobenhavn, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1656 4°, ff. 109ra–126va
Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, 818, ff. 25r–58r
Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, 821, ff. 139r–166v
Luzern, Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek, P 1 2° II, ff. 108ra–121vb
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. misc. 455 (S.C. 19931), ff. 156r–181r

[81] www.mirabileweb.it/title/tractatus-de-crisi-et-de-diebus-criticis-title/10590 (accessed 29 January 2018).

Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale de France, lat. 16189, ff. 170va–195va
Seitenstetten, Stiftsbibliothek, 47, ff. 1ra–48vb
Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek (Carolina), C 662, ff. 28ra–39vb

1. [246] Capitulum 9m, quod docet pronosticare secundum naturam complexionis

Cum elementa confracta sunt in mixto et minimum in virtute[82] tangit minimum alterius, tunc elementa non sunt cum formis substancialibus nec omnino amiserunt eas, et tunc ex mutua accione calidi cum frigido resultat quedam qualitas, et ex accione sicci cum humido, resultat alia proporcio. Qualitas igitur que resultat ex proporcione activarum et passivarum, vocatur complexio, et quia[83] hec confraccio est multiplex, ideo complexio est multiplex.

2. Novem igitur erunt complexiones, una temperata et sola, et alie omnes distemperate. Complexio autem temperata appellatur non quoad pondus quantitatis materie, hoc enim penitus est impossibile. Cum enim ignis maxime sit activus, si esset in tanta quantitate quoad naturam,[84] omnia ad se converteret et parum aut nichil duraret mixtum. Si autem nos loquamur de quantitate virtutis, tunc est possibile, ut in aliquo mixto possibile est, quod in virtute tantum possit resistere porcio frigidi sicut calidi agere, et ita intelligo de sicco et humido. Illud igitur corpus est temperatum quod habet in virtute[85] unam porcionem integram calidam et aliam frigidam et aliam siccam et aliam humidam, et tale corpus est proprie temperatum.

3. Alio modo dicitur corpus temperatum quoad iusticiam scilicet quod melius possit in operaciones que debentur speciei, et in unaquaque specie est dare unum corpus temperatum, unde ille homo est temperatus qui est in ultimo elegancie et bonitatis nature et est prudentissimus et sapientissimus, et ille [248] est temperatissimus in genere canum qui melius venatur et cognoscit dominum suum, et ille cuniculus est melius temperatus qui melius scit fugere et se abscondere, et ita de quolibet secundum operacionem que debetur speciei.

4. Nunc autem temperamentum corporis humani vicinatur temperamento ad pondus et est ex re divina. Desuper enim corpus humanum temperatissimum est in universa substancia, ita quod nichil est quod hoc temperamentum attingere possit. Sin enim inveniatur, eadem forma meretur decorari, hoc autem penitus est impossibile.

[82]Equivalent of ‘in virtute’ is not in the Irish text.

[83]Equivalent of ‘quia’ is not in the Irish text.

[84]Guardo, *Tractatus*, 246 records the reading ‘quoad materiam’ in J (Kraków Jag. 818), U (Uppsala, University Library C 662), B (Vatican, Pal. Lat 1331) and G, which is the base for the printed editions; these belong to the family of manuscripts Guardo calls *z*.

[85]Guardo translates this as ‘cualitativamente’.

5. Complexiones autem distemperate sunt 4or simplices ut calidum, humidum, frigidum et siccum cum excedunt,[86] et 4or composite ut calidum et siccum, calidum et humidum, frigidum et siccum, frigidum et humidum, et sic habemus 8 cum materia et 8 sine materia.

6. Complexiones igitur corporis humani erunt V, una temperata, que cognoscitur ex effectibus et operacionibus, ut dictum est; quedam calida et sicca, que cognoscitur quia vene late et vacue, pulsus velox et durus, pilosus, iracundus, velocissimus. Quedam est calida et humida, que cognoscitur quia vene late, plene, multe carnis, color mixtus ex albo et rubeo et ita de aliis; quedam frigida et sicca, que cognoscitur quia vene stricte et vacue, quia sintheticus, timidus, cum pulsu parvo et ita de aliis;[87] quedam frigida et humida, que cognoscitur quia vene stricte, plene et est albus et mollis et piger cum paucitate pilorum.

7. Qui igitur ista cognoverit pronosticare poterit cum unumquodque, ut tempus, etas, complexio et consimilia, generent egritudinem proporcionalem. Si [250] videamus aliquem colericum febricitare, dicemus quod est ex colera, quantum est ex hoc,[88] et si calidum et humidum, quod egritudo est de sanguine, et si frigidum et humidum, quod est de flegmate, et si frigidum et siccum, quod est de melancolia.[89]

8. Egritudines igitur de colera et sanguine erunt breves cum terribilibus accidentibus, egritudinibus igitur de flegmate et melancolia erunt longe et male[90] determinacionis sine timorositate accidencium, et sicut dico de complexione quantum est ex hoc, idem possumus intelligere de tempore, etate, regione, consuetudine et ita de omnibus aliis.

9. Medicacio erit talis. Omnis mala complexio paulatine cum suo contrario reducenda est ad temperamentum, nisi vite necessaria impediant, unde melius est fabro quod sit flegmaticus quam si haberet corpus temperatum racione operis quod non potest effugere propter vite necessaria, et melius est piscatori quod sit colericus quam si haberet corpus temperatum. Si igitur volumus conservare, per simile conservemus in specie[91] et natura, si autem reducere, per contraria paulatine.

[86]Equivalent of 'cum excedunt' is not in the Irish text.

[87]As Guardo, *Tractatus*, 248n. notes, the sentence from 'quedam' to 'ita de aliis' is transposed after 'pilorum' in manuscripts G (Kraków, Bibl. Jagiell. 818, before 1400) and J (Kraków, Bibl. Jagiell. 821, 1426 etc.). This agrees with the Irish translation.

[88]Equivalent of 'quantum est ex hoc' is not in the Irish text.

[89]Equivalent of 'et si frigidum . . . de melancolia' is not in the Irish text.

[90]Equivalent of 'et male' is not in the Irish text.

[91]Equivalent of 'in specie' is not in the Irish text.

GLOSSARY

(reference is to paragraphs)

aicíd (L accidentia) 'attack of illness, pain (*hence* symptom)', dsg a n-aicídi (*bis*) 8; see also *neamh-aicídeach*

adhbhar (L materia) 'matter', gsg an adhbhuir 5, do rér adhbhuir 2, dsg maille re hadhbhur 5, asg gan adhbhur 5

aigne (Old Irish aicned) (L ad se) 'inherent quality, essence, nature', dsg ina haigne fen 2

ainmheasardha (L distemperatus) 'intemperate', npl ainmheasardha 2, 5, 6

aonda (L simplex) 'simple', 5

bog (L mollis) 'soft', nsg bocc 6

brígh (L virtus) 'virtue', gsg na bríghi 2, do rér uríghi (L in virtute) 'according to the virtue' 2

cáil (L qualitas) 'quality', nsg cáil, in cháil, gpl na gcáile 1

cainnigheacht (L quantitas) 'quantity', gsg caindigheachta 2, cuandigheachta, dsg do cuandigheacht 2

cathaighim (L possit resistere) 'I combat', rel pres. noch chathaighis 'that combats' 2

ceart (L iusticia) 'justice', gsg do rér chirt (L quoad iusticiam) 3

claochluightheach 'changeable, prone to decline (?)' 6

coinín (L cuniculus) 'rabbit', nsg coinín 3, dpl dona coinínibh 3

combriseadh (L confraccio) 'disintegration', nsg commbrisidh 1

combrúite (L confracta) past part. of con-bruí, 'broken up', 1

comhthrom (L in tanta) 'equivalent, equal', comhthrum 2, npl cudruma 2

comhshuidhighthe (L compositus) 'compounded', comshuighighthi 5

complex, coimplex (L complexio) 'complexion', nsg complex 1, 6 (quadruplex), encompleax 2, encomplex 6, gsg complexa 7, asg dhroch-complex 'bad complexion' 9, dsg da gach uile complex 3, don complex 8, npl 9 gcomplexa 2, na complexa 2, complex 2, 4 complex 5, 5 complexa 6, complex 6, 8 gcomplexa 5, gpl na gcomplex 1, dpl dona compleaxuibh 7

corp (L corpus) nsg corp 2, 3, 4, 8, éncorp 3, in corp 2, gsg in chuirp 4, dpl ag na corpaibh 6

críochnughad (L terminatio) 'course, termination', nsg gearr a gcríochnugad (L breves), fada a gcríochnugad (L longe) 9

cú (L canis) 'hound', nsg in cú 3, gpl na gcon 3

cuisle (L vena) 'vein', npl a chuisleanna 'his veins' (*ter*) 6

cumhang (L stricte) 'narrow, constricted' (*bis*) 6.

cumusg (L mixtum) ‘mixture, blend’, dsg annsa cumusg 2 ní chumusgtha (L mixtum) ‘mixture, blend’, dsg annsa ní chumusgtha 1, annsa ní cumusgtha 2, a ní cumusgtha egin 2
cumuisgthe (L mixtus) ‘mixed’, nsg cumuisgthi 6
diadha (L res divina) ‘divine, godly’, don réd diaghdhi uachtarach 4
díleas (L proprius) ‘proper, intrinsic’, díleas 2
dlightheach (L que debentur) ‘proper’, apl dlighteacha 3
droch-aicídeach (L sintheticus) ‘having bad symptoms, afflicted with a bad disease’, droch-aicídeach 6
dúil (L elementum) ‘element’, npl na dúile, gsg dúla 1, na dúla 1, dpl risna dúilibh, npl na dúile 2
eagnaidhe (L sapientissimus) ‘wise’, eagnaidhi 3
easláinte (L egritudo) ‘disease, sickness’, asg easláinti 7, npl na heasláinti 8, gpl na n-easláintedh 1
feóil (L carnis) ‘flesh’, gsg feóla 6
fiabhras (L febricitare) ‘fever’, dsg a bhfiabhrus 7
fiadhach (L venatur) ‘hunting’, do-ni fiagach 3
fionnfadh (L pilorum) ‘body hair’, dsg maille re fionnfad terc 6
fionnfadhach (L pilosus) ‘hairy’, nsg fionnfadach 6
fliuch (L humidum) ‘moist, wet’, nsg fliuch (*ter*) 5, fliuch 6
fliuchaidhe (L humida) ‘moist’, fliuchaidi 6
fliuchaidheacht (L humido) ‘moistness’, gsg na fliuchaidheachta 1, dsg don fhliuchaidheacht 2
foirm (L forma) ‘form’, nsg in fhoirm sin 4, apl for dpl ina ufoirmeanna 1
folamh (L vacue) ‘empty’ folamh, falamh 6
fuar (L frigidum) ‘cold’, nsg fuar (*ter*) 5, fuar (*bis*) 6
fuaraidheacht (L frigidum) ‘coldness’, gsg na fuaraidheachta 1
fuil dhearg (L sanguis) ‘sanguine humour’, gsg fola deirge 7, dsg ó fuil deirg 7, 8
fuilngtheach (L passivus) ‘passive’, gpl ufuilngtheach 1
gabha (L fabro) ‘smith’, dsg don gabhuinn 9
glic (L prudentissimus) ‘most intelligent’ ro-ghlioca 3
gnáthughadh (L consuetudine) dsg don ghnathugad 8
gné (L species) ‘species, kind’, dsg dha ghné 3, in gach uile ghné 3, da gné 3
gníomh (L actio) ‘action’, dsg ó gníom 1, gsg ghníomha 2, dpl óna ghníomhuibh 6
gníomhuightheach (L activus) ‘active’, gpl ngnímuightheach 1, roighníomhuightheach 2
guasachtach (L terribilibus) ‘dangerous’, guasachtach 8, neamh-ghuasachtach ‘not dangerous’ 8

iasgaire (L piscatori) ‘fisherman’, dsg don iasgaire 9
iomshlán (L integram) ‘whole, complete’, nsg iomshlán 2
ionntuighidh ‘turns’, 3sg cond ionntóchadh (L converteret) 2
lán (L plene) ‘full’, 6
leathan (L late) ‘dilated’ (*bis*) 6.
lionn dubh (L melancolia) ‘black bile’, dsg ó lionn dubh 8
lionn fionn (L flegma) ‘phlegm’, dsg ó lionn fionn 8, gsg leanna finn 9
lionn ruadh (L colera) ‘choler, yellow bile’, gsg leanna ruaidh, dsg ó lionn ruadh 7
mairidh (L duraret) impersonal verb ‘lasts, endures’, 3sg cond. do mairfedh, mairfed 2
measardha (L temperatus) ‘temperate’, measardha, 2 (*ter*), 6, 9 (*bis*), superl. duine is measardha dona daoinibh ‘the most temperate man of all’ 3, coinín is measardha dona coininibh ‘the most temperate of rabbits’, ro-mheasardha 3, ro-measarda 4
measardhacht (L temperamentum) ‘temperament, temperateness’, nsg in mheasardhacht dileas 2, cudruma annsa measardhacht ‘equivalent in temperateness’ 2, measardhacht 4, dsg don mheasardhacht 4, dhon mheasardhacht 4, gsg chum measardhachta 9.
meadhughadh (L quoad pondus) ‘weighing’, dsg ho mhedugad 2
méith (L piger) ‘plump, fat’, nsg 6
modh (L modo) ‘manner, way’, dsg a mod eile (L alio modo) 3
nádúir f (L natura) ‘nature’, nsg nádúir 3, gsg do rér nádúire 1, do rér [. . .] nádúire 9
neamh-chumhachtach (L penitus impossibile), ‘utterly impossible/incapable’? neamh-chumachtach 2, 4 this is usually translated ‘incapable’, but it seems to be used in an impersonal sense here, hence ‘impossible’.
neamh-obann (L paulatine) ‘slowly’, neamh-obonn, neamh-obann, 9
noch relative particle ‘that, which’ 2
oibriughadh (L operacio, opus) ‘function, work’, apl na hoibrighti dlighteacha dhá ghné fén ‘the proper functions’ (L operaciones que debentur speciei) 3; gsg do rér an oibrighthi ‘according to the function’ (L secundum operacionem) 3, dpl óna oibrighthibh ‘by its functions’ (L ex operacionibus) 6; gsg do rér an oibrighthi ‘due to the work’ (L racione operis) 9
pulsa (L pulsus) ‘pulse’, nsg in pulsa, dsg re pulsa (L cum pulsu) 6
rannchuidiughadh (L proporcio), verbal noun of rannchuidighim, ‘I share in, share with’, usually translated ‘participation’, although this does not reflect the Latin meaning; dsg ón rannchuidiugad ‘from the participation’ 1; see *DIL* R 12.43–50; used with preposition *re* in ‘rannchuidid ris in samradh’ (H.

Cameron Gillies, *Regimen Sanitatis*, 25); and 'mur is follus annsna rédaib rannchuididius re teas eachtrannach' (Carney, *Regimen na Sláinte* I, 5, lines 119–20).

réad (L res) 'thing', dsg don réd diaghdi 4, aonréd 'anything'2

réigión (L regio) 'region', dsg don régión 9

ro- 'very' roi-bheag (L minimum) 1 (*bis*), ro-luath 6; *see also* glic, measardha, gníomhuightheach

substaint 'substance' (L substancia), dpl idir na substaintibh go huilidhi (L in universa substancia) 'among all the substances' 4

substainteach (L substancialis) 'substantial', dpl ina ufoirmeanna substainteacha 1 (L substancialibus)

taisgéaltughadh (verb-noun of *do-scélai*; see *DIL* s.v. taiscélad (c) 'Med., generally in pl. prognostics') (L prognosticare) 'prognostication', do thaisgéltughadh 1, a thaisgéltughadh 7

te (L calidum) 'hot, warm', nsg te, (*ter*) 5, te 6

teach (L domum) 'house', asg a teagh 3

tearc (L paucitate) 'sparse', dsg maille re fionnfad terc 6

teasaidhe (L calidus) 'warm, hot', gsg an rainn teasaidhi 2, nsgf complex eile teasaidhi 6

teasaidheacht (L calidus) 'warmth, heat,' gsg na teasaidheachta 1

tighearna (L dominum) 'master' asg tigerna 3

tirim (L siccum) 'dry', nsg tirim (*ter*) 5, tirim (*bis*) 6

tiormaidheacht (L siccus) 'dryness', gsg na tirmaidheachta 1, dsg don tirmaidheacht 2

tomhas 'act of weighing' do rér thomhais (L ad pondus) 4. See note 73.

toghaidhe 'chosen, elect', in duine is togaidhi 'the choicest man'3

tréigidh 'abandons', nír trégeadair 'they did not abandon' 1

treórughadh (L reducere) 'reducing' (med.) of a complexion, dhroch-complex do treórugad . . . ní do treórugad 9

uiliomdha (L multiplex) 'all-manifold', uiliomdha 1