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University College Cork, Ireland
Coláiste na hOllscoile Corcaigh

"A GOOD REDER": THE MIDDLE ENGLISH *WISE BOOK OF PHILOSOPHY AND ASTRONOMY*, INSTRUCTION, PUBLICS, AND MANUSCRIPTS.

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY AT THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH, FACULTY OF ARTS, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND, CORK, BY

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UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

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APRIL 2006

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Detur dignori

Brian

Abbreviations

Add	Additional
Archives	*Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littérature du Moyen Age*
BL	British Library, London
BLCIM	*The British Library: Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts* ‹ http://prodigi.bl.uk/illcat/welcome.htm›
BLWebcatalogue	*The British Library: Manuscript Catalogue* ‹http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts›
BLJ	*British Library Journal*
BodWebcatalogue	*The Bodleian Library, Oxford: Online Manuscript Catalogue* ‹http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/medieval/additional/additional-b.html›
CambCat	Hardwick, C., & H. R. Luard (1856-67). *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*. 5 Vols. Cambridge UP.
Cat. Add.	*Catalogue of the Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Library, 1841-43* (1850). London: British Museum
cols.	column(s)
CUP	Cambridge University Press
CR	*Chaucer Review*
DSD	*Digital Scriptorium Database* ‹http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/scriptorium/›
EETS	Early English Text Society os (Original Series) ss (Supplementary Series) es (Extra Series)
eVK	*Scientific and Medical Writings in Old and Middle English: An Electronic Reference*. L. E. Voigts & P. D. Kurtz (Comp.). CD-ROM. Ann Arbor: Michigan UP, 2000

FMLS	*Forum for Modern Language Studies*
GP	Geoffrey Chaucer, "General Prologue" to *The Canterbury Tales*
Hist. MSS	*Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (1879). 2 Vols. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office
IMEP	*Index of Middle English Prose*
IMEV	Brown, C., & R. H. Robbins (1943). *The Index of Middle English Verse*. New York: Columbia University Press for the Index Society
IMEVS	Robbins, R. H., & J. L. Cutler (1965). *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse.* Lexington, KY: U of Kentucky Press
IPMEP	Lewis, R. E., N. F. Blake & A. S. G. Edwards (1985). *The Index of Printed Middle English Prose.* New York: Garland
JEBS	*Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscripts and Printing History*
JEGP	*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
LALME	McIntosh, A., M. L. Samuels, & M. Benskin (1986). *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*. Vols. 1-8. Aberdeen: Aberdeen UP
L	Library
List Add.	*List of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1836-1840.* (1843). London: George Woodfall & Sons
MÆ	*Medium Aevum*
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
NIMEV	Boffey, J., & A. S. G. Edwards (2005). *A New Index of Middle English Verse*. London: The British Library
NM	*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*
N&Q	*Notes & Queries*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
P	Press
PAPS	*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*

Pl.	Plate
TLS	*Times Literary Supplement*
SC	Madan, F. *et al.* (1895-1953). *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*. 6 Vols in 7. Oxford: Clarendon
SP	*Studies in Philology*
Spec	*Speculum*
TCCWebcatalogue	*Trinity College Library, Cambridge* ‹http://rabbit.trin.cam.ac.uk ~jon/James/›
UCLWebcatalogue	*Archon: Archives in London and the M25 Area*. ‹http://www.aim25.ac.uk›
UP	University Press
WellcomeCat	*Wellcome Library for the History and Understanding of Medicine: Online Manuscript Catalogue* ‹http://archives.wellcome.ac.uk›
YaleImage	‹http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/dl_crosscollex/SlideshowXC.asp?srchtype=CNO›
YUBWebcatalogue	*Yale University Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, General Collection of Rare Books and Manuscripts: Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* ‹http://webtext.library.yale.edu/beinflat/pre1600.ms163.htm›

Manuscripts and Sigla

Cambridge

University Library

i.	Ee.4.31, ff 1^r - 3^r, 3^r - 6^v	C1
ii.	Ll.4.14, ff 153^r – 156^r	C2

Gonville & Caius Library

iii.	Gonville and Caius College 457/395 (II), ff 1^r – 7^v	C3

Magdalene College

iv.	Pepys 878, pp 1 – 16	C4

Trinity College Library

v.	O.10.21 (1473), ff 94^v – 99^r	C5
vi.	R.14.51 (921), ff 77^v – 86^r	C6

London

British Library

vii.	Additional 12195, ff 127^v - 135^r	B
viii.	Egerton 827, ff 1^r – 9^v	E1
ix.	Egerton 2433, ff 1^r-9^r	E2
x.	Royal 17.A.3, ff 76^v – 80^v	R1
xi.	Royal 17.A.32, ff 8^r – 20^r	R2
xii.	Sloane 965, ff 145^v – 147^v	S1
xiii.	Sloane 1317, ff 103^v - 110^r	S2

xiv.	Sloane 1609, ff 11^{r} – 18^{v}	S3
xv.	Sloane 2453, ff 1^{r} – 6^{v}	S4
xvi.	Sloane 3553, ff 1^{r} – 6^{r}, 7^{r} – 10^{r}	S5

University College

xvii.	Anglia 6, ff 1^{r} - 9^{v}, 9^{v} – 10^{v}	A

Wellcome Historical Medical Library

xviii.	411, ff 32^{r} – 37^{v}	W1
xix.	564, ff 47^{ra} – 51^{rb}	W2

New Haven, CT

xx.	Yale U, Beinecke 163, ff 103^{r} – 105^{v}	Y

New York

xxi.	Columbia U, Plimpton 260, ff 59^{r} – 80^{r}	P

Oxford

Bodleian Library

xxii.	Ashmole 189, ff 1^{r} – 24^{v}	B1
xxiii.	Ashmole 1405, pp 123 – 30	B2
xxiv.	Ashmole 1443, pp 13 - 46	B3
xxv.	Ashmole 1477, III, ff 1^{v} – 2^{r}	B4
xxvi.	Rawlinson D. 1220, ff. 1 - 12	B5
xxvii.	Add B.17, ff 3^{r} – 10^{r}	B6
xxviii.	Digby 88, ff 34^{r} – 37^{r}	Bd
xxix.	Selden Supra 73, ff 3^{r} – 11^{v}	Bs
xxx.	Radcliffe Trust e.30, ff 41^{r} – 53^{v}	Br

San Marino, CA

xxxi. Huntington HM 64, ff 52^{r} – 61^{v} H

Tokyo

xxxii. Takamiya 39[1], ff 1^{r} – 12^{v} T

Woking, UK

xxxiii. Surrey History Service MS LM 1327/2[2], ff 32^{r} – 37^{r} S

[1] *olim* Honeyman MS Astron. 10 (MS 58); Sotheby, Parke, Bernet & Co., May 2, 1979 (lot no. 1111).
[2]On loan from Major J. More-Molyneux, Loseley Park; *olim* Loseley House; *olim* Guildford Muniments Room.

Illustrations

Plate I: New York, Columbia University, MS Plimpton 260 (P), f 59^{r}

Plate II: London, University College, MS Anglia 6 (A), ff 1^{r} – 2^{v}

Introduction

The present work is a study of the Middle English prose text known as *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*, a consideration of its transmission and reception history, and a survey of its manuscript witnesses; it also incorporates an edition of the text from two of its manuscripts. The text (hereafter known as the *Wise Book*) is a cosmological treatise of approximately five thousand words, written for the most part in English, with astronomical and astrological terms in Latin, though the English translation is frequently given.[1] It is written anonymously, and survives in thirty-three manuscripts.

The study of Middle English scientific, medical, and instructional or utilitarian works in prose and verse has increased exponentially, particularly throughout the latter half of the last century and onwards. The continued publication of volumes of the *Index of Middle English Prose* and the *Manual of the Writings in Middle English* has not only greatly facilitated scholarly work in this area, but has highlighted the need for updated and new editions of texts.[2] Recently, the work of Voigts and Kurtz (2000), resulting in the publication of the electronic database *Scientific and Medical Writings in Old and Middle English*, has yielded some telling statistics: it catalogues approximately ten thousand items, of which only one hundred have been edited (Pahta & Taavitsainen, 2004a, p. 4).[3] Prose texts, specifically, have received continued attention since the publication of *Middle English Prose* (1984); its chapters by Linda Voigts (pp. 315-335) and Laurel Braswell (Means) (pp. 337-387) provided not only beneficial surveys but supplied catalogues of known manuscripts and texts. That the recent updated and reworked version of this volume omits this cataloguing work is testament to the amount of new research carried out in the intervening twenty

[1] North stresses the distinction "drawn…between formal astronomy, a largely mathematical pursuit, and cosmology, in the sense of a metaphysical or physical study" (1988, p. 8). The *Wise Book* is cosmological insofar as there is a marked absence of mathematical elucidation, and an emphasis on the theoretical and descriptive, tending, particularly in the latter part, towards the prognosticary (Braswell (Means), 1984, pp. 338-9).

[2] In particular, the publication of Volume X of *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* ("Works of Science and Information"), edited by George R. Keiser, has been a crucial reference work for study in this field.

[3] Voigts notes that the entries in the *eVK* database are derived from 1,134 codices dated 1375-1475, but acknowledges that manuscripts "must have perished in the intervening five hundred years" (1996, p. 814).

years.[4] The increase in research activity not only allows us to reassess value judgements made by nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars in terms of what was considered 'literary' (Pahta & Taavitsainen, 2004a, p. 3), but also helps to redress the balance between works in verse and prose. As Keiser puts it, "writings that had once seemed marginal and deserving of concern only for their philological value are now being shown to be central to an understanding of literary, social, intellectual, political, and cultural history" (2004, p. 242).[5]

The *Wise Book* has, over the past several years, been the subject of varying degrees of scholarly interest. Notwithstanding advances in the study of Middle English utilitarian prose writings, the *Wise Book* has been somewhat overlooked, lacking a full critical edition and often mentioned only in footnotes or identified as a piece of work deserving further attention. Only one published version of the text, transcribed in full from one manuscript, Cambridge, University L, MS Ll.4.14 (C2), exists.[6] The editors of this particular version describe the *Wise Book* as "a handy compendium of astronomical, astrological, and characterological information", and argue that its appeal as a popular text lay in its "common late medieval notions of cosmology, and its place in the understanding of human behaviour" (1975, p. xvi). Perhaps more importantly for the further study of the *Wise Book*, Laurel Braswell (Means), as well as noting the theoretical nature of the text, and its place in the "*Secreta* tradition" (1984, p. 339), identified and listed twenty-seven of its manuscripts (1984, pp. 357-8). The same author used a phrase from the *Wise Book* in the title of an article identifying various texts that aid in the calculation of time.[7] Generally, then, commentary on the text has been concerned with its classification; subsequently, more recent criticism concentrates on the sophistication of the information contained in the *Wise Book*, and, thereby, its reception history. Acker and Amino refer to the text as "an

[4] (Ed. Edwards, 2004). Here, the two chapters by Voigts ("Medical Prose") and Braswell (Means), ("Utilitarian and Scientific Prose") have been condensed into just one by Keiser ("Scientific, Medical and Utilitarian Prose"), which surveys work done to date and supplies information omitted from Keiser's volume of the *Manual*. In the same chapter Keiser details texts and manuscripts in need of further study; the *Wise Book*, however, is not specifically mentioned here.

[5] For a comprehensive overview of research carried out to date, and of forthcoming publications, see Pahta & Taavitsainen (2004a, pp. 3 – 19), and Keiser (2004, pp. 231 – 248).

[6] Krochalis & Peters, 1975, pp. 3 – 17.

[7] (Braswell) Means, 1992a, "'Ffor as moche as yche man may not haue þe astrolabe': Popular Middle English Variations on the Computus," *Spec* 67: 595-623.

introduction to astrology and related matters" (1994, p. 142), while Rand Schmidt comments that the text's "prognosticary component" is more pronounced than in other astrological texts (1993, p. 60 n.4).[8] George Keiser notes that the *Wise Book*'s impressive circulation record and its blend of "theoretical and practical information" must suggest "an audience that includes more than clerkly readers" (2001, Vol. 10, p. 3611).[9] More recently, Taavitsainen classifies the text as "an astrological encyclopaedia … [representing] the lower end of the scale of compilations in prose … [which] imitates the more learned type" (2004, p. 61).[10]

Problems of classification may, perhaps, account for the neglect suffered by the *Wise Book*, despite increased scholarly interest in prose works of science and information in recent times. Voigts discusses the difficulties of categorising scientific books and texts by pointing out that there are "vastly differing definitions of what is meant by "science" in the Middle Ages", and considers that manuscripts often categorised as "scientific" (that is, manuscripts containing, by and large, works on astronomy, medicine and alchemy) rarely contain texts in the broader sense of *Fachliteratur* (1989a, pp. 345-6).[11] By this reasoning, the *Wise Book* itself cannot be strictly classified as "scientific", since it is concerned with both "experimentally sound" activities such as astronomy and computation, and with "pseudo-science", astrology and physiognomy, while also incorporating extra features such as biblical motifs, prognostications, and characterological information. Taavitsainen and Pahta note, however, that astronomy was considered a "main scientific interest, with astrology as its application" (2004a,

[8] In the same work Rand Schmidt notes that the "distinction between astronomical and astrological texts is not always straightforward" (1993, p. 60 n.4); the *Wise Book* contains elements of both astrology and astronomy. Taavitsainen also explains that astronomy, "the main scientific interest of the scholastic age…cannot be distinguished from astrology" (2000, p. 379).

[9] Keiser, in his volume of the *Manual*, includes the text in the section entitled "Science", under the subheading "Cosmology, Astronomy, Astrology" (1998, p. xi).

[10] Taavitsainen records the title of the text as *The Wise Book of Astrology and Astronomy* (2004a, p. 61), but she has also used the variant title *The Boke of Astronomie* (1988, p. 28 and *passim*).

[11] Voigts acknowledges as useful the classification adopted by Manzalaoui (1974, pp. 224-61, outlined at pp. 225-7) which divides texts into three types: those dealing with experimentally sound activities (for example, astronomy), pseudo-sciences (like astrology), and the occult (alchemy, geomancy), and notes that tracts on, say, medicine and agriculture could easily be slotted into this taxonomy (1989a, p. 348). Also deemed useful is the notion of *Fachliteratur/Fachprosa*, which provides a more inclusive definition based on medieval classifications of knowledge, and on which Braswell (Means) (1984, pp. 337-87) bases her survey work (Voigts, 1989a, p. 347).

p. 1); similarly, Tester (1987, pp. 124-5) points out that in the Middle Ages the two were not distinguished but were "simply complementary aspects, theoretical and practical, of the same art".[12] Despite this, the *Wise Book*'s manuscript witnesses would not appear to conform to the type of scientific book that Voigts describes; it is worth noting, however, that medicine was also considered both a science and a craft (Pahta & Taavitsainen, 2004a, p. 2), and since medical tracts varying from remedybooks to more learned treatises are frequently found in *Wise Book* manuscripts, it is perhaps likely that the theory and application formula common to both can account for their simultaneous inclusion in medieval books that may not at first be considered strictly "scientific".[13]

It is apparent, nonetheless, that questions about the nature of the text are not immediately and fully answered by an examination of its companion texts; in fact, a consideration of the *Wise Book*'s transmission and circulation context(s) must challenge assumptions not only regarding the content and classification of such a text, but also pertaining both to its intended audience and its likely reading public. The *Wise Book* is found, too, in the miscellany manuscript, or commonplace book, volumes seemingly randomly compiled and thought to reflect the general tastes and needs of the compiler or potential owner rather than any thematic or practical links between the chosen texts. Mooney asserts that such a volume would have been "the principal, or *only* means available to its owner-scribe of storing useful written information" (2004, p. 186).[14] An examination of the inclusion of the *Wise Book* in what are termed 'miscellanies' tells us as much about the text and the book as it can reveal about audience and readership, and central to this is the reading process associated

[12] Braswell (Means) agrees that astronomical and astrological treatises are not always strictly distinguished between; rather "the first provides factual data about the universe that the latter interprets for human action" (1984, p. 338).
[13] Pahta and Taavitsainen classify medical writings in Middle English as follows: academic or "specialised" treatises (learned academic writings and encyclopaedic tracts), "surgical treatises" (manuals and anatomical descriptions) and "remedybooks and *materia medica*" consisting of recipe collections, diet regimens, prognostications and charms (2004a, p. 15).
[14] Mooney also draws attention here to the link between commonplace books and miscellanies, which, she notes, is discussed in Rigg (1968, 24-6). Here, Rigg asserts that such codices are "purely individual and represent the taste of the compiler only", and, as such, must be considered "miscellaneous"" (p. 25), while Robbins refers to commonplace books as little more than "notebooks of facts or references for the owner…chiefly written by the owners themselves" (1952, pp. xxviii-xxix).

with the text according to context. This may simultaneously allow for a reconsideration of the way we view the selection of texts and the compilation process, which may not have been an altogether random procedure.

Critical responses to the *Wise Book* certainly reflect, and frequently centre on, the problem of its categorisation and linked to this is the apparent inconsistency with which the text was transmitted. Taavitsainen notes that, although the text appears to form a coherent whole, "after the common core, the texts differ and the compilation process seems open-ended" – in short, the *explicit* is not always the same (2004a, p. 61). According to Keiser, in some seventeen of the manuscript witnesses the *Wise Book* is followed by a section on "nativities" (covering the twelve signs of the zodiac, their reigns and influence) for both men and women (1998, pp. 3615, 3766), and some versions are either incorporated into other, longer tracts, or have separate texts embedded in them.[15] It is possible, too, that the *Wise Book* was compiled from more than one source; Taavitsainen reckons that since it is not subdivided into chapters, and since the book appears to be compiled from "various prognosticary tracts", part of the book, at least, must have been constructed using one or more source texts (2004a, p. 61). Indeed it is not unusual to find that utilitarian texts are compiled using extracts from or conflating parts of earlier works (Pahta & Taavitsainen, 2004a, p. 12); furthermore such apparent irregularities in the copying of the text can point to a conscious process of compilation and organisation, and thereby an active consideration of audience and reading processes in terms of both text and manuscript.

Krochalis and Peters remark that the *Wise Book* bears "certain similarities" to Book VIII of *De proprietatibus rerum* by Bartholomaeus Anglicus, but they do not elaborate further on the analogy, except to consider that Bartholomaeus' writings are "more philosophical, more distinctly religious, and more learned" (1975, p. 3); it is noted, however, that the *Wise Book*, far from deferring to the same, or as many, sources as Bartholomaeus, merely tells us "what the heavenly bodies are, and what effect we can expect them to have on

[15] London, Wellcome Historical Medical L, MS 564 (W2), for example, has a version of the *Wise Book* embedded into a surgical treatise, and the copy of the *Wise Book* found in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius MS 457/395 (C3) incorporates the *Book of Ypocras* (Rand Schmidt, 2001, 94); see Section 2, "Contexts and Publics" below.

our characters and lives" (p. 4).[16] It does not appear to be the intention of the editors to suggest the *De proprietatibus* as a source from which the *Wise Book* was compiled; rather the comparison is drawn to illustrate the development and spread of information of this nature almost simultaneously with John Trevisa's translating work. One of the features of the *Wise Book*, according to Krochalis and Peters, is that it "put[s] into very plain English much of the learned doctrines of philosophy", and it is stressed that the content of the *Wise Book* and "the relationship between planets and human character had a long history before our author" (1975, p. 4). Since the *Wise Book* is a text representative of the type of abridged and condensed learning that circulated in English throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it must bear resemblances to much of the astronomical, astrological, prognosticary and computational material of the time, notwithstanding confusion regarding its source(s) or compilation history.[17]

Despite apparent differences of opinion amongst scholars on the nature and the sophistication of the *Wise Book*, most agree that further study will enhance our understanding of the reception history of the *Wise Book* itself, and also of the large, somewhat heterogeneous body of writings, varying in length, register and focus, and relating to science and information. Necessarily, therefore, "information about the manuscripts that preserve the writings is of immense importance" (Keiser, 1998, p. 2593); one of the sections of this thesis seeks to catalogue, in so far as is possible, all manuscripts of the *Wise Book*, and to provide bibliographical information for each. Much of the detail contained in the handlist is gathered from other bibliographical tools, but through this compilation it is hoped the student of texts such as the *Wise Book* will be provided with a valuable research tool and, also, an exemplar from which to approach critical examinations of similar, unedited texts extant in large

[16] Bartholomaeus cites many authorities - Maritanus, Capella, Rabanus Maurus, John of Damascus, and Plato, among others - within just a few pages (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 4), whilst the *Wise Book* refers only to Aristotle – not by name, but as the "philosophre" - in its prologue; see Section 1, "The *Wise Book*: Ideas, Concerns and Concepts" (below) on authority in the text.

[17] Undoubtedly, "numerous…digests of fundamental works" were available in English by the close of the fourteenth century (North, 1988, p. 10); see Section 1, "Sources and Analogues" (below) which discusses this matter further.

numbers of witnesses.[18] Moreover, it is hoped that this study will contribute not only to the corpus of printed and edited texts, but to a holistic understanding and consideration of such texts, their material contexts, transmission, circulation and audience, and, ultimately, to a comprehension of their importance not just to contemporary scholarship, but to a multi-layered medieval audience.

It is not the intention of the present work to examine the *Wise Book* from a modern scientific viewpoint, nor to determine whether or not the information contained in it is accurate; rather, this study is ultimately concerned with the transmission and reception of a text which circulated widely and which happens to be instructional in terms of astronomy, astrology, physiognomy and computation. Therefore, a consideration of the readers of and a possible audience for the text will account for a significant part of this thesis. To this end, an examination of the material disseminated with the *Wise Book* – material which is either copied as part of the same original codex, or bound, shortly after copying, into the same book – can be illuminating as part of a consideration of the reading history of the text. The study will also incorporate an edition of two versions of the text, chosen from what would appear to be 'twin' manuscripts.[19] This sample edition is undertaken with a view to demonstrating one context in which the *Wise Book* circulated, and also to identify a specific cross-section of the discourse community that may have found it necessary to own, or demanded access to, these particular types of manuscripts and texts.[20] It is intended that through a consideration of the manuscript witnesses in general, and these twin codices in particular, attitudes towards the text, both in terms of an imagined medieval readership, and modern scholarship, may be challenged.[21] Ultimately, this study will attempt to reconstruct the place that the *Wise Book* occupied in the corpus of Middle English texts, particularly those concerned with the dissemination of

[18] It is likely that abridged, or possibly complete, versions of the *Wise Book* remain unidentified.
[19] London, University College, MS Anglia 6 (A) and New York, Columbia University, MS Plimpton 260 (P).
[20] For a discussion of the distinction between reader, audience and discourse community, see Section 2 (below).
[21] The decision to examine in further detail these two MSS will be further discussed in Section 3, *Partial Edition of the* Wise Book (below).

useful information, circulating throughout this period and beyond, and consequently recover what may have been a multi-faceted discourse community.

Section 1: Analysis of the Text

i Editions of the *Wise Book*

The *Wise Book* is preserved in thirty-three manuscripts, which are held largely in library collections throughout Great Britain. The most recent and complete listing is found in Keiser's volume of the *Manual of Writings in Middle English* (X) (1998, p. 3766-7), although it fails to record two additional manuscript copies, Woking, Surrey History Service MS LM1327/2 (S), and Oxford, Bodleian L, Radcliffe Trust MS e.30 (Br).[1] The surviving MSS range in date from the early 1400s (for example, London, British L, MS Egerton 827 (E1)) to the sixteenth century (Oxford, Bodleian L, MS Ashmole 1405 (B2). Since the present study is concerned with the MS culture and tradition associated with the *Wise Book*, it does not attempt to examine early printed books. Despite (Braswell) Means' assertion that "many [scientific and utilitarian] texts continued into early printed books" (1992b, p. 368), Keiser's list of surviving MSS contains no reference to copies of the *Wise Book* that survive as early printed versions (1998, pp. 3766-7).

As mentioned above, the text has been reproduced twice; it has not been the subject of a full, critical edition, but it has been transcribed from two separate manuscripts, and has been examined generally without reference to other manuscript witnesses of the text. Krochalis and Peters edited the version surviving in Cambridge University L, Ll.4.14 (C2), a manuscript containing, among other tracts, a version of the B-Text of *Piers Plowman.*[2] The editors, with a view to providing "a new understanding of the intellectual and social atmosphere of fourteenth-century England" (xiii), print what they call "samples of the popularised, abridged, sometimes confused and fragmentary versions of high learning that circulated widely and often constituted the sole access to collections of formal learning of writers whose works coloured the thought of the later Middle Ages" (1975, p. xv). The result is a student compilation which

[1] The *Wise Book* is to be found in these manuscripts at ff 32^{r} – 37^{r}, and 41^{r} – 53^{v} respectively (*eVK* 970; Hanna, 1997, pp. 26-7). A list of extant manuscripts is also to be found in Braswell (Means) (1984, pp. 357-358), though this too is incomplete. Taavitsainen (1988, p. 140) mentions that a copy of the text survives in London, British L, MS Sloane 73, but it seems likely that she mistakes the section on the planets from *The Book of Quintessence* (f 62^{r-v}) for a fragment of the *Wise Book* (see *eVK* 4003; Furnivall, 1889).

[2] Benson & Blanchfield, 1997, pp. 45-8 and *passim*.

readers are encouraged to regard as a fourteenth-century commonplace book that offers a sample of texts representative of "the social and economic aspects" of Langland's world (1975, p. xvi).

A second version of the text was transcribed by Richard Grothé in his unpublished dissertation, an edition of an MS containing surgical and anatomical texts attributed to Lanfranc of Milan and Henri de Mondeville entitled *Le MS Wellcome 564: Deux Traités de Chiurgie en Moyen-Anglais.*[3] Grothé produced a diplomatic transcription of the surgical and anatomical tracts contained in London, Wellcome Historical Medical L, MS 564 (W2), including the text of the *Wise Book*, which is embedded into the *chirurgie* at f 47ra. Grothé acknowledges that the *Wise Book* circulated as a discrete text, since he cross-references the version he prints with the version found in W1. Grothé's work reaches two conclusions: that the *Wise Book*, occurring in the *Chirurgie* which is preserved in W2, does not occur in any of the other surviving versions of Lanfranc's text, and that the *Wise Book* (or "la troisième distinction", as he terms it), represents a text which was inserted into the surgery, as opposed to having emerged from it (Grothé, 1982, II, p. 747).[4] Indeed, the introduction to the *Wise Book* in the MS explains that the information is taken from elsewhere, when it describes it as having been "writen in a tretice" (W2; f 47va). Similarly, Grothé describes the occurrence of this copy of the *Wise Book* as a section containing what he calls "les Notions scientifiques compliméntaires" (1982, II, p. 623).

Additionally, Laurel (Braswell) Means prints selections from some versions of the *Wise Book* in her discussion of variations on the medieval *computus* (1992a, pp. 595-623). Here, she uses the version edited by Krochalis and Peters (from C2) as a base MS, but she prints variants from Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.14.51 (C6) and London, British L, MS Egerton 2433 (E2), in order to demonstrate popular vernacular developments in the calculation of secular time (pp. 619 – 20). Brown (1994, pp. 9 -10) also reproduces a selection from the physiognomy found at the end of the *Wise Book* in his text on the short treatise,

[3] (2 Vols. Diss. Univ. of Montréal, 1982). The transcription of the *Wise Book* occurs in Vol. I at pp. 152-167.

[4] Grothé's conclusion reads: "… nous avons vu que les cinq premiers chapitres et quelques rares éléments des quatre chapitres suivants recoupaient la plus grande partie du contenu d'un court traité inédit de cosmologie…" (1982, II, p. 747).

The Seven Planets, and includes a selection from the abbreviated conclusion found in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.10.21 (C5).

ii Genre and Structure

It is quite a statement on the genre of the text that Krochalis and Peters chose not to print it, along with the *Book of Physiognomy* (from C2, ff 156^{v} – 159^{r}) under the umbrella title "Instruction and Action"; rather, the *Wise Book* is published in this anthology under the title "Macrocosm and Microcosm", which contains too an extract from Robert of Gloucester and from William Fitzstephen's Description of London.

Keiser's volume of the *Manual* is important not only for its breadth and scope, listing and describing MSS of texts of science and information, but also because he classifies these works in a manner that allows for a more meaningful examination of them. It also encourages a basic yet crucial distinction between texts which are theoretical and discursive, and those with a more practical, utilitarian focus – in effect, texts to be read and those to be used. The *Wise Book* is classified here under the subheading "Cosmology, Astronomy, Astrology" (and, revealingly, not under the broader "Prognosticary Treatises") along with such texts as the *Exafrenon* and *The Equatorie of the Planetis*. The duality of the *Wise Book* is, however, stressed by Keiser, who points out that it contains "a large body of theoretical and practical information" (1998, p. 3611).

Taavitsainen (1988, pp. 138 – 9), focuses on the "practical" aspects of the *Book* which, she notes, is "cyclic" in the sense that it mentions themes and topics early on, and then goes on to develop them further (1988, p. 138); it is noted, too, that the content and pattern of the *Book* is similar to many lunary texts that were widespread in the late medieval period, and that frequently share their MSS with copies of the *Wise Book* (p. 139). The open-ended nature of the text, however, is referred to more than once by Taavitsainen (1988, p. 139; 2004a, pp. 61, 71). Not unusually, some versions of the text are unfinished and/or abridged; since astronomical and astrological texts, and indeed lunaries, had an expanding and diverse late-medieval audience, and since more scribes and compilers were increasingly aware of the requirements and competency of their audiences and likely readers, the text may conceivably have had sections copied from it, or a

copyist/compiler might have chosen to omit parts of it.[5] Thus Oxford, Bodleian L, MS Ashmole 1405 (B2) ends after the section on the four elements, and the version found in Oxford, Bodleian L, MS Ashmole 1477 (B4) is also fragmentary, breaking off after the brief discussion of the signs of the zodiac; however, the preceding text in this MS is excerpted from the *Wise Book*'s section on the four humours, but it is presented as a stand-alone text (Part 4, f 1^{r}) (Eldredge, 1992, p. 91). In her more recent work, Taavitsainen refers to the text as encyclopaedic, the structure of which varies according to the individual needs and biases of the compiler; she also notes, however, that the *Wise Book* consists of "various prognosticatory tracts and may have been copied from different sources" (2004a, p. 61).

The title of the text, unsurprisingly, does little in the way of hinting at the form of the text. Albeit the reference to both philosophy and astronomy is quite accurate in terms of the focus the text will have, the term *Wise Book* is vague, and tells the reader more about the tradition with which the text should be associated than the way in which the subjects will be examined. This is not uncommon in Middle English texts; (Braswell) Means notes that, whilst Latin titles like *tractata*, *liber*, and *speculum* tend to allow some "implications about form", their medieval vernacular equivalents – due to misinterpretation of Latin or Anglo-Norman titles – tend to be generic and have "no reference at all to definition of form" or genre (1992b, pp. 368-9). It is likely, thus, that the term *Wise Book* is used to authorise the text, and to ensure that it is read and regarded either as belonging to a particular tradition of contemporary writing, or as a compilation of learned, "wise" (and thereby authoritative) encyclopaedic learning.[6]

iii The *Wise Book*: Instruction, Ideas, and Concepts.

Although the *Wise Book*, as mentioned above, tends to be open-ended, leading to confusion in terms of some witnesses with regard to where the text should finish, the *incipit* is commonly of a standard type, with minor variations from codex to codex, which may ultimately be of significance for a consideration of

[5] For example, the section on the calculation of time, discussed at length below and in Section 2, shows some variation, apparently influenced by intended audience.

6 The tradition from which the text emerges will be considered in more detail in Section 1, "Analogues and Possible Influences" (below).

the transmission and reception of our text. Like many texts concerned with *Fachprosa*, it is not given a stand-alone title which would precede the prologue to the text; rather, the title is contained in the *incipit*: "Here begynneth the wise boke of philosophie *and* astronamye..." [f 59^{r}].[7] The prologue would appear to suggest that the text has been "compiled"[8] from different sources. It explains that it has been:

> contryued and made of the wisest philosophre *and* astronomyer þ*at* euer was sethe the worlde was begunne, that is forto saie of the londe of Greece. For in that londe was an Englische man, ful wise and wel vnderstondinge of philosophie and astronomie, studied and compiled this boke oute of Grewe graciously into Englisch [f 59^{r}].

It is emphasised that an Englishman who is an authority on philosophy and astronomy in his own right has translated the book from Greek. The issue of the unnamed philosopher is, however, perplexing; Aristotle seems to be evoked here, but remains unnamed both in the prologue and throughout the text. Krochalis and Peters suggest that the "philosophre" alluded to here is indeed Aristotle, "the only author [cited] by name", and that this "cleverly devised literary persona" would make the Englishman the heir to Aristotle. [9] Although there is, contrary to Krochalis' and Peters' claim, no explicit mention of Aristotle, frequent references to "the philosopher", and the deliberate location of the literary activity in Greece, figures him, to a medieval reader at least, as the ultimate authority behind the information purveyed. Indeed any medieval reader familiar with the Aristotelian

[7] Quotations are taken, unless otherwise indicated, from my transcription of the text contained in New York, Columbia University, MS Plimpton 260 (P). Abbreviations are expanded in italics. (See Section 4, "Partial Edition of the *Wise Book*" for details of editorial practices). The *Wise Book* is sometimes referred to as *The Boke of Astronomie* (Braswell (Means), 1984, pp. 338-9, 357-8; Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 138-9 and *passim*). Braswell (Means) cites Oxford, Bodleian L MS Ashmole 189 (B1): "[H]ere begynnythe the boke of astronomy and phylosophy", an *incipit* which would lead to the variant title (1984, p. 339).

[8] *compiled*: "to collect and present information from authentic sources, as in an encyclopedia or a comprehensive treatise", *MED* compilen *v*.2.(a); *studied*: reflected upon, contemplate, ponder, *MED* studien *v*.3.(a).

[9] (1975, p. 3). The prologue to the version they edit from Cambridge, University L, MS Ll.4.14 (C2) has the book being "compylid out of spells" (5), which should read "out of grew [Greek]" (Acker, 1985, p. 269 n. 3).

model of the cosmos, adhered to in the *Wise Book*, would not need to be reminded of the source of the information.[10]

Indeed the issue of authorship is linked to, and complicated by, the question of authority as presented in the prologue. The "Englische man" is portrayed not only as someone well-versed in astronomy and philosophy, but also with the ability to read Greek and translate a specialist subject "graciously" into English.[11] However, the use of the phrase "studied and compiled" would suggest that the process was something other than a direct translation; the person responsible for the English version also had an input into the *compilatio* and *ordinatio* of the text, and may have also been required to look to one or more sources to amend or complete it. Parkes notes that, from the thirteenth century onwards, "the drive to make inherited material available in a condensed or more convenient form led [scholars] to recognise the desirability of imposing a new *ordinatio* on the material for this purpose"; this, in turn, led to the "the development of the notion of *compilatio* both as a form of writing and a means of making material easily accessible" (1976, p. 127). It is significant, thus, that the translator is seen here as being responsible not only for the vernacularisation of the *Wise Book*, but for the ordering and arrangement of the information as well; in effect, he is associated, indirectly, with received scholarly and literary methods of transmission.[12]

The prologue then is self-reflexive, with the Englishman being figured as *auctor*; it is implied, thereby, that he was involved, in a significant way, in the production of the text. Realistically, he is probably a literary persona, but the textual explanation of the creation of the book is keen to have him involved in

[10] It is worth noting here that, despite the importance of the Bible in authorising medieval texts, works which circulated anonymously were considered inferior to those featuring the name of, or invoking, an *auctor*; therefore, Aristotle and particularly Ptolemy were referred to by name or their influence was inferred (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 88).

[11] The use of the word "graciously" may, on one hand, relate to the quality of the *Wise Book* or, on the other, infer that the compilation was influenced by the grace of God: *graciously*: "by God's grace", or "beautifully...attractively", *MED* graciousli *adv.*(a&d).

[12] In using the terms *ordinatio* and *compilatio* here I take M. B. Parkes' definitions, whereby he refers to *ordinatio* as an attempt to "indicate and emphasise the organisation of the subject-matter inherent in the text", which could range in sophistication from the inclusion of an analytical table of contents (as in the *Wise Book*) to more theoretical attempts to to meet the readers' practical needs (sometimes realised ostensibly) (1976, pp.117, 121). *Compilatio* develops from this notion of arrangement, and involves the imposition of a new *ordinatio* on the material at hand, becoming a "form of writing" that also extends to literary texts (1976, p. 137).

some significant way in its production. Being *auctor* meant that he could feasibly have copied, modified or translated, compiled or composed the text.[13] However, the textual evidence regarding this process would appear to emphasise the process of translation, and perhaps the restructuring, of the text. Additionally, though not unusually, there is a tendency in the text to avoid personal pronoun use, which arguably leads to a certain detachment, and distances the figure of the Englishman from the subject matter. In effect (and as mentioned) the information is being reported, with frequent deference to the authority of the "philosopher" throughout.[14] The sense, or absence perhaps, of *auctor* is further complicated by the reportage style of the prologue; that there exists a third voice, which describes the provenance of the text coming from a Greek philosopher to an Englishman would suggest a third party involvement in the dissemination of the text. Some prologue versions of the text have been emended to suit a particular audience, perhaps, or to serve a perceived need. In the version found in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 457/395 (C3), authority seemingly has particular importance, with the prologue reflecting this: the text is "mused" rather than compiled by more than one philosopher, and our Englishman not only translated the material, but "brought this book into inglond vnto the wisest dottouris of the vniuersitees and most experient of oxenfford and cambryge by the advyse of viij the worthyest dottouris that weren of them iiij in orlayns and othre iiij of lumbardy of the grettest vniuersitees…" (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 93).[15]

Authority is further established in the prologue with instructions provided as to the specific use of the text. Here, the authorial voice is definite,

[13] (Wogan-Browne *et al*., 1999, p. 4). It is noted here that "authorship in the Middle Ages was more likely to be understood as participation in an intellectually and morally authoritative tradition".

[14] One exception to this is the version of the *Wise Book* which is found embedded in the surgical treatises of London, Wellcome Historical Medical L, MS 564 (W2); here, the text is made to seem like part of the surgery, and consequently the compiler uses personal pronouns to refer to what has gone before, and what will be discussed next: "Ther beþ also vij planetis…of whom I schal speken here-aftirward in þe nexte chapitre" (f 47ra) (Grothé, 1982, I, p. 152). This complier also selects material carefully, omitting seemingly irrelevant parts, and amending others to complement the subject matter. See Section 3 for a fuller discussion of this version and manuscript.

[15] Rand Schmidt calls this a "variant version", into which the *Book of Ypocras* is interpolated (2001, p. xxv).

recommending the information to a specific and narrow set of professional readers:

> ...withoute whiche sciens and knowynge no man may come to p*er*fit wurchinge of astronomye, ne philosophie, ne surgerie, ne of non othir science. For ther is no leche in þ*e* worlde that may treuly wirche his crafte, but if he haue the science and kunny*n*ge of this booke [f 59^{v}].

The authorial intent here is explicit, and superficially the text appears to be directed to a rather narrow audience; the medical profession, specifically surgeons and the "leche" doctor, will benefit from both the "science" and the knowledge contained in the book. However, provision is arguably also made for those not directly involved in the practice of medicine, with the claim that the book will simultaneously assist those interested in astronomy or philosophy. The twofold nature of the target audience is further exemplified in the repeated use of the words "science"[16] and "knowynge" or "kunny*n*ge"[17] – the former indicative, perhaps, of intensive, specialised knowledge, while the latter, "knowynge/kunnynge", implies the process of acquiring the information required, and thereby suggests a more general, less professional readership. This duality of the intended audience, stressed in the brief prologue, is consistently established throughout the *Wise Book*.[18]

Generally, members of the medical profession are mentioned in the prologue only; there are few indicators throughout that the book was written exclusively for them. However, this depends on context; the provenance of the information (and, indeed, of the book) apparently had particular importance, for example, for the intended audience of the surgical and anatomical volume London, Wellcome Historical Medical L, MS 564 (W2). The *ordinatio* of this version differs significantly from that commonly found in other versions.[19] The

[16] *science*: "a branch of knowledge or of learning", *MED* science *n.*3.(a).
[17] *knowynge*: "the fact of knowing, awareness...the act of learning, finding out", *MED* knouing(e *ger.*1.(a); *kunnynge*: "possessing a skill in a profession, art or craft; skilled", *MED* conning *ppl.*1.(a).
[18] The assertion that the *Wise Book*'s audience transcends the limitations laid out in the prologue will be considered further in terms of the manuscript witnesses (see Section 2, "Contexts and Publics" below).
[19] This version retains the prologue, but begins by listing the days of the week, and moves on to the eleven heavens, the seven planets, the natural and artifical day, the *computus*, the reign of each planet, leaving the twelve signs to the end, where they are, instead of being connected with

text is re-structured to become part of a lengthy surgical tract, though its basic content remains the same. The author-compiler is carefully deferential to authority, however, constructing concise prologues (found throughout the surgical tract) to introduce and justify the inclusion of each section, and seems keen to emphasise that surgeons and physicians require the book:

> Bi-as-myche as lamfrank *and* oþ*er*e diuers auctoris *and* practisouris seien, þat it is necessarie a syrurgian to knowe þe iiij complexiouns…I þinke sumdel to speken *and* shewen of hem in þis chapitre, as I haue ben enformed of hem, and of my p*re*dessessouris bifore þis tyme" (f 50^{vb}; Grothé, 1982, p. 165).

Since the surgical and anatomical texts contained in W2 are based on the work of Lanfranc of Milan (and to a lesser extent on Henri de Mondeville), the author-compiler is keen to establish him not as the author of the text, but as an advocate of the application of the information contained therein. The use of Lanfranc as authority may also suggest an awareness on the part of the author-compiler of contemporary notions that a working knowledge of astronomy and astrology was considered standard for medical practitioners of all standards, albeit the justification for inclusion or copying of the *Wise Book* apparently stems primarily from its focus on the four complexions.[20]

Notwithstanding the intent of the author regarding the readership and usage of the *Wise Book*, comments which indicate the likely audience seem to have been included as an afterthought; in most of the versions of the *Wise Book*, they follow a rudimentary list of contents: "First this boke telleth how many heuenes ther buth, and…p*ro*nouncith and declareth of the cours and the gouernayle of the planetis, afterwarde of the signes and sterris of the firmament…of the elementis and complexiou*n*s and the maners of man" [f 59^{r-v}]. The topics as laid out in this *ordinatio* all feature as sections in the *Wise Book*, but not strictly in the sequence as laid out here; the opening, however, does indeed deal with the eleven heavens and the seven days, but the discussion, instead of looking at the "cours and

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Biblical personae, linked to body parts. It then turns to a lengthy discussion of the four complexions (Grothé, 1982, I, pp. 151-163).

[20] Taavitsainen (1988, p. 29) records the parable, attributed to Hippocrates, which states: "whoso ben lechis *and* knowen not of astromye, he is lijk a blynd m*a*n…[H]e lesiþ þe maistre of þe medicy*n* for defaute of knowi*n*ge" (from BL Royal 17.A.iii (R1), f 33, also a *Wise Book* MS).

gouernayle of the planetis", turns to the twelve signs of the zodiac.[21] These signs, we are told, "buth not propre bestis as it schewith here, but bi weye of philosophie thei ben lickned to suche bestis" [f 60^{r}]. Furthermore, it is explained that the "firmament" has twelve parts, each having a "certeyne noumbre of sterres assigned to hym", and that these signs are "clepud | the propre houses of the *seven* planetis in which thei reste and abide a certeyne tyme" [f 60^{v}]. The opening, therefore, emphasises the technical, or at least attempts to explain succinctly and in everyday language complex cosmological structures; there is no suggestion that the reader will have any difficulty in comprehending, say, the relationship between the names of the planets and those of the days of the week. Rather, the information given here is accessible and to the point, and convoluted or difficult theories are avoided; for example, that the twelve signs are associated with twelve "bestis" is not fully justified nor properly elucidated, and the reader must be satisfied with the vague assertion that this is "bi weye of philosophie" [f 60^{r}]. Linked to the notion that the material is simplified for a non-professional readership is the inclusion of a rather curious phrase - "thei buth nomore to seie in Englisch" [f 60^{r}] – indicative perhaps of a more sophisticated source text, or of difficult concepts in the source which, for whatever reason, cannot be translated into the vernacular.

The lack of commitment to detail as regards the scientific phenomena being discussed might suggest that the *Wise Book* concerns itself more with the philosophical rather than the astronomical, and for a portion of the text at least this is an emerging pattern. In keeping with the philosophical, religious aspect spoken about by its editors (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 3), authority is further established through reference to biblical events and personae, with the prognosticary aspect of the discussion on the signs of the zodiac taking on a secondary importance. Each sign, beginning with Aries, is associated with a character or occurrence from the Bible, and a prognostication, or character trait,

[21] The actual *ordinatio* is significantly different to what is laid out in the crude list of contents; a debate (not mentioned in the prologue) follows the exposition on the twelve signs, then the following are treated of: the circles of the firmament; the elements and complexions; the reign of the planets; the seven days of the week and the influence of planets on each, and on the behaviour and appearance of humans.

is offered for people born under each sign.[22] These predictions are connected to the characters or events normally based on the animal or figure(s) by which each sign of the zodiac is represented and, in some instances, the prediction made has a direct connection to the outcome of the biblical event or the fate of the character involved. The sign of Aries, for example:

> regneth in the monthe of Marche, for in that signe God made the worlde. And this signe Aries is clepud the signe of a ram. For as muche as Abraham made his offringe to God of a ram for his sone Ysaac, whoso is bore in this signe schal be dredeful, and he schal haue grete grace [f 61^{r}].

The connection made here is logical and sensible: Abraham's sacrifice on behalf of Isaac is associated with the animal that would be recognisable as the symbol for Aries.[23] However, less clear is the significance of this association; the person born under the sign will be "dredeful" and have "grete grace" [24] but it is not, however, entirely clear whether the character traits of a person will be in some way similar to those of either Abraham or Isaac. Similarly, the sign of Leo is connected, appropriately enough, to the prophet Daniel - the person influenced by this sign will be a "bolde theef and hardy" [f 62^{r}] - and Pisces, associated with Jonah, will have a "gracius and happy" [f 63^{v}] existence.[25] In other instances, however, there would appear to be little relation between the sign/symbol and the biblical reference; for Scorpio we are merely informed that those born in that sign "schal haue many angres and tribulaciou*n*s", just as, the "children of Israel passeden thorughout the Rede See" [f 62^{v}].[26] Here, the prognostication is directly linked to the Exodus from Egypt and the accompanying difficulties, but does not relate directly to the zodiacal sign. Some signs are linked with important Christian concepts and figures from the New Testament; "Oure Ladie Seint Marie" remained a "clene maide" after the birth of Jesus, and she is therefore connected to the sign of Virgo [f 62^{r}]; Aquarius is linked to John the

[22] The Biblical events or characters are drawn from both the Old and New Testaments, and in the case of the former, almost exclusively from Genesis and Exodus, but also incorporating references to Daniel, Jonah and Esdras, among others, thus breaking the Latin scheme of adherence largely to the first two books of the Old Testament (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 103).
[23] Gen. 22: 1-18.
[24] *dredeful*: "respectful, God-fearing, devout" *MED* dredeful *adj.* 1.(a).
[25] Dan. 6; Jon. 1: 15-21; 2: 1-10; *hardy*: "bold, resolute", *MED* hardi *adj.*1.(a).
[26] Exod. 14:21-31; *tribulaciou*n(s): "physical affliction, suffering, oppression, persecution", *MED* tribulacioun *n.*(a).

Baptist, and Libra with Judas' betrayal of Jesus.[27] The outcome of this association with Judas is, unsurprisingly, negative ("who so is borne in this signe schal be a wickid man *and* a traitour, and on an euel dethe schal deie" [f 62^{v}]); however, neither are the predictions for those signs associated with Mary and John the Baptist entirely positive. The person born under Virgo will be "a wise man, and with su*m* gile or cause he schal be blamed" [f 62^{r}], and the Aquarian "schal be neccligent and lese his þinges" [f 63^{r}].[28] Some connections, though at first apparently negative, have more pleasing outcomes: Capricorn is connected with the Jews who "leften the blessinge of Criste", but whoever is born under Capricorn "schal be riche and louynge" [f 63^{r}].

Biblical motifs such as those described here are commonly found in vernacular pseudo-scientific texts in both verse and prose.[29] The verse text "The Disposition of Man by the Zodiac", a version of which occurs in Oxford, Bodleian L, MS Digby 88 (Bd), also a *Wise Book* manuscript, features almost identical links to the Bible, with similar outcomes and implications.[30] They are also particular to lunary texts, such as the prose text "XXX Dies lune", which precedes the *Wise Book* in London, British L, MS Egerton 827 (El). In this lunary, the secular prognostications are framed, using a biblical person or event to introduce and establish the prediction, for example: "The fyrste day of þe Mone was Adam mad, þat day is good *and* profytabele all werke*s* to werke…" [f 11^{r}]. Each prediction also ends with a fragment from each of the first thirty psalms.[31] Of course biblical motifs and psalm line fragments infuse the text with authority, but they may also have contributed to or affected the reading both of scientific texts, such as the *Wise Book*, and texts of a similar nature, like lunaries. Such references in an otherwise secular and scientific text are familiar; by their inclusion, they convince the reader that the text is safe and authoritative, and

[27] Mark 1: 9-11; Matt. 26: 14-16, Mark 14: 10.
[28] *gile*: "a crafty or fraudulent trick; a plot, stratagem, wile; a lie", *MED* gile *n.*3.1.(a).
[29] See Taavitsainen (1988, pp. 101-07) and (Braswell) Means (1993, pp. 30-2).
[30] Edited by Mooney (1981a, p. 284).
[31] Transcription mine. "XXX Dies lune" has not been fully edited; Dr Julianne Nyhan of the Dept. of History, UCC, and I have produced a digital edition of this lunary (forthcoming). It is very similar in content to the verse text, "The Thyrtty Days of the Mone", which is found in many MSS, among them the *Wise Book* witnesses Bl, Bd and H (see Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 122-124, 166 (the latter has a reproduction of El, f 10^{r}). Taavitsainen, however, incorrectly transcribes the psalm fragment; it should read "*beatus vir qui non…*" [Psalm 1] (1988, p. 71).

the prayer fragments ensure that they are mindful of their devotional duties. They can also be comforting; Taavitsainen suggests that it was a common superstition that sentences or phrases from the Bible could act as amulets or charms of a sort, protecting the reader from evil (1988, p. 104).[32] It seems likely that references to biblical persons or events, and psalm fragments, are present to both inspire and instruct the reader; the prologue to the verse lunary entitled "The Thyrrty Days of the Moon" reveals a concern with more than just prognostication:

> Alle thyngis that be writun
> As þese wise clerkis writen
> Wrytten þei ben for oure p*ro*fijt,
> For oure solas and oure delijt.
> So saide Seynt Poul in his sawe
> That was techer of Goddys lawe [Bd, f 64[r]]; (Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 85-6).

This three-fold claim - to provide profit, 'solas', or comfort, and delight – can offer clues as to the merging of religious and scientific material and the practice and consequences of different levels of reading such texts. The information provided is certainly profitable, in that the text is a manual of sorts, for timing one's actions for the best possible outcome. Comfort is perhaps provided by references to psalms and the reassurance that prayer will help the onset of a fated outcome; delight may come with the recognition of common biblical events and persons (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 156). In this sense, parallels can be drawn with religious didactic literature which, as Morey asserts, offers "wisdom and comfort: the wisdom to lead a Christian life, and the comfort of knowing that salvation accrues from so living" (2005, p. 183).[33] It is likely that similar responses may have been evoked by our text; this, however, will be the subject of another section, where it will be examined in more detail.[34]

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[32] Taavitsainen also notes that biblical motifs replaced myths and references to classical deities (1988, p. 102).

[33] The prologue to the lunary echoes too Chaucer's promise to tell "[T]ales of best sentence and moost solas" (*GP* 798), stories which instruct as well as providing consolation and amusement (Morey, 2005, p. 183). The notion commonly found in 'literary' texts of the Middle Ages – the intention to tell stories which instruct as well as provide consolation and amusement – found its way into works of science and instruction too.

[34] Section 2, *Contexts and Publics* (below).

In keeping with the text's attempt to clarify and elucidate potentially complex philosophical concepts, and thereby in keeping with the title of the text, which promises to treat of philosophy as well as astronomy, the narrative turns from a systematic examination of the twelve signs, and the fates of people born under each, to a consideration of the issues of predestination and free will. This section of the text has a more discursive, less rigid structure, and, albeit didactic, gives the impression of being reported, or of having been dictated, a sense which is heightened by the use of phrases such as "nouer the latter" [f 63^{v}] to indicate changes in the focus of the discussion. This change in focus is textually achieved in its switch to the mode of a debate between two philosophers; this further infuses the text, and the information being imparted, with authority, and presumably effects ease of transmission of ideas and concepts. This section of the text is introduced with a review of what has already been examined, but mentions only the seven planets, which are merely named but not described or discussed, as a precursor to an examination of their influence. The discussion which follows represents a desire by the author-compiler to distinguish between the seemingly preordained fate of man - decided upon according to time of birth - and the ability, and responsibility, of each person to control or respond to given predictions and outcomes. It is primarily acknowledged that the planets indeed have an influence on behaviour:

> ...hit is to vnderstonde that what man is bore in eny oure of þe daie, in the whiche regneth eny of the *seven* planetis, he schal be apte and disposid to good or to euel after the influence and constellacioun of the planet in the whiche he is borne in [f 63^{v}].

Here, it is explicitly stated that, quite apart from the month of birth (and, therefore, the appropriate zodiacal sign) being a significant factor, there are more immediate and more specific forces of influence according to the planet that reigns in the *hour* of birth. Such an influence is inherently behavioural - the person will be "apte and disposid to good or to euel" – with an implied moral concern, as opposed to the influence of the zodiac, which pertains generally to the characterological or to matters of prognostication.[35] Contrary to this,

[35] *apte*: "inclined or disposed...susceptible", *MED* apt *adj.*2.(b, c); *disposid*: "having an inclination or aptitude", *MED* disposed *v.*5.(a).

however, it is explained that despite the rather rigid assertion that the influence of the planets is inescapable, and that by chance of birth a person will be good or evil, the reader is assured that neither the planets nor the constellations

> constreyneth a man to good | or to euyl, ffor whi bi a mannes owne good wille and the grace of God comynge before, and bi his owne good lyuynge, he may do good though he were disposid to do euel after the nature and the influence of his planete [f 64^{r}].

On the other hand, it is also made clear that a man predisposed to good "bi his planet" may through his "owne fre wil, and by the couetynge of a manys herte and his ey3en", equally do evil [f 64^{r}]. Free will, therefore, when it comes to good and evil, does not always lead to the correct choice, and a predisposition to evil can be altered by "good wille".

The struggle between predeterminism and free will, between good and evil, and the deference to the authority and wisdom of the Bible are features of the early sections of the *Wise Book* which inform and temper the text throughout. The treatment of cosmic influence is presented in a qualified manner and with strong Christian overtones, which temper the apparent absoluteness of that influence. The universe is "depicted as a setting for the biblical events, and these are employed to justify the consequences of the states of heavens on human life" (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 138). Since astrology as a belief system pervaded all aspects of life in western Europe, "less a separate discipline than an aspect of generally accepted world view" (Thomas, 1980, p. 338), and given the prevalence of Christian explanations of the "origin of the universe, the existence of evil, and the hierarchy of angels" (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 27), the blending of biblical motifs and astrological and astronomical theories was, perhaps, a necessity. Medieval theories of astronomy/astrology were eventually accepted by the Church in the later Middle Ages, along with fundamental ideas of the structure of the universe, as derived chiefly from Aristotle, and Ptolemy, "a hierarchy of concentric spheres, with the Earth at the centre, the Empyreum (sic) at the periphery, and the various heavenly spheres between" (North, 1988, p. 10).[36] The hierarchical sense of order would have appealed to the Church, as would the

[36]Also and more commonly referred to as the empyrean (from Greek *empurios*, referring to the highest part of heaven).

image of "an Earth-centred universe", and a "theocentric world" in a moral sense (North, 1988, p. 10). The *Wise Book*'s author-compiler, it would seem, has a vested interest in acknowledging these theological and moral concerns, whilst concurrently adhering to the authoritative model of the heavens;[37] the discussion of the order of the cosmos therefore, is offset throughout with reminders that "atte the begynnynge … god made hem" [the eleven heavens and so on] [f 59^{v}]. Also stressed is the crucial point that the "erthe" is the "centre of al the world" [f 66^{r}], and that of the eleven heavens, the first and highest is "the trone of our saueour" and "the place of God and of holy seintis" [f 66^{v}].[38] Ultimately, therefore, the medieval Church condemned judicial astrology but accepted its "basic tenets … that the heavens gave man his general character and inclination, but they could not compel him against the wise exercise of preventative conduct" (Chapman, 1979, p. 275; qtd. in Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 28).[39] These concerns are played out, therefore, in the textual milieu of a debate, ideally suited to the clarification and explanation of complex oppositions.

Consequently, it is this very opposition – the conflict between providence and free will – which informs the debate section of the *Wise Book*, and which allows us to locate the text in a more learned tradition. This tradition would implicitly include Boethius; his *Consolation of Philosophy*, a chiefly prose dialogue concerned with the tension between fortune and providence, was widely known and drawn upon in the Middle Ages, and it effectively provided "a secure foundation for a Christian belief in an all-benevolent Creator-God…with the help of natural reason" (Utz, 2005, p. 161).[40] The influence of Boethian thinking on this short debate would have been clear and recognisable to a medieval audience, and would have gone some way to easing potential conflict between ideas of providence and predeterminism. As Taavitsainen asserts, "the

[37] See Lewis (1964, pp. 92-102) for a clear introduction to the theory and workings of this system.
[38] North refers to the "difficulties in reconciling the astronomers' Earth-centred scheme with the theologians' theocentric style of discourse", and the need to present the world as orderly, especially in a theological sense (1988, p. 10).
[39] Eade distinguishes between natal and judicial astrology, the first "casting "nativities" for the moment of birth, the second erecting "figures" to answer particular questions" (qtd. in (Braswell) Means, 1992 p. 367). As Lewis puts it, the Church fought not against astrology but its "offshoots": the practice of astrological prediction, the inherent determinism of astrology, and the worship of planets (1964, pp. 103-4).
[40] Indeed some contemporary readers would have realised Boethius' importance for Aristotelian philosophy, and hence for the *auctoritas* of the *Wise Book*; the form taken, that of *consolatio*, had become "a kind of moral medication" (J. Martha, qtd. in Watts, 1986, p. 19).

outlines of the world order were commonly known"; this tension, ultimately between religion and astrology, centred on the question of predestination and free will, a debate that is played out in our text (1988, pp. 27-8). Taavitsainen also notes that similar issues are addressed in the writings of St Augustine, for example, and it continued to be a topic of debate and discussion for centuries (1988, p. 28); the *Wise Book*, at once encyclopaedic (and, by implication, theoretical) and practical, moves to resolve the issue relatively quickly.[41] The debate's central message is that predestination, presumably in terms of time and date of birth, and depending on the influence of a particular planet, can be negated by the "grace of God" and by man's "own good wille...and lyuynge" [f 64^{r}]. The conclusions reached by the philosopher's debate have, to all intents and purposes, been reached before the debate begins; the philosophers' discussion is didactic, and advises what may best be described as a moderate level of interest in cosmic affairs, ensuring that the reader is all the while mindful of, and clear on, the basic tenets of Christianity. This moderation is even reflected in the choice of vocabulary used to refer to (and temper) the effects of planetary influence; men are "apte and disposid", which is suggestive of a tendency, and something which can be altered with guidance, rather than an unyielding and preordained condition.

Thus Christian, and Boethian, concepts and texts not only inform and texture but also, as we shall see, play a part in the resolution of the debate on the matter of predeterminism. In the *Wise Book*, the debate follows a brief consideration of man's predisposition to good or to evil. The philosophers remain unnamed, but the reader may take it, since he is alluded to from the outset, that one of the philosophers is intended to be Aristotle himself. However, it is not made clear which one he is, since within the so-called dispute neither one is given prominence.[42] The first philosopher takes up the "argument" that a man may do evil, though he is disposed, in terms of his planetary influence, to do good. He argues for predestination using St Paul, whom he says:

[41] Taavitsainen reckons that this issue, initiated in debate by Augustine, and carried on in the *Wise Book*, reflects "the level of the tract", which, she asserts, is practical in approach, but attempts, like encyclopaedic text, to present knowledge from a theoretical perspective (1988, pp. 138, 32).

[42] I contend that the second philosopher (the respondent) is intended to represent Aristotle, since it is he who concludes the debate.

> rehersith in Holy Scripture that ther buth euyl daies…and in the kalendar also hit is declared that ther buth many dismales, that is to sey euel days and vngracious [f 64^{v}].[43]

As well as citing Paul, the first philosopher also uses "philosophres of olde law" as sources, stating that, according to them, dismal days came about when men were "scomfited" in battle, and they accorded that day "dismal in here kalenders".[44] Alternatively, if victory was won on the battlefield, "than louede thei and thonked God *and* worschepden that daie" [f 64^{v}]. The second philosopher's response is introduced with a reminder to his colleague (and also, presumably, to the reader) that:

> God made al thinges good | in here kynde withoute faute or lak, as the planetis and þe sterris *and* the elementis, the monthis and the daies, man and beste, and al other thingis benethe hem [f 65^{r}].

Furthermore it is argued that "by this skile" nothing, including days, can be evil or dismal, since everything made by God is inherently good [f 65^{r}]. The first philosopher continues by acknowledging the Creation but with reference to the fall of Lucifer who, along with his legion of followers, infected and corrupted the stars, planets and elements as they fell, and "bi this cause sum*m*e buth good and sum*m*e beth euel, after the influence…of the spirit*us* that fellen at that tyme doun oute of the tenth heuene" [f 65^{v}]. This leads the first philosopher to conclude that "mannys p*re*destinacioun is sothe, if it be wel det*er*mined bi weie of philosophie"; since man is generally influenced, he says, by three things – the seven planets, the twelve signs, and the four elements – it is by these that he will have "his fortune and his infortune, his bonchef and his mischef, his maneris and his complecciou*n*s" [f 66^{r}].[45]

The debate feature, while a relatively short section, is an important part of the text, both in terms of structure and regarding the instructions and philosophies intended to be conveyed to the reader. Structurally, it provides an

[43] There does not appear to be a reference in the epistles of St Paul to good or evil/perilous days. Paul, however, mentions predestination in Rom. 8: 29-30. Taavitsainen notes that "the passage in the [*Wise Book*] has the right authority…but the explanation is more in tune with popular beliefs than with a theological debate", referring to the subsequent explanation of the existence of evil days (1988, p. 151 n. 7).

[44] *scomfited*: conquered, defeated, *MED* scomfiten *v.*1.(a).

[45] *bonchef*: "good luck, success, welfare, prosperity", *MED* bon-chef *n.*1.(a).

interlude for the reader, following as it does the lengthy, list-format section on the twelve signs of the zodiac, and preceding a similarly listed description of the circles of the firmament. As mentioned, it has the sense of being an informal discussion, which is at once didactic and accessible, as opposed to the preceding item, in which the information is presented as absolute – to be learned and recalled, say, rather than to induce contemplation or open discussion. The debate engages the reader, allowing access to an active discussion between two literary figures; it also functions to provoke individual thought, or imitating the actions of the two philosophers, discussion between a pair, or within a group or community. Given that in the culture of the late Middle Ages, debating was "dimensioned … practically as well as textually" (Fletcher, 2005, p. 241), this format would have been appealing to a medieval audience, and an effective way in which to transmit a message or certain information. That the debate is inherently didactic, however, is qualified by its informality, and by its discursive tone; undoubtedly, the primary function of the section is to clarify certain key concepts, and thus the debate figures the philosophers as authorities, with an intimate knowledge of the Bible and the skill to utilise that knowledge. It is significant, therefore, that this section, considered as part of the whole text or taken as a stand alone piece, may have provoked further discussion amongst an audience of readers or listeners; the text, having focused thus far on the astronomical/astrological, takes on a distinctly more philosophical tone. Such a change in focus may well have prompted a similar discussion amongst an audience of readers or listeners; an awareness of such possible responses are useful when we come to think about the ways in which the text was used and how the material was manipulated in what Fletcher terms a "debate conscious" society (2005, p. 242).[46] The philosophers induce the debate, which may then be continued or developed by the audience; since, too, the discussion reaches rather an unsatisfactory conclusion (summed up with the catch-all phrase "bi weie of philosophie" [f 66^{r}]), there is an implicit invitation to readers to consider – or debate - the matter further.

[46] Though he largely discusses debate in verse, Fletcher notes that debates, as well as being conducted "on parchment", were also "real-time events, played out in a host of institutional settings" (2005, p. 241).

That the dispute is not fully concluded, however, does not diminish the status of the philosophers; they are presented as learned and sage, able secondary authorities who interpret and elucidate biblical evidence – which is seen as a "skile" – applying it to the argument at hand. To a lesser degree, they also use other authorities, which are not afforded any kind of detail and, one can assume, are mentioned for effect only; there is a non-specific allusion to "philosophres of the olde lawe" [f 64^{v}], which infers an exclusive access to ancient knowledge and secrets, accentuated in the repeated use of the phrase "bi weie of philosophie" [f 66^{r}]. It is apparently unnecessary to expound on these sources, especially since the Bible is, in this section and in varying degrees of detail and focus, used both as authority and a source throughout the *Wise Book*.

The use of the Bible in the debate section contrasts distinctly to its deployment in the preceding description of the signs, where it is paraphrased for effect; here it provides evidence and supports the argument. Since the Bible has the greatest degree of *auctoritas* in the medieval hierarchy (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 93), it is unsurprising that it should feature so prominently, even in a secular, 'scientific' tract. As mentioned above, by the late thirteenth century the Church found itself accepting astrology and astronomy, provided "God's omnipotence and man's freedom were preserved" (Tester, 1987, p. 201); the *Wise Book*'s author-compiler is careful to uphold and acknowledge both and is at pains to provide acceptable reasons for the existence of evil influence in the natural world. In the case of the philosophers' debate, for example, the fall of Lucifer is used to explain theories relating to the influence of various planets; Lucifer and his "felowes" owe their demise to sin, and they fell "su*m*me heigher and su*m*me lower" [f 65^{v}], thus corrupting certain stars, elements and planets. The fall of Lucifer was, as a motif, important in an understanding of the order of the cosmos; it provided a framework, or a pathway, through which man must progress in mortal life (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 28). Here, however, biblical paraphrase is utilised in a specific manner and to a certain end: to emphasise that there are negative aspects to planetary influence, and to expound on the moral dilemma of good and evil influence, an issue introduced by the first philosopher's evocation of the Creation. Everything made by God, he says, is by nature good; it is only through

the actions of individuals that this inherent goodness is compromised, despite the acknowledgement that God made man "after his owne schap" [f 65^{r}].[47] As well as the fall of Lucifer, St Paul's writings ("Holy Scripture" [f 64^{v}]) are evoked by way of clarification, albeit out of context; we are told that Paul expounds on the concept of "euel daies" or "dismales" [f 64^{v}];[48] days which are "vngracious" and with negative connotations are distanced from any association with the Creator with the explanation that such influences are because of men and their wars [f 64^{v}]. Thus, the Bible is used both as authority and source, but the reader is consistently reminded of the absence of moral issues at the Creation – any infection and corruption that exists is due either to man's misuse of free will, or to Lucifer.

Following the break in narrative provided by the discursive instruction of the debate, the text returns to a list-like description of the features of the cosmos. This section begins with a matter-of-fact statement of intent - "[F]orto knowe al the sercles of the firmament and þe sterris" [f 66^{r}] – a simple statement with the intention of conveying certain, specific information to the reader. The distinctly theoretical, conceptual and theological discussion that has gone before has provided readers with the information necessary to progress with reading, and learning from, the text. However, the abrupt shift in register from a discussion to a similarly informative yet inflexible manner of instruction indicates that readers could, should they so choose, decide to skip the debate section entirely; it is quite likely that certain readers may have been more comfortable with the type of less fluid, unchanging detail provided by the sections surrounding the debate, either preferring not to be challenged by the issues discussed or to engage in debate with others. This section in New York, Columbia University, MS Plimpton 260 (P), for example, does not have a separate heading, but it is ostensibly distinguished from the preceding one by a paraph and a two-line deep decorated initial 'F', with the effect that it visually alerts the reader to the textual division [f 66^{r}].

Significant here too is the style of language and vocabulary, functioning to afford the reader a three-dimensional image of what the cosmic system looks

[47] Gen. 1:27.
[48] See n. 43 (above) on the actual content of Paul's scripture and its relevance to predestination.

like. Whereas the debate section presupposes, to an extent, a basic knowledge of this system, at least enough to conceptualise and comprehend the implications of Lucifer's fall, the section following does not assume that readers will have had preconceptions about, or access to descriptions of the workings of the universe.[49] Thus, the concepts explored here are presented in a deliberate, logical manner, described with minimal reliance on technical (or Latin) phrases, and explained with, it would appear, the amateur reader in mind. Appropriately, therefore, the emphasis is on shape and dimension, features that allow the reader to visualise the system:

> …heuene is rounde in the maner of a rerid spere, in the middes of whiche hongeth the Erthe of a [*sic*] centre of al the worlde. Heuene is deuided in twelve speres that ma | kith eleven heuenes as hit is toforeseide [f 66^{r-v}].[50]

This attempt at a three-dimensional description – enabling the reader to imagine what a model of the heavens might look like – is an important but understated aspect of this section, and is something which is suggested more than once throughout. *Wise Book* texts tend not to be complemented with illustrations, less still with complex diagrams of the Ptolemaic system of concentric heavenly spheres, and while some of its companion texts are enhanced with diagrams, such as charts, *tabulae* and vein men, there are no visual aids, by and large, in the extant witnesses, to enable the reader to understand better the *Wise Book*'s textual imaginings of the cosmos.[51] Thus the author-compiler, anticipating this problem, uses analogies with which the reader may be familiar; further on in the text, the earth is described as being round as an apple, with hell being likened to the kernel at its centre.[52]

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[49] The preceding section assumes that the reader has grasped certain concepts, for example, that hell is the "deppest part" inside the sphere of the Earth, and that the system of concentric spheres meant that some were "infecte and corruptid" by the Fall from Grace [f 65^{v}].

[50] New York, Columbia University, Plimpton MS 260 (P) reads "21 speres", which I have corrected to twelve. This, presumably, is a case of the scribe mistakenly reversing the digits; the *Wise Book* contained in C2 has "12 spiris", and contextually this figure makes more sense (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 9).

[51] One exception is Oxford, Bodleian L, MS Digby 88 (Bd), which has "a table of the seuyn planets", a diagram of nine concentric circles with legends indicating the distances between the various planets at f 61^{r-v} (Horner, 1987, p. 37); this is, however, not part of the *Wise Book* text. Also, Tokyo, Takamiya MS 39 (T) has planetary tables, in Latin and French, which accompany the *Wise Book*.

[52] Earth "is the laste element and lowist. This is hangynge and mouynge in the myddil of þe rounde spere of the firmament, as a centre that is sette in þe myddis of a sercle; and this element

Whereas the debate, since it interrupts the flow of the description of the heavens, may have been incorporated into the text from a separate source, the present section frequently refers to what has gone before, such as the mention of the eleven heavens (at f 59^{v} in (P)); this awareness suggests that the main body of the *Wise Book* (that is, excluding the philosophers' debate) was either copied from one complete source, or that the author-compiler was keen to connect pieces of information by referring the reader back to previous sections. Phrases such as "as hit is toforesaide" [f 66^{v}] within the text serve particular needs on the part of both author-compiler and audience: they suggest to the reader that the author-compiler or scribe has an intimate knowledge of the text, implying familiarity not only with it but also with the subject at hand. They also function as prompts; the reader now knows that, earlier in the *Wise Book*, the eleven heavens have been mentioned, perhaps in a different context or in terms of a different discussion. The reader may wish to backtrack and check what has gone before, or may read on to determine whether the forthcoming section will be relevant to their purpose. Although finding aids and devices were becoming increasingly popular in late-medieval vernacular texts, not all texts were supported by indices and tables of contents; thus textual cues may have, in the absence of apparatus, aided the reader, provided reminders of what has gone before and, perhaps, inspired reader confidence in the text and its content. It may also point to the usage of the text, since structurally it is apt for selective reading; such cues would certainly assist the reader in cross-referencing, or may facilitate a crude searching or skimming of the text.

This section names each of the eleven spheres, or circles, of the firmament in Latin; some are then consigned additional detail, seemingly according to the relevance of that detail to the subject under examination. The eleventh heaven, for example, is introduced as being the "firste *and* heiest…*Celum empireum fixum* et *motum*", described as being the throne of "our Saueour" and the "place of God and holy seintis" [f 66^{v}].[53] The ninth heaven, however, "*Cristallum vel applanes*", is "vnmouable".[54] The detail provided here is scanty, and perhaps an indication

Erthe is rounde as an appel, as al oþer buth, in þe myddis of whiche Erþe is þe pit of helle ryght as the blak kyrnel lith in þe myddes of an appel" [f 69^{v}].

[53] *Celum empireum fixum* et *motum*: "heaven of the empyrean" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 9).

[54] *Cristallum vel applanes*: "crystalline and unmoving" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 9).

that an audience would not require supplementary information concerning the first four heavens; the exception, however, is the eighth, referred to also by its Latin name: "*Celum signor*um *et sideru*m"; this is the heaven that is home to "the twelve signes with alle the sterris…of the whiche philosofres finden in here bokis to werk þerwith many | craftes" [f 67^{r}].[55] Since this, allegedly, is the sphere that provides the author-compiler, and others, with the material and authority to write the *Wise Book*, and since its function is directly pertinent also to the reader, the description of the eighth is more detailed even than that of the eleventh (the Empryean).

This trend is reflected when we come to the identification of the remaining seven spheres. Because these are home to the planets, which have a direct effect on earthly life, their features and properties are afforded more space and additional detail than those preceding. Thus we learn that Saturn circles the earth "onys in thirty wint*er*", and is "malicious *and* wickid, hote and drie"; it is also explained that Saturn is "sette heighest of al his felawis. For if he stod lowest as the Mone dothe, he schulde distroie man and beste". By nature Saturn is characterised by five things: "malencolie, elde, heruest, *and* colde wyndes *and* drye as northerne wyndes buth in Erthe" [f 67^{r}]. The lower six spheres and planets are similarly described: their properties, or what is "ordeyned" [f 67^{v}] to them (childhood, blood, sickness, and so on); whether their influence is positive or negative; and how often they circle the firmament, down to "*Celum lune*", which being closest to the Earth, "goth aboute the sign twelve tymes in the 3ere, and this is the cause and the makynge of the twelve mo*n*this" [f 68^{v}].[56]

This formulaic treatment of the seven planets varies, however, with the rehearsal of the properties and the influence of the Sun; that the Sun is given more attention is unsurprising, given that its importance is stressed

[55] *Celum signorum* et *sideru*m: "heaven of signs and stars" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 9). North notes that, instead of having a name, this was commonly referred to as the 'eighth sphere', and that "no reader was in any doubt" as to the implications of this reference. Here, it is named and explained, probably in consideration of amateur readers (1988, p. 26). Perhaps the most famous literary reference to this sphere occurs in *Troilus and Criseyde*; the "goost" of Troilus (who has been slain by Achilles), makes its way to the "holughnesse of the eighthe spere, / In convers letynge everich element; / And ther he saugh with ful avysement / The erratik sterres…" (V, ll. 1809-12) (Benson, 1987, p. 584). However, some versions have him in the seventh sphere, and Benson notes the confusion regarding where Chaucer began his count – from the earth outward or vice versa (1987, p. 1057).

[56] The Moon "takes roughly a month to circuit the stars" (North, 1988, p. 24).

subsequently in the *Wise Book*.[57] It is acknowledged that philosophers "in diuerse places" have "diuerse names" for this sphere: "*Zodiacus*", "*Circulus animalu*m", "*Circulus generacionis* et *corupconis*", and "*Circulus obliquus*" [f 67^{v}].[58] It is also explained that the sun moves through this sphere (which is here called *Zodiacus*) in a line, which "is clepud in Latyn *Ecliptica*" [f 68^{r}]. The path of the Sun, or the ecliptic, is one of particular importance, moving as it does through the fixed stars at an inclined angle, meaning that the Sun can only lie on the equator twice a year, at the equinox (North, 1988, p. 24).[59] However, the text confuses the ecliptic with an eclipse, stating that "whan the Mone is in the lyne hit is clepud *Ecliptica*...þan falleth the eclips of the Mone thorughoute the worlde" [f 68^{r}]. This, according to the text, is an eclipse, "an interposicioun of the erthe...betwixe the Sonne and the Mone". This attempted explanation is not at all clear, although the basic premise is correct. The absence of clarity stems from the confusion of these very similar words; in actuality, if the Moon crosses the ecliptic (such points of crossing are nodes) during a new moon or full moon, an eclipse will occur. [60]

Prompted, it would seem, by this scrutiny of the properties of the spheres and their seven planets, the focus now shifts to a treatment of the four elements. This progression is perfectly logical, turning as it does from the celestial to the sublunary spheres of "fire, eyre, water and erthe" [f 69^{r}]. In that reverse order Aristotle had, in *De caelo*, decided that the "natural motion of the element earth was downward", and so the other three elements existed in spheres above that of the earth, mirroring both the celestial and the earthly, but subject to "change,

[57] For example, at f 76^{r}: "the Sonne is the eye of the worlde, the fayrenes of the firmament, the lyghter of þe Mone and of alle othir planetis, of whom þe day taketh his beynge, for the day is non othir thynge but the spredynge of the Sonne vpon the Erþe. For the philosofre seith that men may not come forthe ne be norsched with oute vertu of the Sonne. For a man gendreth a man wiþ the Sonne". The Sun's importance is also stressed by Lewis, who points out that "[the medieval] system is in one sense more heliocentric than ours" (1964, p. 111).

[58] *Circulus animalu*m: "circle of animals"; *Circulus generacionis* et *corupconis*: "circle of generation and corruption"; *Circulus obliquus*: "slanting circle" (Krochalis and Peters, 1975, p. 10).

[59] This inclination, "twenty three and a half degrees to the celestial equator", can probably account for the name *Circulus obliquus* (North, 1988, p. 24).

[60] Also mentioned are the "hede or...the taile of draconus" – *Caput Draconis* and *Cauda Draconis* – the north and south nodes of the Moon respectively. These are the points on the ecliptic where the orbit of the Moon crosses from north to south latitude and vice versa. They are mentioned here in connection with eclipses since eclipses occur only near to the lunar nodes.

growth and decay" (North, 1988, p. 16). The *Wise Book* continues the earthward momentum by looking first at the "spere of fire", which is:

> heieste *and* in kynde it is hote and drie, and maketh rede blode, coler and thynne, *and* engendreth sikenes of feuer tercian and the agu [f 69^{r}].[61]

Each element is briefly discussed in this manner, with the specific properties and features outlined. Like the Sun in the preceding analysis, however, the Earth is presented as the most important of the four; being the last element, and the lowest, it "is in kynde colde *and* drie, and 3eldeth blak blode, malancolye and a partie waterie" [f 69^{v}]. It is also made clear that the Earth is at the centre of the firmament, with hell at its core;[62] the manifest darkness associated with the Earth is, however, contrasted by the lines directly following:

> ...as Holy Writte declareth, after the daie of dome...this forseide Erthe element þa*n* schal be a 1000 tymes brighter | þan eny cristal or p*re*cious ston; so ferforth that they that buth in bitter peynes of helle schul se euermore, thorugh the bri3tnes of this element Erthe, alle the blisful ioyes of heuenes, and þ*at* sight schal be more peyne vnto hem than alle þe peynes of helle [f 70^{r}].

Again, scripture, specifically the Book of Revelation is employed to provide an explanation of how the cosmic system will be altered at the "day of dome" when there is promised "a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away" (Revelation 21:1). The earth will be rendered bright and shining, as opposed to its current state, under which it has a rotten core, or "pit". Earlier in the *Wise Book*, "Holy Writte" is engaged to account for the status quo; here, however, it is used to illustrate the eventual reordering of this system, and, more importantly perhaps, to warn readers, evocatively, of the dangers of mortal sin, emphasised by the risk of suffering not just the torment of hell, but the sight of the "blissful ioyes of heuenes" which will ultimately characterise this sphere. The description can be related to that of the New Jerusalem: "her light was like unto a stone most precious...clear as crystal" (Revelation 21:11). While warnings against sin and poor choices are not explicitly stated, the reader may

[61] *feuer tercian*: fever characterised by paroxysms every third day (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 11); *agu*: the account of the sphere of fire also contains the rather strange assertion that the sicknesses (presumably) occur "in somer tyme aboute the mydde ou*er* none" (the ninth canonical hour).
[62] The analogy of the apple and core is also drawn upon here (see n. 52).

recall previous sections of the text, advising that one's destiny can be controlled through good living, and by the grace of God. Again, didactics are a strong feature of the *Wise Book*, and exemplified here is the duality of function – that the text seeks to educate practically and advise or remind the reader of the importance of spiritual health.

The macro– to microcosm format of the text, reflective of the 'head to toe' principle common to many medieval medical texts in particular, is carried on with a treatment of the four complexions (or humours): "euery man lyuynge here in Erthe hath *four* complexioun*s* whiche buth in hym", namely "Colre, Sanguyn, Fflewme and Malancolie" [f 70^{r}]. It was believed that the four contraries combined to form the elements, and this process is mirrored in the human body, where they form complexions; the proportion in which these complexions are blended "differs from one man to another and constitutes his *complexio* or *temperamentum*" (Lewis, 1964, pp. 169-70). This is explained in the *Wise Book*, prior to the detailed descriptions of the complexions, in the following manner:

> …if euery man hathe alle these *four*, 3it hat he but on complexiou*n* that hath his do*mi*naciou*n* and maistry ouer hym, bi the whiche eche man is reulid and gouer|ned in kynd; as su*m*me men haue moste of Colre, and they ben in complexiou*n* colryk men [f 70^{v}]. [63]

The direct relationship between the four humours and elements is also acknowledged here: "þese *four* complexioun*s* in al thinges be acordynge in kynde to the *four* elementis" [f 70^{v}]. This is demonstrated through the pairing of each complexion with an element: "Malancolye…is in kynde colde and drie acordynge to the element of the Erthe; whoso is of this complexiou*n*, bi cause of coldnes him luste litil, and be cause of drinesse he may but litil in kynde" [f 71^{v}]. Each of the four complexions is examined in this formulaic manner, with no further commentary or elucidation in the text.

Lewis notes that, in addition to one humour having domination, or "maistry" as the *Wise Book* puts it, over each individual, there is also a "daily rhythmic variation which gives each of the four a temporary predominance" in

[63] Lewis further stresses this point: "though the proportions of the Humours is perhaps never exactly the same in any two individuals, the complexions can obviously be grouped into four main types, according to the Humour that predominates in each" (1964, p. 170).

everyone (1964, p. 173).[64] Though this concept is not referred to in the *Wise Book*'s section on the complexions, an awareness of it may be implied, since what follows is an outline of the "the sercles, *and* of the regnacioun of the *seven* planetis" [f 71^{v}].[65] In keeping, structurally, with what has gone before, information which is deemed pertinent to an understanding of the main focus of the section precedes the section itself: "[A]nd first it is to know…". The appropriate preamble here is twofold; primarily, it concerns itself with a succinct explanation of the "day natural", which "begynneþ in the morwnynge of þe day, and lasteþ to þe morwnynge of the day next sewynge, and he hathe twenty-*four* houris" [f 71^{v}].[66] Secondly, it determines that "eche planet regneth three houres *and* a poynt of the day and of the nyght, *and* þat maketh twenty-*four* houres" [f 71^{v}].[67] These succinct but accurate instructions apparently allow the reader to move forward in the text, armed with the necessary detail.

In general, these short instructions are preceded by a type of stock phrase, such as "[N]ow hit is to vndirstonde" [f 70^{r}], or "[N]ow hit is to knowe and to wete" [f 68^{v}]; here, alternatively, is one of the few instances of the use of a personal pronoun within the *Wise Book*: "[N]ow y schal declare and determyne…" [f 71^{v}]. As mentioned above, the absence of such features as first-person pronouns gives the text a specific kind of authority, that is, the sense that the words of the philosopher are being reported, but via an interpreter or translator; the words of the philosopher are, therefore, paraphrased. This voice, whether intended to be authorial or otherwise, complicates the issue of the source of the

[64] Each has a predominance of six hours, so Blood (or Sanguine) reigns from twelve a.m. to six a.m., then Choler, Melancholy, and finally Phlegm from six p.m. to midnight (Lewis, 1964, p. 173).
[65] *Sercles*: cycles; *regnacioun*: reign, domination through ascendancy ((Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 619).
[66] Explained by Robinson as follows: "Each day is divided into 12 hours, reckoned from sunrise to sunset, and 12 more, reckoned from sunset to sunrise" (1957, p. 679, n. 2217), as opposed to just the daylight hours ((Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 619). This is readdressed in the *Wise Book* at f 73^{r}, when it states: "…ther buth two maner of daies: þe day natural, and the day artificial. The artificial day lasteþ fro þe Sonne rise til the Sonne set. The natural day lasteth twenty-*four* houres, þat is to say al þe nyght and alle þe day."
[67] A planet's reign, very basically, is the time span during which the planet is on the western horizon at sunrise. The first planet to reign is that for which the day is named, that is, the sun on a Sunday, the moon on a Monday, and so on ((Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 619). Each planet reigns for three hours, followed again by the first three for a fourth hour each, making twenty-four hours; "[T]hus on Sunday the hour after sunrise was dedicated to the Sun, the second to Venus, and the 23rd also to Venus" (Robinson, 1957, p. 679 n. 2217).

information, and adds an element, too, of urgency to this section. Interestingly, the idea of voicing is developed in the ensuing formula, which details the method by which readers can measure planetary reign. The instruction here is basic and elementary; the method for determining the length of a planet's reign, for example, is described as follows:

> And it is to wete that the | planet regneth bi estimaciou*n* as longe tyme as a good reder and a deuout schulde rede twies the *seven* psalmis with the letayne. And therfor I say as by rewle that it falleth nat by estymaciou*n*; and for as muche as eche man may not haue the astrolabe, therfor it is chosen a mesure and poynt that men may lightly knowe þe houres of þe planetis [f 72^{r}].

While computational matter, such as we read here, began to be widely circulated in the fifteenth century, there was "an overall concession to popularisation", with references "to tables and charts…for the most part strictly avoided". Instead, formulae, mnemonic devices and such are "spelled out in ordinary layman's terms" ((Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 622). This formula clearly makes provision for those readers who did not have access to, or the ability to use, an astrolabe; instead everyday activities are used as devices to enable fairly accurate calculation, "since one hour is…approximately the time required to read aloud, twice, the seven penitential psalms…with the litany" ((Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 619).[68] This alternative method to the use of an astrolabe enables one to measure time "lightly" – in other words, it is accessible, and simple to use.

In addition, some versions of the *Wise Book* (such as Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.14.51 (C6) and London, British L, MS Egerton 2433 (E2)) contain similarly clear methods, firstly to distinguish between "the 'prime' as *primacio* or new moon and 'prime' as the first canonical hour" and secondly to measure that hour ((Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 620).[69] The passage reads:

> Also hit is to wete that whan þe mone yn holy chirche ys cleped pryme, hit ys þe iijde day in þis art, ffor yt goth all weye before by ij dayes. Also hit is to wete that þe first houre of eche day and of hys planet ys þe oure

[68] Psalms 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130 and 143.
[69] At ff 84^{v} – 85^{r} and f 8^{v} respectively. These instructions are omitted from the MS edited by Krochalis and Peters (C2), and also from P and A.

> þat bygyn*n*yth in the mornynge of þe day and lastith vnto þe our þat is clepyd son*n*e arysie, or elles a lytell after or elles to that ou*r*e þat is clepyd prime in the churche. And if þ*ou* wille make þe space of prime, be holde an astrolabe and if þou be vnknowyn*e* of þat crafte sette a space as longe as þ*ou* mayste goo in wynter tyme ij myle or lesse and in somertyme sett þe space of iij myle goynge, or elles sette as longe tyme as þ*ou* mayst say two nocturnes of the saut*r*e. And so may þe space bitwene an our and anothir moste sec*ur*ely be knowen ((Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 620).[70]

While readers of the medieval computus needed to be both literate and numerate, and competent at technical Latin, these formulae represent popular variations on that scheme ((Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 595). Both of these extracts, therefore, advocate a reading of specific devotional, spiritual materials as an alternative method of time measurement. A reading of either the seven penitential psalms twice, with the litany, or two nocturnes of the Psalter, according to (Braswell) Means, more or less passes the time of an hour.[71] The reader, however, must be "good", and "deuout" [f 72^{r}]; in other words, too slow a reader, or one who is unpractised at reading Latin, will not be able to measure time accurately. The reading, it seems, can be undertaken silently, or as (Braswell) Means has suggested, and as detailed in the second formula, it was vocalised, with the instruction specifically detailing that the nocturnes are 'said'. They may, of course, have been known by heart, just as a devout reader might have memorised the seven penitential psalms and the litany. The act of reading aloud, or of voicing, must also have had implications in terms of audience; while the literate, Latinate audience of the *Book* are advised to use one or another, or can choose between both of these methods, those unable to read are also catered for: they are advised to "sette a space as longe as þ*ou* mayste goo in wynter tyme ij myle or lesse and in somertyme sett þe space of iij myle goynge" (C6, f 85^{r}; (Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 620). The illiterate, or the non-Latinate may also

[70] As (Braswell) Means points out, "the hour or reign or ascendancy for each planet begins…at 6a.m., which accords with the first canonical hour". Both last for approximately one hour, or "an astronomical hour of thirty degrees" (1992a, p. 620).

[71] (Braswell) Means bases her calculations on *The Prymer or Lay Folks' Prayer Book* (Ed. H. Littlehales, *EETS* OS 105. London, 1895, pp. 37-43 (1992a, p. 619 n. 81). Also noted is that each nocturne consists of from five to fourteen psalms, with prayers and antiphons (1992, p. 620).

benefit from a reading aloud of the selected material, since psalms, prayers, the litany and particularly antiphons are designed and must have regularly been read, or recited, or sung, to (or for) others. Similarly, whilst the readers and audience of some versions of the *Wise Book* (including P) are assumed not to have either the means or the skill to use an astrolabe, the readers of other versions, such as C6 and E2 who have access to the specialist piece of equipment are told to "be holde an astrolabe" to measure the reign of a planet.[72]

As (Braswell) Means explains, the computus was,

> significant…in most areas of medieval life, providing explanations for all divisions of time, whether liturgical or calendrical, and instructions for its measurement and applications. Precise establishment of liturgical dates and seasons of the year was crucial to any number of agricultural, medical, legal, and household activities (1992, p. 595).[73]

The importance and value, therefore, of a variant on the computus to calculate secular time in the *Wise Book* can be easily discerned; the purpose of such material can usually be determined by manuscript context and provenance ((Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 604), but in this case we can establish the function by looking at the text, since the computus here clearly allows for sustained use of the *Wise Book* by the reader. Since each reader (or user) can now, in one way or another, measure the time of an hour, the ensuing explanation of daily (and hourly) planetary reign is workable and comprehensible. Once the reader understands that each day at six a.m. the relevant planet begins its reign, for one hour, then the cycle begins, described by the *Wise Book* as follows:

> Ffirst begynneth the Sonne to regne in his owen day, that is to seie the Soneday, in the morwnynge of þe day, *and* regneth as longe tyme as it is toforeseide. Afterward regneth Venus as longe. Than Mercurie as longe. Than the Mone as longe. Than Satu*r*nus | as longe. Than Iupiter as longe. Than Mars as longe [f 72^{v}].

[72] This could be done by "noting a fifteen-degree change in the latitude of a planet" ((Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 620).

[73] Significantly, Wallis notes that the *computus* "bears little resemblance to a modern science or even a medieval *disciplina*…with no direct ancestor within the ancient canon of the sciences" (1995, p. 105), so that it is difficult to provide a modern analogy for this type of text and procedure.

It continues by explaining that the reign of each individual planet adds up to seven hours, and that the sun reigns on Sunday again at the eighth and seventeenth hours, followed each time by the other six planets, which makes twenty-four hours, or the "natural day" [f 73^{r}]. It is reiterated that, similarly, the moon reigns on Monday, with the same rules applying.

Once readers have established methods of knowing when each planet reigns, and have been familiarised with the ways of measuring that reign, they can progress through the text, further learning about the seven planets "and the houres of hem, whiche buth good and whiche ben euel", in order to be better informed whether "it is good to begynne or make eny werke, crafte or eny other science or kunnynge that longeth to philosophie" [f 73^{v}]. Essentially, the text will let the reader know which hour of the day is most profitable and most likely to produce a positive outcome, similar to lunary texts which are mentioned above, but more detailed in relation to specific hours as opposed to days. Unlike lunary texts, however, and because it is concerned with the influence of a given planet in a narrow time frame, the information provided is quite sparse, restricted to whether that reign is positive or negative; Mercury, for example, when it reigns in the third hour of Sunday, is evil. The template for activities which provide profitable outcomes on "good" days is the first hour on Sunday,[74] which is governed by the Sun, and is

> coneuable, p*ro*fitable and holsum al maner of thyngis to begynne that longeth to goodnesse, to loue, or to grett werke. And it is p*ro*fitable to begynne | a werke, or to go on pilg*ri*mage or eny longe wey [f 74^{r}].

Thus the benefits of acting during a specific hour of the day are established early on in this portion of the text, thereby allowing for a formulaic redaction of good and evil planetary influence. Once it has been made clear that beginnings, of any manner, are favourable during hours of positive influence, all that is required by the reader is a reminder of the relevant hourly planetary reign. What follows, then, is a list of the twenty-four hours of Sunday and Monday, which planet reigns in each hour, and whether that planet is good or evil. The list runs only until the twelfth hour of Tuesday; by this stage, it is assumed that readers will

[74] That is, from six a.m. on that day.

have recognised that the order of planetary reign is fixed, and the positive or negative influence constant:

> ...*and* so forthe be order of al the daies in the weke; and so thou maiste knowe the planetis how thei | regnen in here houres, whiche ben good and whiche ben euel, as thei gon be ordir aboute [f 75^{v}].

The concluding section to the *Wise Book* is what seems to be a condensed physiognomy, of similar content to that described by Keiser and which is also contained in *Wise Book* witnesses C2, P and A (1998, pp. 3610, 3759). Acker notes that the *Book of Physiognomy* directly follows the *Wise Book* in C2, and that uncatalogued copies of it may be found appended to our text in other MSS (1985, p. 269 n. 2). The full and separate *Book of Physiognomy*, however, only directly follows the *Wise Book* once, and coexists only in three MSS; in fact, these three MSS are the only extant witnesses to the *Book of Physiognomy*, so its sole context, now, is common to that of the *Wise Book*. Furthermore, what we find as the concluding section to the *Wise Book* seems to be a summarised version of the opening to the *Physiognomy*, which, albeit rephrased, not as lengthy, and in a different order, closely corresponds in terms of detail to the *Physiognomy*.[75] The section begins by claiming to be a declaration on the seven days of the week, but then moves to explain, again, that the ruling planet on each day is responsible for the name of each. Then follows a reiteration of a point made previously in the text:

> And hit is to wete that what man is borne in eny oure of the day in þe whiche on of the *seven* planetis haþ lordschep, he schal be the lyghter to turne to good or to euel after the influence of the same planet that he is borne in [f 75^{v}].[76]

It then turns to what appears to be a discussion of each individual planet, but which is in fact the condensed physiognomy mentioned above. Each planet is briefly described; the Sun is "the eye of the worlde, the fayrenes of the firmament..." [f 76^{r}], and therefore positive in influence, whilst Mars has a

[75] For further discussion of this, see Section 1, "Sources and Analogues" (below).
[76] This echoes the statement at f 63^{v}: "...hit is to vnderstonde that what man is bore in eny oure of þe daie, in the whiche regneth eny of the *seven* planetis, he schal be apte and disposid to good or to euel after the influence and constellactiou*n* of the planet in the whiche he is borne in."

negative effect, being a "bittir and malicious planet" [f 77r]. The effects on the disposition and the appearance of men born under each then follow; the Moon, for example, renders men

> ...vnstedefast; muche wakynge; muche thenkynge in hymself; spekynge with oute sutilte and lightly wexinge seke w*ith* colde; of lyght causes makynge grete, | and lightliche leuynge wronge; not gladliche partynge his good; muche gadrynge of seluer and nou3t expendynge; not sittynge ne restynge with his owen good wille, and beholdynge vnstable in euery side. The tokenes of the Mone ben þese: a pale face, that is to sey to whitenes lowynge, a litil mouthe, a blont nose, sone wexinge hoor, and studynge in erthly þingis wiþout mesure [f 77r].

The characteristics and physical attributes associated with those born under the Moon in the *Book of Physiognomy*, although ordered differently, are strikingly similar:

> Luna makith men wakynge and thenkynge moche withinne hem self; unstable lynge; unwitteliche spekynge; colde, and lyghteliche wexinge seke þerwith; drawynge into lyth wrath, and sone fforyevynge; partinge his goodis not lyghtelich; covetynge oþer strange þingis; moche desiringe silvere; and never comynge perffightliche to þe age of 60 3ere. The signes of luna ben þese: þe fface is pale and clere; brode ffronte; browis bente; þe eyne meke; a low nose; noseþrellis openyd; a littil mouthe; a opyn chynn; and neygh þe chekis sone hore; a ffatt navell; moche thenkynge on erthely þingis (C2; Krochalis and Peters, 1975, pp. 221-22).

The *Physiognomy*, however, appears to be a discrete text rather than an appendage to the *Wise Book*. Whilst there are obvious correlations between the short physiognomy section tailing the *Wise Book* and the opening section to the *Book of Physiognomy*, the latter is preceded by a substantial prologue, explaining the practice of physiognomy, its meaning, importance and application (Krochalis and Peters, 1975, p. 219). Additionally, it has a section dealing with different features of, for example, the head, the forehead, and so on, and the significance of certain aspects of each (Krochalis and Peters, 1975, pp. 222-228).[77] It seems

[77] The editors of the *Book of Physiognomy* refer to it as "a concluding section of *The Wise Book*" in C2, and the version they print from this MS "stops at the ear", since there is a missing leaf in the MS

likely, therefore, that there is some connection between the *Wise Book* and the *Book of Physiognomy*; either the *Wise Book* summarises the opening part to the *Physiognomy*, or the author-compiler of the *Physiognomy* introduces his text with the conclusion to the *Wise Book*. The former is arguably much more likely here, since the *Physiognomy* is preceded by a prologue which is not replicated in the *Wise Book*. Also, the Latin source of the *Physiognomy* circulated in at least ten MSS, so it is likely that our author-compiler had access to either a Latin or an English version.[78] The Middle English versions tend to follow the Latin closely (Acker, 1985, p. 266), and since the *Wise Book* version rewords and amends the text, it is probable that the *Book of Physiognomy* was a source in the compilation of the final section of the *Wise Book*. That our text should conclude with a section on physiognomy is not unusual; Pack notes that the merging of astrology and physiognomy was common in Western writing from the second century onwards, as was "the idea that the planets shape or mould the physical and mental qualities of mankind" (1974, p. 115). It is also not uncommon to find treatments of the humours and the planets combined with physiognomies (Pack, 1974, p. 114). From the point of view of the audience of the *Wise Book* it perhaps provides an appropriate conclusion, the text having progressed from macro– to microcosm, and thereby from the heavenly and abstract to the accessible and applicable.

The physiognomy section which concludes the *Wise Book*, is markedly similar, too, to a text known as *The Seven Planets*, which is found in London, British Library, MS Sloane 1315. It is noted that this MS has "essentially the same content" as the mid-fifteenth century *Wise Book* witness Oxford, Bodleian L, Digby 88 (Bd), though the latter is "a more elaborate work" (Brown, 1994, p. 10). The *Seven Planets* is "a combination of "seven planets" and "days of the week" material", both of which "are closely paralleled in content and phraseology" by

(Krochalis and Peters, 1975, p. 218). Acker has supplied the ending to the *Book of Physiognomy* from the text contained in P; it continues with the ear and neck, and finally the throat, concluding with the *explicit* "Here is yendid the boke of phisonomye" [f 32r] (1985, p. 267).

[78] Pack, 1974, pp. 119 – 120; he notes that the Latin source is listed in Thorndike & Kibre (1963, col. 4) as "Elegans ist…" and he edits the Latin version from seven MSS (pp. 126-138). Acker notes that Middle English versions generally seem to be based on that found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 481 (1985, p. 266).

the end of the *Wise Book* (Brown, 1994, p. 9); it intersperses these predictions, beginning with the day of birth and following with the ruling planet. It is in respect of the latter – the planetary influence – that *The Seven Planets* reflects both *The Book of Physiognomy* and the *Wise Book*; Brown suggests that the existence of physiognomies in Latin, and of texts such as ours, "help to identify a distinct type of composition that has fed into Sloane 1315" (1994, p. 14). It seems probable, therefore, that Bd (or its exemplar) may have been used in the composition of London, British L, MS Sloane 1315, and that, in particular, the concluding section of the *Wise Book* contributed to the compilation of *The Seven Planets*.[79]

In its MSS witnesses the *Wise Book* is frequently followed by an additional and separate text often referred to as the "nativities" (Keiser, 1998, p. 3615).[80] Consequently, cataloguers and commentators either describe the nativities as a concluding section to the *Wise Book* or tend to make associations between the two. These instructions are not nativities in the strict sense, that is, concerned with the personality and/or fortune of both men and women born on a particular day. There are also elements of onomancy used here, but it is not an onomancy proper, since numbers and letters are used not for purposes of divination; rather they are used to determine which sign of the Zodiac a person is born under.[81] Prognostications to determine "what eche man is ordeyned by wey of kynde and p*r*edestinacio*u*n" [f 80^{r}] are made according to ascending birth sign, the formula for which uses numbers and letters:

> …þou moste deuyde þe name of þe man *and* of his moder by þe letters of þe a.b.c. ygadered to gederis, and when þei be togedre deuyde hem by twenty-eight as longe as þou maiste, þan se qwhat leues of þe som*m*e… [f 80^{v}].

[79] Brown does not identify, however, the copy of the *Wise Book* surviving in Bd (1994, p. 8); he also prints an extract from Cambridge, Trinity College L, MS 0.10.21, which is a variant and abbreviated version of the *Wise Book*, saying that "generally…an alternative "days of the week" ending occurs in the manuscripts of the *Wise Book* (1994, pp. 9-10).

[80] According to Keiser, the "nativities" accompany the *Wise Book* in only sixteen of the thirty-one MSS recorded by him (1988, p. 3615); they do not, however, consistently appear directly following the *Wise Book* in the MS. The *Wise Book* MSS unnoticed by Keiser, Br and S, do not contain nativities.

[81] Onomancy is the practice of divination by letters of name.

Here, the instructions are accompanied by tables, which detail the numbers corresponding both to the letters of the alphabet and the planets. The text proper is a detailed analysis of the characteristics, fortune and physical attributes of both men and women born under particular signs; these lengthy pieces may be consulted according to the numbers remaining after the formula has been applied. Each section is also followed by a recommendation to "bere wiþ" a specific psalm; in the case of Aries, for example, the words *Omnes gentes plaudite* refer to psalm forty-seven. Some versions of these so called nativities omit the onomastic instructions and, consequently, the accompanying formulae, such as the copy found in Oxford, Bodleian L, MS Ashmole 189 (B1), which cuts straight to the physical description.[82] The text is attributed to "Tholome" (in P at ff 82^{r} and 83^{r}).

Much of the reason behind the confusing, open-ended nature of the *Wise Book*, referred to above, is the failure to identify this section as ancillary; it is instead, by virtue of the frequency of its occurrence as co-located with the *Wise Book*, thought of by most commentators as an appendage to it, and some even consider it to be its concluding section. Although Keiser asserts that the "nativities" follow the text without a break (1998, p. 3615), in general MS catalogues and descriptions of the *Wise Book* recognise that they are indeed discrete to our text; a separate set of folio numbers is usually given to distinguish the two, for example.[83] Moreover, Keiser erroneously observes that the "nativities" occur in just sixteen (or 48%) of the *Wise Book* witnesses.[84]

The "nativities" are in fact a text known as *The Book of Destinary*, which is indeed often continuous to the *Wise Book*, yet not at all pertaining to or dependant on the *Wise Book*'s basic structure.[85] In fact, Keiser's estimates were

[82] f 63^{v}:"...what euery man and woman is ordeyned by way of kynde and predestinacyon and fyrst I shall determyne of this signe aries that reynethe in marche and it is to knowe þat who so be born in þys signe he schall haue a rownde face..." The text is entitled "Nota de xij omnium signis et eorum natura" in this MS (Eldredge, 1992, p. 4).
[83] See Keiser (1998, pp. 3766-67), where he supplies two sets of folio numbers per MS, distinguishing between versions of the text that are followed by nativities and those that are not.
[84] See above, note 80.
[85] It is also referred to as the *Destinary of the Twelve Signs by Their Course* (*eVK* 3752). Both (Braswell) Means (1992b, p. 369) and Taavitsainen (1988, p. 44 n. 10) regard the "nativities" as a discrete text; the latter describes it as "a destinary [that] is often found together with *The Boke of Astronomie*."

conservative, since *The Book of Destinary* is co-located with the *Wise Book* in all but twelve of its MSS (it is found in twenty-one, or 64%, of the MSS); moreover, the *Book of Destinary* is found exclusively in *Wise Book* manuscripts, and this, coupled with the fact that it frequently immediately follows our text, often without an obvious break, may account for Keiser's assertion that it forms part of the *Wise Book*.[86] In some cases, however, it is not copied directly following the *Wise Book*, as in Oxford, Bodleian Ashmole MS 189 (B1), in which the *Wise Book* runs ff 1^{r} – 24^{v}, and the nativities from ff 33^{r} – 63^{v}.[87] Additionally, in some MSS the text is identified and copied as a separate text, and afforded a different title "to make the nature of the work more obvious" ((Braswell) Means, 1992b, p. 390 n. 71); thus in San Marino, Huntington L, MS HM 64, (H) it is called the "Book of destenarye of the 12 signes", and in BL MS Add 12195 (B), "The Destinary of the Twelve Signs" (ff 137^{r} – 139^{v}).[88] One cataloguer suggests that although clearly a stand alone work, the scribe of B1, for example, "may have considered [it] to be part of [the *Wise Book*] on the evidence of the latter's prologue: "...and ffyrst þis boke tellythe how many hevennys þer be and afterward he pronouncythe...of þe xij sygnis" (Eldredge, 1992, p. 4); although the twelve signs are discussed in detail within the *Wise Book* itself, the proximity of the tracts even in one codex may have led to such assumptions and instances of subsequent association between the two. The association of two such separate texts can be explained by way of their similarity in generic terms; it is often the case, then, that "the failure in many manuscripts to distinguish one work from another", results in texts being "presented consecutively in such a way that no clear division exists between [them]" ((Braswell) Means, 1992b, p. 369).[89]

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[86] *The Book of Destinary*, in its extant form, manifests "considerable variation" (Braswell (Means), 1992b, p. 390 n. 71).

[87] Breaks occur too in San Marino, Huntington L, MS HM 64 (H), where the *Wise Book* is followed by the *Book of Ypocras* and then the "Book of destenarye of the 12 signes", in London, British L, MS Add 12195 (B), where various charms and recipes separate the two, and in London, British L, MS Sloane 965 (S1) (*Wise Book*: ff 145^{v} – 147^{v}; nativities ff 165^{r} – 178^{v}). In one witness, B2, the *Book of Destinary* (pp. 97-8) actually precedes the *Wise Book* (pp. 123-30) in the *ordinatio*.

[88] Keiser (1998, pp. 3766-67) prints references and folios for sixteen copies of *The Book of Destinary* which immediately follow the *Wise Book*; other copies are as follows: H, ff 63^{v}-72^{r}; B, ff 137^{r}-139^{v}; E1, ff 16^{r}-27^{v}; B2, pp 97-98 ((Braswell) Means, 1992b, pp. 390-1 n. 71).

[89] The same author notes that the *Book of Destinary* appears to "form part of [the *Wise Book*] in four MSS: B, E2, B1 and H (1992b, p. 369, n. 7).

Contrastingly, some copies of the *Wise Book* break off abruptly after certain sections, or have been abridged or abbreviated; the version found in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.14.51 (C6) is incomplete, and London, British L, MS Royal 17.A.3 (R1) and MS Royal 17.A.32 (R2) both have incomplete texts, the first being abridged, and the latter having blank folios and missing text throughout. The version found, too, in London, British L, MS Sloane 3553 is incomplete, as is that copied into New Haven, Yale University, MS Beinecke 163 (Y). Similarly, the *Wise Book* surviving in Oxford, Bodleian L, MS Ashmole 1405 (B2) breaks off after the section on the four elements, while the copy in MS Ashmole 1477 (B4) only treats of the signs of the zodiac; the copy in Oxford, Bodleian L, Radcliffe Trust MS e.30 (Br) breaks off abruptly six lines down a folio, with the remainder blank (Hanna, 1997, pp. 26-7). The reasons for such discrepancies are probably varied; exemplars might have been imperfect, or the copyist may have moved on to another text or project, neglecting to return to finish the *Wise Book*. Significantly, the copyist or customer may have decided that sections of the text were unsuitable for their purposes, or unhelpful to their readers. The structure of the *Wise Book*, since it falls naturally into sections that could have been copied or circulated separately, is amenable to selectivity and to abridged copying.

iv Analogues and Possible Influences

As noted in the "Introduction" to the present work, Braswell (Means) has commented on the importance of the *Wise Book*, particularly its material concerning "the complexions of the signs, and their influence upon personality", for the "*Secreta* tradition" (1984, p. 339). The *Secretum secretorum* (or, as it is known in some versions, the *Secreta secretorum*) was immensely popular throughout fifteenth-century England, having been translated from the tenth-century pseudo-Aristotelian *Sirr al-asrar* into Latin, and countless times into French and English.[90] The *Secretum*, originally intended as a mirror for princes, was enlarged

[90] These translations were carried out by John of Spain (Johnannes Hispaniensis), in the mid-twelfth century (a short form of the Arabic), and by Philip of Tripole (Phillipus Tripolitanus), an early thirteenth century full expansion (Manzalaoui, 1977, pp. xiv-xvi; Braswell (Means), 1984, p. 340). Hanning notes that "five hundred manuscripts of Latin versions alone survive" (1980, p. 65). John Shirley (d. 1456) also translated the text; he relates how "Philip" "translated this boke out of the literal langage of Caldee into Ebrewe out of Ebrewe into Greke out of Greke into Arabesk out of Ebrayeke into Latyne out of Latyne into Frenssh..." (Connolly, 1998, p. 127).

into an encyclopaedic work with the addition of a layer of scientific and occult material (Manzalaoui, 1977, p. xi); it developed, therefore into "an enormous and enormously influential guidebook *cum* encyclopaedia throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance (Hanning, 1980, p. 65). The same author also notes that the Latin versions evidence a "composite origin", and that it is "extremely difficult…to disentangle rescensions in a thorough manner" (1977, p. xviii). It is clear, however, that the Latin translations, particularly that of Phillipus, had enjoyed great popularity throughout the Middle Ages, influencing both direct and indirect derivations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and continuing to be produced well into the sixteenth (Keiser, 1998, p. 3602).

The *Secretum*, Manzalaoui suggests, "would appear to have been accepted by most medieval readers as a genuine Aristotelian text"; this, coupled with the fact that its "contents are sufficiently varied to have interested readers in many different modes, and in very varied fields of intellectual activity", may well account for the popularity and influence of the treatise throughout the England of the Middle Ages (1977, p. x, xix).[91] It is likely, too, that since the vernacular versions often had texts of a similar nature incorporated into them (Manzalaoui, 1977, p. xx), sections of the *Secretum*, such as the Physiognomy, circulated and were copied as separate texts (Braswell (Means), 1984, p. 340). Indeed Braswell (Means) notes that many of the texts printed by Manzalaoui are "fragments or partial texts", such as the one found in London, British L, MS Sloane 213 (1984, p. 340). Also significant in terms of the circulation and reworking of the text is Roger Bacon's recension, which is an example of composite origin, including material from both Hispanensis and Phillipus, and reducing the text to four books, ending with the expanded physiognomy (Manzalaoui, 1977, p. xxi).[92]

The importance of the widespread circulation and knowledge of the *Secretum*, under various guises, for the production of the *Wise Book* has not been fully considered, but it would seem likely that, because texts such as ours are "closely related" (Braswell (Means), 1984, p. 339) to contemporary reworked and

[91] Manzalaoui stresses that the text was known to Roger Bacon and Albertus Magnus, among others, including John Shirley; one of his translations, dedicated to Henry VI, is preserved in BL MS Add. 5467 as *The Governance of Kynges and of Prynces (cleped the Secrete of Secretes)* (1977, p. xv, xxxvii); see also Connolly, 1998, pp. 126-131.

[92] Bacon's version, complete with his glosses, can be found in Oxford, Bodleian L, MS Rawlinson C. 274 (Manzalaoui, 1977, p. xxi).

re-distributed *Secretum* texts, that the *Wise Book* may in fact have been a product of this process. The prologue to the *Wise Book*, as we have seen, may have ensured that the text was read, at least, as a pseudo-Aristotelian tract, and perhaps as implicitly belonging to the theoretical and learned *Secreta* textual tradition. In the version of the *Wise Book* surviving in London, Wellcome Historical Medical L, MS 564 (W2), for example, the *incipit* of the text reads "secreta philosophorum et astronomorum" (f 47va) and has been, as mentioned above, embedded into the lengthy surgical tract of this manuscript.[93] The *Secretum*, too, is closely echoed in the directives in the prologue to the *Wise Book* which advise that leech doctors and surgeons make use of the knowledge contained therein; the *Secretum* provides similar guidance:

> [A]s Galien the full wies leche saith, and Isoder the gode clerk, hit witnessith that a man may not perfitely can the sciens and crafte of medessin but yef he be an astronomoure. And therfor thou shalt nothing don, and namely of that which appertenyth to the kepping of thy body without consaill of astronomoure (Rawcliffe, 1995, p. 82).

Similarly, Braswell (Means) notes that the *Secreta*'s expanded physiognomy section was popular as a separate text, and was copied, for example, by John Metham into the compilation prepared for Sir Miles and Lady Stapleton, London, British L, MS Sloane 213 (1984, p. 340).[94] This version may be compared with the physiognomy found in Oxford, Bodleian L, MS 198 (B1), ff 216^{r} – 213^{r} (misbound), which "also contains the Hippocrates-Philemon story" (Braswell (Means), 1984, p. 340).[95] Similarly, the *Wise* Book itself concludes with a physiognomy, and, like the *Secretum*, circulated in manuscripts which contain related and complementary texts.[96] More telling, however, is the wording of the *Wise Book*'s prologue; this corresponds closely to the fifteenth-century version of the *Secretum* found in Oxford, Bodleian L, MS Bodley 943. At f 84^{v} of this manuscript is a portrait of Ptolemy examining the stars, along with text which

[93] See "Editions of the *Wise Book*" (above).
[94] Edited by Craig (1916).
[95] See Manzalaoui, 1977, pp. 10-18 for the corresponding text.
[96] Manzalaoui (1977, p. xix), who remarks that the *Secretum* is found, not only in volumes with genuine Aristotelian texts, but also alongside other physiognomies and texts on, say, alchemy. See Section 2, "Contexts and Publics" (below) for discussion of the *Wise Book*'s companion texts.

describes him as being "a fulle wisman *and* wele vnd*er*standing and in especiall in foure science*s*", including "Astrologie".[97] The accompanying text also mentions that "Tholomee … maade many noble bookis a monge þ^{e} which oon was callid Almagestee þ^{e} whiche ys of Astrologie…"[98] This description, of course, strongly echoes that of the English translator-compiler of the *Wise Book*, who is "ful wise and wel vnderstondinge of philosophie and astronomie." That Ptolemy is invoked as a second authority, and indeed a source for some of the material found in the *Wise Book*, may have been as obvious to a medieval audience as the inference to Aristotle. Classical authors were still considered to be highly authoritative in the later Middle Ages, and pseudonymous works were attributed to Ptolemy as well as to Aristotle (Carey, 1992, p. 258). Parts of Ptolemy's astronomical treatise, the *Almagest* were, having been translated by Gerard of Cremona *via* Albumasar around 1175, adapted into Middle English, such as the *Treatise on the Elections of Time*, found in Oxford, Bodleian L, MS Digby 88 (Bd); this manuscript, also containing the *Wise Book*, mentions Ptolemy by name at f 17 (Braswell (Means), 1984, p. 338).[99] Also, and as previously mentioned, the *Book of Destinary*, which examines the traits and physical characteristics of men and women according to birth sign, and which shares a close tradition of circulation with the *Wise Book*, is attributed to Ptolemy in its prologue. Perhaps the *Wise Book*'s author-compiler, aware of the reputation of Aristotle, the "philosopher", wished to evoke Ptolemy, famed as an astronomer, in his compilation of a work concerned with both intellectual discourses.

Thus, the English translator who features in the prologue to the *Wise Book* may be read as the medium through which the learning and knowledge that has been consulted for centuries will be transmitted to speakers of English. He is clearly well-qualified for this task, but he is invested with the authority to translate and compile the book by way of the philosophers evoked in the

[97] He is also portrayed as being proficient in Music, Geometry and Arithmetic, comprising the sciences of the quadrivium - an essential part of the university curriculum in the Middle Ages (North, 1988, p. 7).

[98] (Carey, 1992, p. 170); transcription mine. The text of the *Secretum* contained here is edited by Schofield, 1936. Carey agrees that it is useful to locate the *Wise Book* in the context of the *Secreta* (2005).

[99] In Bd, the *Treatise on the Elections of Time* occurs at ff. 16-23v, while the *Wise Book* is found at ff. 34^{r}– 37. The *Treatise* also occurs in five other manuscripts (Keiser, 1998, p. 3766).

prologue and through an implicit, intellectual association between the *Secretum* and the *Wise Book*. He is also portrayed as having exclusive access to "wise" and secret knowledge, yet he is sufficiently authoritative to translate, organise or re-order, and transmit this information. However, since the author-compiler would have been keen to infuse the work with as much authority as possible, it is closely allied to the *Secrecta* tradition, whist retaining the sense that it has been interpreted in a particular manner and adapted for a specific audience.

Alternatively, it could be that there existed a standard, fictionalised and all-encompassing prologue type, applicable to texts of a common type which were being copied (and compiled) throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. John Metham's prologue to his palmistry text, reproduced by Wogan-Browne *et al.*, bears certain resemblances to the one found in the *Wise Book*, in that it describes the transmission and translation of the work in a similarly fictionalised manner, albeit with more emphasis on sources:

> "Tales [Thales] Milesias, the wyche was the fyrst phylosophyre in the citee of Atene, by the answere of god Appollo, fyrst dede wryte the sycence of cyromancye in the longgage of Parce [Persia]; and mastyer Arystotyll translatyd it owt of Parce into Grue. And owte of Grue doctor Aurelyan, the wyche was born in Italy, translatyd this science into Latin; and owte of Latyn, John Metham, scymple scoler in phylosphy, translatyd it in-to Englyssh…" (Wogan-Browne *et al.*, 1999, p. 7).[100]

The desire for translators such as Metham, and the anonymous translator of the *Wise Book* to locate their texts in a Latinate, and thereby learned tradition, led to their appropriation of "the discourse of academic exegesis" (Wogan-Browne *et al.*, 1999, p. 7). Thus, the importance of the prologue to these works cannot be underestimated, since it represents an account, though often fictionalised, of not only the process of textual transmission, but also affords insights into the positioning of a particular text, in a given time and space, from the hand of the self-styled *auctor*. It is to be expected then, perhaps, that such accounts, while

[100] The authors note that Metham's prologue to *Amoryus and Cleopes* is very close to his preface of his translation of the palmistry, showing how "close and mutually influential the conventions of *Fachprosa*…and more 'literary' genres such as romance could be (1999, p. 7).

they may be applied to literary texts (as in the case of Metham's *Amoryus*), may have primarily been imitated and used to locate a text in a particular tradition, in the expectation that medieval readers would recognise the indirect references and, just as they would automatically take the "philosopher" of the *Wise Book* to be Aristotle, assume a certain connection with longer, more learned and authoritative texts such as the *Secretum*.

Although it is "safest to assume that every vernacular text of medicine and science, for which conclusive evidence to the contrary does not exist, was originally translated out of Latin" (Jones, 1999, p. 434), the possibility remains that the *Wise Book* is a vernacular treatise, composed or compiled in English (perhaps from various Latin sources, or from sources which had been translated out of Latin). The assumptions of scholars such as Thomas and Wedel that astrology was not practised, and the accompanying literatures not read, in medieval England have been dismissed in view of the large number of surviving texts.[101] Moreover, (Braswell) Means asserts that Thomas' statement, that "prognostications in circulation during the early sixteenth century were…largely of foreign origin" is thereby incorrect (1992b, p. 368); ultimately, therefore, literatures to do with astronomy and astrology must have been composed in the vernacular, or at the very least compiled from treatises that had been, at some stage in their dissemination, translated out of a foreign language. In other words, the material, like all *Fachprosa* in Middle English, must have been "compiled or Englished, or both compiled and Englished from the reign of Richard II (1377) until the Tudor monarchs"; the emergence of vernacular English writing, therefore, coincided with the emergence of the English vernacular (Voigts, 1982, p. 40). The theory that the *Wise Book* might have been a vernacular composition is difficult to prove; certain contexts, however, point to the circulation of the *Wise Book* with late fourteenth-century "learned vernacular medical writing" such as the treatise which is found in London, Wellcome Historical Medical L, MS 564 (W) (Voigts, 1996, p. 815).

The *Wise Book* certainly circulates in MSS and with texts – either translated, or compiled in the vernacular - that took at least some of their

[101] See (Braswell) Means, 1992b, pp. 367-8, who refers to Wedel, 1920, p. 90, and Thomas, 1978, pp. 338-9.

authority from the *Secretum* (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 137); in both London, British L, MS Egerton 2433 (E2) and Cambridge, Gonville & Caius L, MS 457/395 (II) (C3) are found extracts from the *Secretum*'s regimen of health and physiognomy respectively, whilst San Marino, Huntington L, MS HM 64 (H) has an extract explaining the effect of the zodiac on human constitutions. The physiognomy, Carey notes, was probably the most popular part of the *Secretum*, and it circulated widely as a separate text (1992, p. 35); moreover, the physiognomy which is frequently found co-located with the *Wise Book* is attributed in four of its Latin MSS to Aristotle (Acker, 1985). Also, a number of *Wise Book* MSS have texts of *The Victorious and the Vanquished* (otherwise known as *The Golden Table*), which, Keiser suggests, may have had its origin in the *Secretum* (1998, p. 3625).[102] *Computus* materials, similar to those which form part of the *Wise Book*, also feature in Latin and English *Secrcretum* texts ((Braswell) Means, 1992, p. 596). Ultimately, however, it is the issue of authority which most likely ensured that the *Wise Book* was read as part of this tradition, and was, primarily due to this relationship, widely circulated and copied; the adaptation and influence of important texts such as "the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonica*, Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblios*, Galen's *De complexionibus*, and other works in the *Secreta secretorum* tradition" (Braswell (Means), 1978, p. 193) were such that even the merest of references to them would allow a contemporary audience to understand the significance of the *Wise Book*, and would simultaneously sanction its copying.

[102] The text is found in R2, S3, A, P, Bl and H.

Section 2: Contexts and Publics

i. Reader, Audience, Discourse Community

Any consideration of the reception and transmission history of the *Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy* must examine the various types of manuscript in which the text reached its reading public. In the absence of specific and detailed textual instructions on the intended usage of and likely audience for much of vernacular *Fachprosa*, the contexts in which they circulated can be revealing on a number of levels. Even when prologues and directions to readers accompany a text, however, the nature of the books preserving these texts is still important, since the context can either confirm that the target audience had been reached by a given text, or may, when examined in conjunction with the signs and marks that point to readership or ownership, help demonstrate that the text was accessed by a wider audience, other than that it was intended to reach. If the appearance of the volumes in which the texts survive - as well as the evidence left behind by early readers - afford us insights into the varied and diverse application of the information, then the companion texts can reveal the specific use of a text and, perhaps more importantly, how a text may have been interpreted and received by its audience. The co-location of certain texts can demonstrate, too, that the practice of copying and disseminating texts that claimed to be 'instructional' was not always contingent on that claim.

The material context - the manuscripts of any one text - cannot be underestimated or ignored in a recovering of the history or cultural significance of that text. The textual history of the *Wise Book* is twofold; we have already looked at how it is structured, the tradition in which it may have been located and the learning it attempts to emulate, and the type of instruction and knowledge it purveys. What follows is an examination and consideration of some of the ways in which it may have been received, using both textual and codicological evidence. Both allow us to argue for a transmission history and to imagine a reception tradition for the *Wise Book*. The reception is, of course, inextricably linked to those people who had contact with the text and in the absence of contemporary commentary on the *Wise Book*, or indeed on few texts of this type, the owners of books, and even the imagined readers/users of both them and the individual texts they preserve must figure in our discussion. In terms of

the subsequent involvement of the owner and/or other readers with our text, then, and in the context of this discussion, it is useful and germane to imagine those individuals and communities who interacted with a text; this will in turn help to recover the level and nature of that interaction. Therefore the following analysis will utilise the model of discourse communities as developed, from the concept of speech communities, by modern linguistic theorists and discourse analysts (Jones, 2004, p. 24); the application of the idea of a discourse community to the people who may have interacted with a medieval text is particularly useful, especially since terms like 'reader' and 'audience' are vague, are used to describe amorphous concepts, and can be inaccurate and unhelpful when they are applied to medieval texts. Jones explains the problems with these terms as follows:

> 'Audience' tends to suggest the passive reception of a text and places the producers at a remove once a text has been disseminated. In a period when many texts were copied by individuals for personal or at least localised use, this is a misleading picture. 'Readership' is even more anachronistic, given that literacy was still extremely restricted in medieval England, and access to texts did not necessarily depend on the individual's ability to read for him or herself (2004, pp. 23-4).

Similarly, and in the same volume of essays, Taavitsainen and Pahta draw a distinction between the readership and audience of a text; effectively, they see the readership as those who have physically engaged with the text, while the audience consists of the "potential readership the work is targeted at" (2004a, p. 15). The discourse community, thus, is understood as a means by which to "explain and define groups of people connected by texts, either as part of their relationships within a particular type of community, or solely by the texts themselves, which may be used for different purposes by different individuals", and as a model which also accounts for the association of spoken discourses with texts (Jones, 2004, p. 24). This, according to Jones, allows us to consider "the people who participate in a set of discourse practices not only by reading and writing, but also by listening", and to imagine different types of reading, such as silent or public, "reading aloud within a family or small local circle" (2004, p. 25). The flexibility and possibilities allowed for by the model and notion of a discourse community enable us not only to comprehend the location

of the *Wise Book* in a complex and hierarchical society with various levels of literacy, but also to manage effectively our understanding of diversity of engagement with and response to the text.[1]

There are fundamental distinctions to be made too with regard to the levels of interaction that may have characterised contemporary responses to the *Wise Book*; that is to say, that responses to the text may have reasonably included reading, usage, consultation and knowledge of it, whereby each of these involves a specific process and a distinct relationship with the text. Revealingly, the manner in which we attempt to classify medieval texts strongly suggests that the responses of modern critical scholarship are dependent on and informed by contemporary engagements with and approaches to such writings. Texts such as ours are commonly regarded by modern scholars in very general terms, described as being either 'utilitarian' and/or 'instructional'; both descriptions are concerned with how a potential reader will engage with the text, and are vague enough to suggest that the individual reader/user response will determine the true nature of the text. The former, 'utilitarian', can perhaps indicate an active input from the reader/user in terms of how the information is accessed and applied; the entire text need not be read or utilised in one instance, but consulted at the reader/user's convenience. 'Instructional', however, implies an entirely other level of interaction, suggestive of minimal intellectual input from the reader/user; that is, the text, as a whole, will be beneficial should the reader/user choose either to consult it or to read it from beginning to end. Neither need be mutually exclusive, however, since a single text may have been approached in both ways at different stages, even by the same reader/user.

Indeed, a variety of responses to a given text must indicate a similarly diverse readership, and a consequent variety of audience and discourse community that will not be immediately obvious to a modern reader of that text in a modern edition. The manuscripts in which the *Wise Book* reached its readership are important not just for the reasons previously outlined, but because they also represent a crucial stage in the transmission and reception of

[1] Jones draws attention to the work of David Barton, whose definition of a discourse community is flexible enough that it can easily be adapted to apply to medieval English society: "a group of people who have texts and practices in common…the people a text is aimed at; the set of people who read a text; or…the people who participate in a set of discourse practices both by reading and writing…" (2004, p. 25).

the material. They present the text, which has been potentially read and processed by a variety of editors – the author and/or compiler, translator, copyist(s), and other, perhaps later, readers – each of whom would have had the opportunity to effect or amend the shape and nature of a text, so that the version that survives in each manuscript is to some extent unique and thus the product of an individual response, or the result of a series of them. In view of this, it is necessary, whilst grouping certain types of manuscript with a view to considering one possible readership, or audience, or indeed a community, to account simultaneously for individual manuscripts and contexts; this will provide a more meaningful, textured and insightful history of the text.

The following discussion is concerned, therefore, with a number of issues. Primarily, it will consider the internal directions provided by the text of the *Wise Book* with regard to the usefulness of its information - in other words, the evidence provided by the text as to the type of reading or usage that was associated with it. This will in turn lead to a consideration of not only readers, users and discourse communities who, on the evidence of internal textual instructions, were likely to have had some form of interaction with, or knowledge of, the *Book*, but also the material evidence - the physical form, layout and content of the manuscript books which preserve the *Wise Book*. Emerging from these considerations are a number of others which must inform our understanding of contemporary responses to the text – an awareness not only of intertextuality but of the intellectual, devotional and other reading habits of the communities of readers most likely to have interacted with the *Wise Book*, and the co-location of it and complementary texts which, arguably, are open to a variety of levels of interaction, application and response.

ii. Text and Audience(s)

Fundamentally, then, the *Wise Book* dismantles potentially complex concepts concerning the influence of the cosmos on time, actions and outcomes, and presents these notions in an accessible and logical manner; it does so, arguably, with an underlying and deliberate awareness of a multi-faceted audience which is necessarily and variously debilitated – in terms of literacy, education, status or gender – and which, because of one or a combination of these factors, approaches the text in a unique way, and with a specific purpose or to specific

ends. The prologue which introduces the *Wise Book*, is, however, apparently addressed to and focused on one very specific audience. Unsurprisingly, the primary indication of an intended audience is provided by the text's prologue; this is an extremely important feature of medieval texts of many genres, not least by virtue of being the first point of contact between reader and text. The prologue fulfils many functions: it markets the text, thereby being instrumental in its transmission and circulation, and it locates it in a tradition that would be familiar to its likely audience (or, perhaps even distances the text from a particular genre); a prologue, however, also authorises the text, and discusses the "principles of interpretation that might be applied" to it (Wogan-Browne *et al*., 1999, p. 7).[2] The prologue to the *Wise Book* invests the subsequent information with authority by locating it in a learned, translated tradition of philosophical writing, and by ensuring that the translator figure, the "Englische man", is both reliable and scholarly [f 59^{r}]. The text is marketed, primarily, in the sense that it is the "wise book", compiled and written by the "wisest philosophre and astronomyer þ*at* euer was" – the suggestion being, I would argue, that the scope of the book is encyclopaedic, and attempts to project itself outside the boundaries of what is inferred by astronomy and philosophy [f 59^{r}]. Towards the end of the prologue comes the directive to at least one intended audience:

> …withoute whiche sciens and knowynge no man may come to p*er*fit wurchinge of astronomye, ne philosophie, ne surgerie, ne of non othir science. For ther is no leche in þ*e* worlde that may treuly wirche his crafte, but if he haue the science and kunny*n*ge of this booke [f 59^{v}].

Albeit this appears as a secondary directive of sorts (since it appears after both the initial prologue and the brief list of contents) it complicates possible contemporary responses to the *Wise Book* by evoking not an exclusive audience of literate medical professionals – surgeons and leech doctors - but by suggesting one community of readers/users that may have had recourse to the *Book*, all the while locating that potential audience within a wider, more heterogeneous discourse community. The nature of the literary prologue was such that:

[2] Wogan-Browne *et al*. have an excellent discussion of the conventions used in prefaces to medieval texts (1999, pp. 3-15). Taavitsainen (1988, p. 152) quotes Macherey (1978, pp. 70-3), who notes that an audience is always implied or imagined by the author of a work as a necessary postulate for bringing that work into being.

> "most…prologues reflect self-consciously on a crucial medieval understanding of "literature", one that relates not to the status of the text but to that of the reader. This understanding is derived from a common distinction between *litterati* and *illiterati* – roughly "educated" and "uneducated" (Wogan-Browne *et al.*, 1999, p. xv).

The preface to the *Wise Book*, I contend, does not advocate a limited, specific function for the *Book*, nor does the *Book* itself limit its use to an audience composed exclusively of *literati*; on the contrary, it uses the suggested encyclopaedic and all-encompassing nature of the text to recommend it for both selective consultation and professional usage. I would argue that rather than restricting readership to a specific audience, the prologue attempts to ensure that the *Wise Book* will have as wide and varied a public as possible.

Immediately we can imagine, as distinct from the dual audience alluded to in the prologue, a diverse and multiple readership for the *Wise Book*; those who encountered the text would conceivably have consulted it or read it selectively, used all of it or parts of it, or may have simply just perused it.[3] The prologue offers additional clues as to how an audience might have approached or encountered the *Book*. The text will achieve what is termed "p*er*fit wurchinge" of astronomy, philosophy, and, indeed, of all other sciences for all readers, and not just for the medical community who might consult it. Effectively, then, the *Book* not only invites selective reading and consultation, but also postures itself as a manual to supplement learning in many disciplines. This is supported by the internal structure of the *Book* – the more philosophical elements are self-contained, and are found grouped together in certain parts (such as the debate at the beginning, and the physiognomy at the end), while the technical, functional aspects of the text are often listed, follow a logical schema, and are frequently presented in brief, accessible and distinct sections. That the *Wise Book* displays a textual awareness of both audience and potential readership is accentuated by the information contained in it. As noted above, received criticism on the *Wise Book* has emphasised that the workings and effects of heavenly bodies and the

[3] Similarly the prologues to lunary texts, as pointed out by Taavitsainen, "name the intended target groups which, however, need not be the same as the actual readership" (1988, p. 152).

cosmic system, and theories and structures of the universe are simplified and condensed, to such an extent that in a short introduction to the text, its editors remarked that the author or compiler of the *Wise Book* "cannot have anticipated too learned an audience" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 4). Notwithstanding, one of the most remarkable achievements of the *Book* is that in its purveyance of knowledge it actively allows for an audience with various levels of education, to the effect that the simplicity of the text is "more apparent than real" (Brown, 1994, p. 3). On the one hand, it is assumed that part of its audience will have no prior knowledge of the cosmos, or the zodiacal system; thus the tract begins by outlining and naming basic structures and concepts: the seven planets, and the days of the week for which they are named; the ten heavens and eleven orders of angels; the twelve signs of the zodiac and the months in which they reign. At the same time, however, it aims to be of interest to those with a background knowledge of philosophical issues (such as providence and free will); the *computus* and Latin scholarship; a professional interest in astronomical/astrological theory and of ways in which this is relevant to everyday activities, or, significantly, practical experience in the use of astronomical instruments. Indeed, the nature of the text is such that it can reasonably be regarded either as a short introduction for the amateur or beginner or, for those with some experience and knowledge, a summary.[4] The sense that the *Wise Book* courts a multi-layered audience is perhaps best exemplified in the rather unusual statement, "[A]nd thei beth nomore to seie in Englisch" close to the beginning [f 60^{r}]; this may be a nod to the tradition and corpus of scientific learning in Latin to which one aspect of that audience may have had access. This duality of function may, in no small part, account for sustained contemporary interest in the *Book*, and for its impressive circulation history, from the late fourteenth through to the sixteenth century.

It is not just in the prologue that evocations of a multi-faceted audience are apparent; the section of the *Book* dealing with the calculation of secular time has explicit and tacit references to the various ways in which the information

[4] This is in keeping with the notion, outlined above in Section 1, that the text moves from the general to the specific, so that parts of it can act both as a summary or as an introduction to more complex matters.

can be useful and applicable. In the part of the text specifically concerned with the measurement of the length of each planet's reign - one hour - it is apparent that levels of educational achievement and the technical proficiency of the audience are of some importance to the author, not least because the matter at hand has the potential to be technically complex. The formula for measurement is presented thus:

> ...it is to wete that the | planet regneth bi estimacio*u*n as longe [f 72^{r}] tyme as a good reder and a deuout schulde rede twies the *seven* psalmis with the letanye...and for as muche as eche man may not haue the astrolabe, therfor it is chosen a mesure and poynte that men may lightly knowe þe houres of þe planetis.

The inclusion of a methodology of this type is indicative of author-compiler awareness (or, perhaps, intent) that the *Wise Book* would have circulated within diverse discourse communities, and was not just encountered by a narrow and limited professional 'audience'. This is especially relevant when we consider that, since the latter portion of the instruction - that which mentions the astrolabe - is absent from some of the MS witnesses, both the author-compiler and subsequent copyists recognised the restrictions experienced, or indeed the educational standards likely to have been reached by, members of its intended audience. The *computus* section, in particular, makes many assumptions about its audience, but one is important: that it will, most likely, be comprised of people – both male and female – with dissimilar abilities.

On the one hand, these instructions are pitched at that element of the audience with some level of expertise in the calculation of time. They will either have access to, or sufficient expertise in, the use of an astrolabe, such as the intended audience of the *Wise Book* contained in MSS C6 and E2 who are instructed to "be holde an astrolabe" in order to measure an hour ((Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 620). Similarly, the tone of the instruction indicates that certain members of the audience will have "access to manuscript material, literacy...at least some basic knowledge of mathematics and astronomy", and may even possess the "parchment and paper volvelles" that act as substitutes for the

astrolabe ((Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 602).[5] This implied learned audience is at once engaged alongside an audience lacking in either skills or resources, or in some cases, both; as (Braswell) Means puts it, "many texts addressed in the first instance to a more learned audience reflect a self-conscious recognition" of the difficulties that the absence of resources – either written material or linguistic capability – might pose (1992a, p. 602). The instruction provided here displays consciousness of a public that is "variously limited" (Hanna, 1996a, p. 5), and thus the solutions provided are suitably accessible. In most of its MSS versions, the *Wise Book* advises that "a good reder and a deuout" can measure an hour by reading "twies the *seven* psalmis with the letanye" [f 72^{r}], thereby addressing an audience that is literate, able to read Latin well, and that has recourse to the appropriate, written devotional materials to do so.[6] Here, the intended audience is well-educated and widely read – and because of this, able to make use of this alternative method for the calculation of time - but still would probably have had neither the cause nor the means to purchase or use an astrolabe.[7] The anticipated audience of W2, for example, are likely to have neither: "for it is costelew ech man to haue an astirlabre, or ellis lest eche man be not vndirstondynge and ku*n*nynge þe*r*on" (Grothé, 1982, I, p. 157). W2' s version of the *Wise Book*, therefore, along with those found in C6 and E2, advise that, to measure a similar length of time, the reader should:

> sette a space as longe as þ*ou* mayste goo in wynter tyme ij myle or lesse and in somertyme sett þe space of iij myle goynge, or elles sette as longe

[5] Within the text is an underlying assumption, too, that the owners of astrolabes or of books containing tables and/or volvelles will also possess, in their libraries or elsewhere in the same volume, instructions on how to use these tools; an example would be Chaucer's *A Treatise on the Astrolabe*, the first section of which "is perfectly adequate for one who had his own instrument to hand" (Benson, 1987, p. 661).

[6] The instruction explicitly states that the penitential psalms and the litany are read and not recited from memory.

[7] Although the astrolabe was "the elementary astronomical instrument of the Middle Ages" (Benson, 1987, p. 661), it apparently required, as evidenced by the outline contained in Chaucer's *Treatise*, "diverse tables of longitudes and latitudes of sterres" as well as tables "of the verrey moeving of the mone from houre to houre every day and in every signe after thyn almenak" (ll. 78-9, 91-3; Benson, 1987, p. 663) to supplement its use. These would frequently have been in Latin, since Chaucer makes it clear that he is compiling from Latin into English because Lewis' standard of Latin is "yit but small" (l. 27).

> tyme as þ*ou* mayst say two nocturnes of the saut*re* ((Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 620).[8]

The above extract caters to a section of the audience that will have a different relationship with the *Wise Book*. The instructions here – to measure an hour by walking – are clearly intended to facilitate those who cannot read, or those with the ability to read in the vernacular only. This audience also has the option to read, or recite, two nocturns from the Psalter.

The self-conscious awareness of a varied public evidenced in the text is exemplified throughout by its overwhelming sense of a community of readers. That popular prayers and devotional materials are recommended to measure time is not in itself unusual;[9] what is, however, striking is that this methodology has the potential to be accessed and used by a substantial readership, even by those who are illiterate. Physical action can also be taken to measure time, and the methods given can be put into practice by almost anyone. Those unable to read can have the instructions read to them, and can then measure time by carrying out an everyday activity – walking. The audience can also read certain texts – or recall them from memory, if they are members of a religious order – since they are instructed to "say", or recite, two nocturnes. The illiterate can also have the suggested texts read to them, so responses to or encounters with the text may not always have been private.[10] Most importantly, the awareness of a multi-layered audience suggests that the actual, contemporary reading public may have had the shape of a discourse community, one that conceivably included members of the clergy as well as lay persons, people who had the text read to them as well as private readers, and those with a professional interests as well as those with amateur curiosities.

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[8] This passage in W2 is variant: "But su*m*me philosophoris puttiþ þe space of an hou*r* as while a foot-man shulde goon a pas in somer .iij. myle, or su*m*del lesse; and in wyntir two Mile or a litil lesse" (Grothé, 1982, I, pp. 156-7).

[9] Braswell (Means) offers some examples of similar formulae, including one which is found in a *Wise Book* companion text, the *Dome of Urynes* by Henry Daniel (found in C5), which advises the recitation of a Hail Mary and the Lord's Prayer (quickly) to measure a minute (1992a, p. 621).

[10] Silent reading was common from the seventh century onwards, since Isidore of Seville stated a preference for it (Parkes, 1992, p. 1); however, as Coleman (1996, p. 78) has shown, medieval texts frequently feature "interaction of textual "reads" and "hears"", so reception was dimensioned in both ways. Coleman argues that, far from the "technological determinism of the standard orality/literacy model, which assumes that "orality" became obsolescent as soon as there were enough literate people and enough texts…the social experience of literature preserved the popularity of public reading long past the technological watersheds", hence metatextual references to aurality can feasibly be taken literally (1996, p. 80).

That the intended audience suggested in the prologue, may, on the basis of internal textual evidence, have been transcended, and that this encourages us to account for a wider readership and associated discourse communities, is significant in recovering a reception history for the *Wise Book*. The monastic culture had given way to the culture of the schools, and with this had come "new kinds of books - a more technical literature – and new kinds of readers"; thus the "scholastic *lectio* was a process of study which involved a more ratiocinative scrutiny of the text and consultation for reference purposes" (Parkes, 1976, p. 115). Conceivably, then, since the *Wise Book* appears to invite them, its discourse communities were probably composed of different types of private readers and/or groups of listeners. The peculiar encounters with the text are, thereby, coloured by the individual requirements of the private reader or by the diverse responses of communities of readers. The variety of these possible discourse communities must inform our discussion of the reading practices associated with the *Wise Book*; readings could have been general, or selective and specific, or the text, or parts of it, may have been read on behalf of or to others. The structure of the text would support consultation; for example, the opening section, outlining the signs of the zodiac according to month and outcome, could easily be consulted both privately and for others, and the detail accorded to each sign is brief enough to be read aloud to a number of people (in effect, this information may be consulted in much the same way that modern horoscopes are). Although from the thirteenth century onwards, "increasing reliance and importance was placed upon the written word...some of the formulas of oral delivery persisted in later medieval texts...because they would be appropriate to the situation of reading aloud, especially to the whole family" (Parkes, 1991, pp. 296-97). The concluding section – the physiognomy – also lends itself to consultation, and to reading to or for others, and its subject matter – the physical and characterological features of men born under the influence of each of the seven planets – must have been at once edifying and enjoyable.[11]

[11] Readings of medieval scientific and utilitarian texts were motivated by *utilitas* and *curiositas* (Braswell (Means), 1984, p. 337).

iii Manuscripts and Readers

If the nature of the instruction is indicative of a diverse and multi-faceted readership, then the books in which the text was transmitted allow us to discover more not only about the individual readers or communities, but also about methods of reading and ways of using the *Wise Book*. In the absence of much contemporary evidence of readership, or of commentary on the compilation and fabrication of books, scholars must be reliant on the physicality, contents, and appearance of books for indirect evidence of the social status – and therefore the likely requirements – of the patron, customer, or compiler. In short, the codices are evidence of the particular contexts in which the text reached its public(s), and of whether that context had any influence on the ways in which the *Book* was utilised and/or interpreted (or, indeed, if the inclusion of the *Wise Book* in a particular codex had an influence on the choice of co-texts).

It is germane, therefore, to use the books in which the text survives in order to reconstruct the readers and communities which had access to, or at least knowledge of, the *Wise Book*; Braswell (Means) (1978, pp. 190-91), writing about lunary texts (which, significantly, frequently co-exist with our text), uses the existing manuscript books in which these texts survive to account for the users of such lunaries. She concludes that, "from textual evidence and from references in other literature we must assume them to be all three estates – *Clerus*, *Miles*, and *Cultor*" (1978, p. 190).[12] Similarly, Parkes, writing about the rise of literacy and the consequent marketplace for vernacular literature, concluded that there were three types of medieval reader: "the professional reader…the cultivated reader…[and] the pragmatic reader" (1991, p. 275). Braswell (Means) broaches the subject by primarily imagining the possible audience(s), and by then looking at the material evidence – the MSS – for evidence of a comprehensive readership. Mooney, using an alternative method, approaches this issue by first looking at the different types of book in which scientific and utilitarian texts are preserved, and by then examining them for evidence of

[12] Elsewhere, Braswell (Means) asserts that works of science and information, compared to devotional materials, "suggest a larger cross-section of society, both lay and religious, both courtly and bourgeois" (1984, p. 337).

contemporary and/or early modern use (2004, pp. 184-202).[13] Both reach a similar conclusion: that texts of science and instruction in English were, indeed, finding a wide and diverse audience, and enjoyed popularity and sustained dispersal throughout the later Middle Ages and into the Early Modern period, and that the context in which they are presented to a public is paramount to an understanding of the manner in which they were received.

The case study carried out by Braswell (Means)[14] is of particular relevance to the present discussion for a number of reasons. Firstly, and as mentioned above, lunaries are present as companion texts to the *Wise Book* in a large proportion of the surviving MSS witnesses, and, in some cases, there is more than one lunary text to be found in a given MS.[15] Secondly, Braswell (Means) notes some thirty MSS containing twelve discrete lunary redactions, a number paralleling almost exactly the number of witnesses in which the *Wise Book* now survives, and indicating that the contemporary circulation of both may well have been on a similar scale. Finally, and most crucially, the lunaries studied by Means are evidence of an immense circulation for texts of this genre - texts that are at once instructional and utilitarian - demanded by publics and communities over three centuries. These publics and communities, for the lunary text as well as for ours, can be textually recovered with the help of the surviving books.

Braswell (Means), whilst noting that the audience for the two lunary texts on which she bases her case study must have included members of the three estates, uses the codicological evidence of surviving books to account for specific readers and communities of users. In so doing, she argues that the texts were most likely encountered by six discrete groups and in certain contexts: by the rural, non-professional family; the aristocratic household; the merchant/yeoman family; the domestic staff of a large household; professional

[13] Mooney argues for three types of MS in which scientific and utilitarian texts survive: the unbound quire, the collection of scientific and related texts, and in the miscellany or commonplace book (pp. 185-6).
[14] (Braswell) Means published a fuller study of lunary texts and their MSS in 1993, a work which I will also refer to throughout this discussion.
[15] My assessment (based on the taxonomy used by Keiser (1998)) reveals at least thirty Middle English lunary co-texts in seventeen MSS; indeed the *Wise Book* is "one of the typical contexts of lunaries" (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 157).

medical men and women; and, in ecclesiastical settings (1978, pp. 190-91).[16] Given the variety of types of MSS in which the *Wise Book* survives, this taxonomy of readers and discourse communities is relevant in that it enables us, too, to account for various levels of interaction with the text even within each individual group.

As we have already observed, through the evidence provided by internal textual instructions, the *Wise Book* invites both selective and specific approaches; that this was practically feasible is nowhere more evident than in the medical MSS that preserve the text. Since the *Wise Book* recommends itself as essential reading for the medical practitioner, it is at once unsurprising and appropriate that we find it occurring alongside *materia medica*, and with tracts on astrological medicine, in a high proportion of its manuscript witnesses. Furthermore, the range in sophistication of the medical companion texts is such that it is difficult to imagine just one group of users; since our prologue, however, suggests a dichotomous audience in terms of the medical profession - that it is a necessary handbook for both the surgeon and the 'leech'[17] doctor – we would expect that the *Wise Book* is made available to at least two types of medical practitioner.[18] Indeed it is likely that the *Wise Book* was used, too, by the more expensive and professional physicians, given that the variety of medical texts, in both English and Latin, copied alongside the *Wise Book*, occur in professional, university-style codices, in collections of short medical tracts and instructions, designed to be accessible, portable, and easily consulted, and also in miscellanies of herbal healing, lore, and collections of recipes and medical knowledge that were probably compiled and assembled over time, from many sources and by many hands. The heterogeneous nature of the MSS containing *materia medica* alongside copies of the *Wise Book* is perhaps most effectively examined by focusing on

[16] Taavitsainen (1988, p. 152) too asserts that lunary texts had "a wide lay readership", in addition to the "medical practitioners" who are addressed by the texts, and that the "manuscript evidence points to the upper and middle classes, clergy, and medical practitioners of various classes".
[17] Robbins defined a leech doctor as "the man who, possibly having picked up his medical knowledge from an apprenticeship at a monastery infirmary, would "helpe pore folke þat falleþ in to sykenesse and beþ unconnynge to helpen hem selve and of unpower to hire hem leches" (Ashmole MS 1481, f 4^{v}) (1970, p. 408).
[18] It is significant that the *Wise Book* occurs frequently with medical tracts, since "astrology found its culmination in medieval medicine…[and] prognosis depended on the position of the planets" (Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 91-2).

examples from each of these three categories, and thereby dimensioning different readers and users, and possible discourse communities in which the *Book* circulated and was copied.

British Library, MS Egerton 827 (E1) is described as being "an astrological and medical book" (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 71); the MS, however, "has the quality of being written for one's own use rather than for sale."[19] This MS has signs of being a bespoke compilation of practical texts which would have been regularly consulted by a medical professional; indeed, its workmanlike appearance, lack of ornamentation, and combination of texts would suggest that the MS was commissioned and created for a specific utilitarian function, as opposed to being a commonplace book, which would preserve a variety of genres of text. The inscription "Welles leche" [f 50^{v}], in a contemporary hand, is, along with the chosen tracts, indicative of a specific application of the tools and learning contained therein. The nine prose treatises can be reasonably viewed as loosely complementary; there is, along with a copy of the *Wise Book* – which may have been copied either on the advice of its prologue, or because of its section on the humours, complexions and physical characteristics of human beings – a lapidary, detailing the medical uses of stones and gems; a urinary and various medical recipes; a gynaecological text entitled "Off þe nature of wom*m*en", treating of conception and menstruation; and a number of astrological texts, including a lunary, which offers prognostics for each day of the moon, including information on which days are appropriate for bleeding, a text known as "Off The XIJ Synys", advising on various undertakings for when the moon is in each of the twelve signs, and also detailing the treatment of the body parts influenced by each sign. It also has a Latin destinary, a perpetual calendar for Easter (accompanied by a table), and notes on numeration (Robbins, 1970, pp. 394-95).

The volume, then, is a collection of texts which could have been used by its owner to predict an outcome (using the astrological texts and lunary), to diagnose with the help of the urinary, and to treat or medicate using the recipes,

[19] Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 165; she also distinguishes between commonplace books, which were "produced by anyone who was able to write and had the means and interest to do so" and books which may have been written in a professional capacity, but which were intended for use by an individual (either for professional or personal reasons).

by bloodletting, or perhaps by consulting the lapidary.[20] The medic was evidently accustomed to, or interested in, the treatment of women, and may therefore have practised in a small village or community. His collection of texts, for this reason, needed to be relevant, practical, and moreover, interdisciplinary. Those texts particularly concerned with astrology and computation may primarily appear to be quite similar, but on closer inspection, their individual focuses are fairly specific, and there is no replication of information. The *computus* contained in the *Wise Book* is particularly concerned with the determination of each planet's (including the moon's) reign; this will, in turn, aid in the use of the lunary which directly follows it in the MS.[21] The second *computus*, however, has an alternative focus, being concerned with finding the date of Easter. The text on the twelve signs supplies outcomes and advice for the periods during which the moon is in each of the twelve signs, and could have effectively and easily been used in conjunction with the lunary. The inclusion, too, of a text of the *Predestinationes* of Esdras could have been compared to the physiognomy section of the *Wise Book*. One can easily imagine a leech doctor, with some knowledge of Latin and of the cosmological schema, consulting the sources available to him at the bedside, in order to make as full and accurate a diagnosis as possible, and to treat and predict an outcome based on the volume's intertextual character. He may realistically have had cause to use, for example, both the simple computistical instructions provided by the *Wise Book* and the tablular and prose instructions on determining the date of Easter.

Since E1 contains texts which are chiefly concerned with diagnostics and prediction, there is every reason to speculate that this collection of mostly vernacular texts was owned and consulted by a leech doctor, trained in the art of bloodletting but who required a set of useful and accessible texts in English to enhance his effectiveness. Similar impulses may have led to the compilation of Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 878 (C4), which is a compact volume

[20] Robbins contended that the methods used by the graduate doctor would be similar to those employed by the leech, the difference being in the standard and register of the texts consulted (1970, p. 394).

[21] Since the *Wise Book* is most commonly found in medical MSS and in conjunction with lunary texts, is seems likely that "the theme of elections could be expanded in an encyclopaedic account of the world order, and when this was done, lunaries were introduced" (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 140).

designed to be portable, and which contains a collection of tracts – medical, prognosticary, and diagnosticary - in English and Latin. Amongst these is a copy of the *Liber de Diversis Medicinis*, also preserved in the Thornton MS; no fewer than three uroscopy texts – two in Latin, the *De urinis* and *Urina muleris*; a regimen of health; two herbals; John of Burgundy's plague tract; an alphabetical list of medical ingredients; and a smattering of medical recipes. The owner of this volume is clearly concerned with diagnostics and healing, and has taken care to preserve some of the most popular and widely-circulated contemporary texts of this nature. The need for holistic care, however, is reflected in the choice of companions to the medical texts; alongside the *Wise Book* is found a text on canicular days, a regimen based on the humours and seasons, the *Book of Destinary* and, similarly to E1, the prophecies of Esdras. We can conceive of C4 being used in a manner similar to E1; C4, too, has texts – particularly those concerned with uroscopy – which may have been consulted comparatively, with an eye on the astrological material contained in the volume. The volume is written in one hand, and unlike E1 has no signatures; the author of the recipe on p. 160, however, claims that it cured "Ser Wylliam Elmedene" (McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, pp. 4-5), as if to emphasise the usefulness of both the recipe and the book itself. Likewise Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 457/395 (II) (C3) may have been the *vade mecum* of a physician ((Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 12); despite this, the MS is filled with several unprofessional hands, with the effect that it appears careless and untidy. It contains, however, along with a high proportion of scientific and medical tracts and vernacular astronomical/astrological writings, a note on the usefulness of the volume at f 84^{v} (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 112).

The compiler of British Library, Egerton MS 2433 (E2) – a man by the name of "Brunfylld" (f 41^{r}) - probably acted also as scribe of his own collection of medical and related texts. This paper MS has an untidy appearance, being written in a large, scrawl-like and unpractised hand, suggesting that it functioned as a notebook rather than as a pre-prepared codex of texts copied for preservation as well as consultation. As well as containing the *Wise Book* and *The Book of Destinary*, it has two Galenic tracts, one being the *Tretys of* Surgere; an extract from the *Secretum secretorum*'s regimen of health; a translation of the *Circa*

instans of Platearius; and four discrete bloodletting texts. The *Wise Book* and *Book of Destinary* of London, British Library, Sloane MS 3553 have been bound with a copy of the Middle English translation of Gilbertus Anglicus, a tract hugely popular amongst the medical practitioners of medieval England (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3649-50). Similarly Oxford, Bodleian L, MS Selden Supra 73 (Bs) is a composite MS, comprising a number of smaller codices which have been bound together, but which also exemplifies the blend of complementary astrological/astronomical and medical texts available even to the more modest of medical practitioners of the late medieval period. Bs is compact enough to be portable, and contains the inscription "Denys" in the margin of f 26^{r}; Mooney has suggested that this may be the signature of, or may refer to, John Denys, a member of the Barber Surgeons in 1537 (1981, p. 459). This volume, containing several tracts on herbs and plants, and related recipes, may even have had some interest in a general household environment, as with Oxford, Bodleian L, MS Digby 88 (Bd), described by Wallis as an "interface between prognostication, computus, and medical-calendrical interests" (1995, p. 21). It contains a blend of texts in prose, and of those in verse designed to be mnemonic, as well as tables of moveable feasts and useful diagrams, including a Sphere of Pythagoras. The volume, owned by Thomas Allen of Oxford (d. 1632) (Watson, 1978, p. 311), is useful in many contexts, and might, at one time, have had a function outside of the medical context.[22]

The *Wise Book* is not only to be found, however, in the books of the less expensive and exclusive medical men, varying in standards from leech doctors to barbers trained, like artisans, in the craft of surgery, and seen thus as beneath learned doctors and physicians.[23] It was circulated, too, amongst the well-educated (and perhaps even university-trained) physicians; as Robbins notes, "the more learned and expensive practitioners would wish to have with them at all times the necessary tables for making accurate computations" (Robbins, 1970, p. 396). Robbins, however, suggested in his 1970 paper that university-trained

[22] Allen was a "renowned Oxford scholar…esteemed for his knowledge of science and mathematics", who counted among his friends John Dee and Henry Percy (the "Wizard Earl") (Horner, 1986, p. ix).
[23] Grigsby comments that "physicians studied surgery and medicine, but only surgeons performed the art" (2002, p. 77).

physicians were to be associated only with Latin texts (p. 408), a conclusion challenged by Voigts, who, when writing about London, Wellcome Historical Medical L, MS 564 (W2), suggests that the codex provides evidence that "vernacular medical writing in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England was more learned" than Robbins had asserted, and that the source of its texts "must have been, ultimately, the faculty of medicine at a university" (Voigts, 1984, p. 318). Moreover Voigts draws attention to both the "progressive sophistication of surgery in the later Middle Ages" (1989, p. 390, n. 26) and to the production of "learned vernacular writing" (1996, p. 815) when referring to the same MS. Purported to have been written in 1392 by an anonymous London surgeon (f 1^{r}), W2 also contains "much later English-language medical and alchemical writing – and indeed represents the completion of this process of vernacularisation" (Voigts, 1996, p. 815).[24] The inclusion of the *Wise Book* in the large, professional-looking codex W2 allows us to imagine another, well-educated set of readers and users. The codex contains two Middle English medical texts, *The Compilacioun of Surgery* and *The Tretis of Surgerie*, both largely based on the work of Lanfranc of Milan (d. 1306) and Henri de Mondeville, who was "þe kingis chef maister, surgian of ffraunce" (f 1^{r}).[25] Both Lanfranc and Henri de Mondeville were influenced by the scholastic approach to medicine, particularly surgery, and Mondeville, in his tract, warns of the dangers of, and takes physicians to task for, employing ignorant barbers to carry out their surgical tasks for them (Grigsby, 2002, p. 76). It is difficult to determine to what extent W2 is the product of a university, or the compilation of a university-trained doctor or physician; it is certainly, however, more professional, more learned and, significantly, more specialised a codex than the remedybooks and compilations of short medical texts mentioned above, and was "clearly not intended for the use of the village healer" (Voigts, 1982, p. 43). Moreover, the *Wise Book* is not merely included in this manuscript; it is embedded into the text of *The Compilacioun of Sirurgie* so as to become part of it, and is not distinguished by the

[24] Elsewhere, Voigts has noted that the term 'surgery' can be quite misleading, since it involved "more than surgery: anatomy; treatment of wounds, fractures, and dislocations; and, frequently, dietary and anti-dotary material, as well as surgical information" (1982, p. 41).
[25] *The Compilacioun of Sirurgie* and *The Tretis of Surgerie*; both are incomplete in the MS (Keiser, 1998 pp. 3650-51, 3835-36).

author-compiler as a distinct text; in fact, this section is referred to in this prologue as the third distinction or chapter of the tract, described as pertaining to "complexioun*s* wiþ her signys of þe zodiac" (f 1^{r}). The occurrence of the *Wise Book* in W2 can be seen as significant in terms of the transmission and reception histories of the text. Primarily, it implies that versions of the text were in circulation before 1400; Voigts sees no reason to doubt the 1392 dating of the exemplar used by the compiler of W2 (1996, p. 815). This assertion would place the *Wise Book* at the beginning of the tradition of vernacular scientific and medical writing. It may also be likely that the *Wise Book*'s association with a learned, vernacular writing tradition contributed to its subsequent popularity, and that, because its readership was associated with an educated, learned discourse community at some point in its transmission history, the text was accessed by a second, more specialised and better-educated, medical readership

W2 is by no means the only *Wise Book* MS that can be associated with a high standard of medical reading and practice. London, British Library, MS Sloane 965 (S1) dates from 1480, and is a high grade MS, lavishly decorated with gold illumination and blue and red decoration throughout.[26] It appears, however, to have been "deluxe edition of a physician's *vade mecum*" ((Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 21); the MS features two Zodiac Men, at f 2^{r} and f 184^{v}. S1 is written in a single, formal hand throughout; it contains a long section on the theory of the humours in relation to various parts of the body, and a text attributed to Galen. Significantly, the most part of the MS is given over to an English translation of Guy de Chauliac's surgery, prompting Robbins to suggest that it "must have belonged to a reasonably sophisticated medical practitioner" (1970, p. 399). Most of its texts are in Middle English, but it also features tracts in Latin, and contains too the type of astrological and computistical matter that a doctor or physician would have been expected to carry. Closely related to S1 is London, British L, MS Royal 17.A.3 (R1).[27] Although nowhere near as attractive as S1, R1 is in the same league as regards the sophistication of the medical texts it preserves. It is described as a "large codex from the end of the fourteenth-century" (Voigts,

[26] Selected images from this MS may be viewed online at the British Library's Illuminated MSS Catalogue (*BLCIM*).
[27] Voigts suggests that the version of Richard of Wallingford's *Declaracions* in S1 was copied from the copy of the text found in R1 (2004, p. 200).

2004, p. 200) and is regarded by Taavitsainen as a "medical codex of high quality…with professional medical tracts" (1988, p. 136). Both S1 and R1 contain English translations of the *Declaracions* of the Benedictine Richard of Wallingford, a text influential in "the vast medieval tradition on the impact of the celestial upon the terrestrial" (Voigts, 2004, p. 198), and which may well have been consulted in conjunction with the *Wise Book*.

Given that, as Robbins asserts, both the graduate and the leech doctor "would be relying essentially on the same manuscript authorities" (1970, p. 394), it should not surprise us that the *Wise Book* features in codices made for medics with varying levels of skill and education. This is reflected not only by the MS witnesses but by the form the instruction takes, lending itself at once to both consultation and application. It is implicit, however, that the *Wise Book* was not consulted or used in the same way by all. This is certainly the case when we come to examine the other MSS witnesses of the *Book* – those not primarily concerned with the influence of the cosmos on the practice of medicine, and which have not obviously been assembled for or by medical practitioners. Taavitsainen's assertion that the *Wise Book* occurs most frequently in medical MSS is misleading (1988, p. 140); while medical texts are often co-located with this text, they do not imply an exclusive medical context, or a discourse community of medics, amongst whom the text circulated. Consequently, other contexts for the *Wise Book* must suggest alternative theoretical and cultural approaches to it, and are, arguably, reflective of the inclusivity of the text. The so-called 'miscellany' MS provides one of the most common contexts for the *Wise Book*; this is a form of MS that is frequently and all too easily dismissed by commentators as the products of random compilation rather than being thought about as books that are indicative of individual impulses, material evidence of both the intellectual and practical processes central to book production. These books, which are compiled by specific people for personal use, or which consist of previously unbound quires united to form a codex, with seemingly unconnected, random collections of texts, are habitually referred to by students of book history either as commonplace books or miscellanies. Writing about Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O. 9. 38 ("A Glastonbury Miscellany"), its editor describes commonplace books (and presumably, by implication, includes

miscellanies in this distinction) as "collections of miscellaneous material assembled simply for the interest and amusement of the compiler", thereby representing "the taste of the compiler only" (Rigg, 1968, pp. 24-5).[28] Similarly commonplace books are described by Robbins as "chiefly written by the owners themselves", as books which are "notebooks of facts or references" for that owner, be s/he a private citizen or a member of a religious community. Such books, Robbins concludes, merely incidentally include poetry and romances for light reading only (1959, p. xxx). More recently, Mooney asserts that such volumes would have been "the principal, or only means available to the owners/scribe of storing useful written information" (2004, p. 186). Moreover, commonplace books often have a "specifically religious interest" and their "ephemeral nature…excludes those [manuscripts] whose contents were planned in advance"; thus in any discussion of these volumes, "the emphasis should be on the word 'miscellaneous'" (Rigg, 1968, p. 25).

Such volumes, therefore, have in the past been considered and written about in very general terms; they have been regarded as having been randomly compiled and thought to reflect the general tastes, quirks, and needs of the compiler or potential owner, rather than possessing any unity in terms of thematic or practical links between the chosen texts. More recent codicological scholarship has, however, acknowledged the relative ease with which the student of book history tends to categorise manuscripts with such varied contents as miscellanies, and has warned that in so doing, the composition and compilation, the function and efficacy, and the true nature of such books may be overlooked and misunderstood. Our response to these manuscripts often primarily centres on the fact that they are not printed books, and thereby not subject to the rules, methodologies and conditions of production that the printed books, "on which we…unconsciously model our researches" are; moreover, this response "testifies to a modern critical befuddlement" about them, stemming from what Hanna describes as "the organisational principles we associate with…the term 'book' and the language and distance that we, as modern scholars, bring to the study of them" (Hanna, 1996b, p. 37). Thus, since

[28] Rigg also notes that, rather than attempting to say what commonplace books are, it is more profitable to detail what is *not* included in this distinction, for example, collections of songs, or books produced in *scriptoria* (1968, p. 24).

we lack a critical vocabulary effectively to describe, categorise and appreciate these books, and because we are unable to imagine a modern analogous equivalent to allow us to envisage such books in use, our response to them is curtailed, and our understanding of them hindered, by the narrow and inaccurate terminology we use to describe them.[29]

The difficulty connected to nomenclature is, therefore, both perplexing and counter-productive; Middle English texts can mostly be conveniently categorised into various types with relative ease, yet the books containing them are not so easily handled with regard to taxonomy. To call a modern book an 'anthology', for example, is arguably to indicate a conscious, deliberate selection of texts which are thematically similar, or alike in form or subject matter. To talk of a medieval book as an anthology, however, is to make a value judgement on the manner in which it is compiled, the purpose behind that compilation, and the way(s) in which it was ultimately used and read.[30] The Vernon and Simeon MSS are, by this reckoning, "anthologies of…specifically religious texts" in verse, as opposed to London, British Library, MS Harley 2253, which is described as a miscellany of verse and "other material in a volume where something to suit all tastes and needs might be found" (Boffey & Thompson, 1989, p. 279). Similarly, a "compilation" (in the modern sense) is also indicative of an organisational principle to some degree, being defined as "a book or a record, compiled from different sources" (*Compact OED*, 2005, p. 197). Compilations, therefore, need not be miscellanies, since the different sources used may pertain directly to one subject matter or theme. The miscellany book is, by implication, the product of what Hanna refers to as "exemplar poverty", or the absence of relevant or significant texts required to produce an anthology (1996b, p. 47), or what may have been the post-production amalgamation of booklets, or the copying of short texts into gaps and spaces in order to fill a manuscript. These apparent absences – of theme, order, and structure – seems to dictate the nature of these books, and

[29] Driver has usefully drawn comparisons between *The Old Farmer's Almanac* (2000) and its medieval counterpart - "which might initially look like a…random hodgepodge of texts" - but which allows us to appreciate "what people to have come to expect from an almanac" (2003, pp. 199-200).

[30] Boffey usefully differentiates between anthologies and miscellanies, describing an anthology as "a manuscript which displays some indications of planned compilation" and a miscellany as "collection which seems to have come into being in a more random way" (2005, p. 6 n. 8).

have the effect of drawing the attention away from the unique evidence provided by these numerous, multi-faceted and intriguing volumes.

Such absences, too, cause us to overlook important aspects of the production of, not just miscellanies, but of all medieval books; until the late fifteenth century "all books are probably "bespoke", the product of special orders [and] appropriations of works for the use of particular persons in particular circumstances" (Hanna, 1996b, p. 37). Thus, the impulse behind the production of a medieval book may be described as uniform, but with variant results depending on a number of factors. If miscellanies are also special orders, then, with different levels of input from the intended owner, there has been a failure to recognise the cultural importance of this input, since the words 'random' and 'miscellaneous' are still frequently used to describe the end result of the particular and individually unique relationship between a potential owner, a scribe or scribes, and a variety of available or desirable texts. The process of producing a volume for an intended owner probably "required constant flexibility and readjustment of what...may have been a reasonably fixed program" (Hanna, 1996b, p. 38), so to describe the contents of any single manuscript in general terms may perhaps belie the intentions of the compiler – be it the ultimate owner or the scribe(s) – or the needs and requirements of the patron, audience or compiler; according to Connolly, it is probably the case that, with all types of miscellany, such needs are not "obvious...with only the end products to hand, but it should not be assumed that no methodology existed simply because none is apparent" (Connolly, 2003, p. 172).

Although the importance of 'commonplace books' and 'miscellanies' to the individual owner or household that used them has been widely acknowledged (since often, as mentioned above, one book would have often been used by an entire household),[31] as have the general tastes and needs of the compiler, there is an underlying assumption that texts were chosen based, not primarily on these tastes and needs, but on what was commercially available and popular at the time. In short, the fact that these books, and the texts contained in them, represent "defiantly personal impulses" has been underestimated (Hanna, 1996b, p. 37), as has the importance of the specific context in which

[31] See Mooney (2004, pp. 184-202) for a discussion of how certain household manuals were used.

these books are produced, that is, for a particular person and/or household, and the wider context, the discourse community from which they develop and emerge. The "emergence of [a] rising middle class as a class of cultivated readers is best evidenced…by the material to be found in their books" (Parkes, 1991, p. 283); consequently, such volumes, compiled by or for specific individuals and households, can be regarded as emerging from and representing a community of readers and writers, the producers and the result of a shared pool of interests and texts, and ultimately as cultural signifiers, products of an identity and place, and by their very nature, unique to both. Miscellanies and commonplace books represent a type of reading and production for which we have no modern equivalent, and therefore no words to assign to it; they are not diaries, not quite scrapbooks, not almanacs, nor are they all manuals, household or otherwise. Since each miscellany, too, is unique, a catch-all tag or phrase will never fully or accurately describe each individual book. In other words, the term 'miscellany' will do to describe the volume, but not the contents; as Shailor succinctly puts it:

> …*miscellaneous* may not be an appropriate term for describing structurally or textually complex codices…it is possible to suggest that the physical format of a volume, the selection of texts, and the audience for whom the manuscript was intended can all reveal, on closer examination, that "miscellaneous" manuscripts are not as mixed or diverse as they may first appear (1996, p. 153).

New Haven, Yale University, MS Beinecke 163 (Y), also known as the "Wagstaff Miscellany", was compiled by John Whittocksmead of Wiltshire (1410-1482).[32] The MS is a well-thumbed parchment codex, in two parts, running to 193 folios. The first and main part, although written in two hands, bears the mark of Whittocksmead's influence, having two prominent signatures at ff 59^{r} and f 101^{v}.[33] A landowner and a prominent member of the West Country gentry, John Whittocksmead was active in the affairs of the region and "sat in Parliament numerous times between 1442 and 1475" (Keiser, 1999, p. 474). Whittocksmead's volume contains what Keiser terms "practical books for a

[32] A selection of digital images from this MS have been made available online; see *YaleImage*.
[33] A third signature has been effaced from f 14^{v}, and the same hand has written "explicit" at the end of several sections (Shailor, 1984, I, p. 222).

gentleman", in both English and Latin, and the variety of texts preserved in the miscellany is testament not only to his interests but to his wide circle of associates – most notably the acquaintance of Sir John Fortesque, Chief Justice of the King's Bench - and, thereby, his access to such works (1999, p. 474). Whittocksmead's book, therefore, can be best described as a volume of practical, devotional, legal and scientific texts, suitable for and of interest to a reasonably well-educated country gentleman.

Descriptions of Y, however, generally, and perhaps necessarily, emphasise the seemingly diverse nature of the texts which we find therein; Hieatt, for example, whose main focus is the culinary collection found in the volume, points to what she calls the book's "obviously miscellaneous contents", referring to them as "unrelated items" (1988, p. 23). Similarly, whilst Shailor on the one hand talks of Y as being "complex codicologically and textually speaking", on the other she maintains that it is "encyclopaedic in nature and function", containing texts of questionable literary quality (1996, pp. 164-5). Far from being a random anthology of unconnected texts, however, Whittocksmead's book is important to our understanding of the significance not only of an alternative, non-specialist context for the *Wise Book*, but also of the nature and function of the miscellaneous type of medieval book. Furthermore, it is the product of an individual decision to create a book, the locus for various types of reading, activity, and storage and, crucially, a hard copy record of the intellectual and spiritual pursuits of a member of the emerging, literate middle class, exemplifying the "voracious appetite of the English gentry...for writings of education and edification" (Keiser, 1999, p. 474).

Moreover the apparent randomness of the volume masks a balanced variety of texts, and what I contend to be a careful, deliberate consideration of textual assembly, and evidence of an awareness of the practical benefits of intertextuality. Parkes notes that miscellanies of moral, scientific and courtesy material blended with material of a professional interest were "designed to improve the reader's soul, or to multiply his accomplishments and increase his stock of useful, even cultural information", and that they "reflect the pragmatic taste of the middle-class reader, and his desire to rise in the world" (1991, p. 284). Thus, even though Y contains more than thirty-five separate texts, there is never a sense that it is dominated by one genre of text, nor that thematically-similar

texts are copied as fillers. This even quality can be discerned from the range of texts preserved here: there is a culinary collection, a herbal, and a treatise on wine; two tracts on equine medicine; three tracts – one in verse – on hunting and hawking; a Parliamentary text and a verse on the Exchequer; some religious material, including a confessional; two astrological tracts – one, the *Wise Book* – and a dreambook; and various useful recipes and charms. For the most part, texts that are similar in subject-matter occur in close proximity in the MS. This structure may have to do with the exemplars used, but it may also be evidence of a deliberate act of *ordinatio* and an attempt to encourage and facilitate comparison of material.[34] Thus the functionality and accessibility of each text is maximised; for example, the nature of the two spiritual texts – the Latin *De spiritu Guidonis* and a guide to "self-examination for confession" (Keiser, 1999, p. 475) – is such that the former encourages the consultation of the latter.[35]

As a member of the gentry, a landowner, and a public servant, we would expect Whittocksmead's interests to be reflected in his choice of texts, and Keiser points out that it is not surprising that many of them should be technical manuals (1999, p. 474). As an amateur reader, with what would appear to be a general interest in works of moral, philosophical and scientific instruction, it is likely that someone like Whittocksmead could also make use of the instruction and practical applications provided by the *Wise Book*, which makes its information accessible to the layman as well as the different classes of medic. The MS, however, also needed to be available to the members of Whittocksmead's household, and it has signs of anticipated or actual consultation by readers, in the form of annotation and finding devices evident throughout. Finding devices permitted easy and quick access to information within longer treatises, and Whittocksmead used red ink to identify portions of texts which would, perhaps, be consulted more often than others; in the herbal text, for example, each entry is preceded by a list of diseases to be cured by the herb in question, and each entry title is underscored in red (Keiser, 1999, p. 476).

[34] By the fourteenth century, the reader had come to expect some the features of *ordinatio* and *compilatio*, "and if they had not been supplied by scribe or rubricator the reader himself supplied the ones he wanted on the pages of his working copy" (1976, p. 135).
[35] The *De spiritu* is an account of a Dominican prior's interrogation of the soul of Guy, and the confessional uses the seven deadly sins to examine conscience (Keiser, 1999, p. 475).

The blend of texts preserved alongside the *Wise Book* – which itself invites selective and informed readings – most likely meant that the volume was subject to levels of consultation, by different members of the household, for various purposes, and at certain times of the year. Indeed the sense of Whittocksmead's book is that it succeeds at once in being a household manual - containing, alongside the more esoteric texts, texts connected with the running of a large house and estate – and a compilation of texts connected to the identity and personal interests of the owner.

It is not likely that all of the instructive material contained in these texts, and in the *Wise Book*, would have been approached in the same way by all. John Whittocksmead selected his texts and copied them, and only then, once his volume was complete, decided to demarcate material which was of interest, or functional. Some compilers and scribes found the need to amend and edit texts as they copied, rearranging his material to serve the needs of himself and his family or household. Like John Whittocksmead, many readers would not have had the need, or the desire, to read the text from beginning to end. As is the case with devotional material, for example, the text may have been read for, or on behalf of, someone else. The *Wise Book*'s physiognomy section, with its emphasis on physical appearances and personalities, would lend itself very well to both types of reading. Also, the methods given for the calculation of time do not require knowledge of astronomy or mathematics, but have a functionality that may have appealed to the less well-educated members of the household as well as to Whittocksmead himself, whose interest in astronomy/astrology was such that it led to the inclusion of a tract in Latin and English (ff 24^{r} – 28^{v}), as well as the *Wise Book*, the *Book of Destinary*, and a dreambook.

The so-called miscellaneous type of MS in which the *Wise Book* is frequently found are culturally significant because of what they reveal not only about the intellectual pursuits of their individual owners and the unique discourse communities connected with them, but because they are often the locus for processes of reading that probably remained unique according to that discourse community, and indeed, often varied from reader to reader. The discourse communities associated with the medical MSS, examined above, are easily discernable; those we might associate with miscellanies, however, are not as obvious, simply because of the absence of conventional signs of and responses

to reading and implied audiences – signatures, marginalia, and dedicatory prologues, for example. Silent audiences have to be imagined, though they are alluded to in the *Wise Book* itself; the *computus* section allows for audiences who listen to the text, or have the text read on their behalf. Companion texts of the *Wise Book* in miscellanies are often such that we can imagine them being read, to or for, communities of women, children, or to the illiterate members of the household. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.14.51 (C6), composite in two parts, and similarly to Y, is firmly associated with a particular household, having the family name – "Bussell" - prominently inscribed, under a diagram of a circular horse mill on one of the fly-leaves (Mooney, 1995, p. 49). C6, it has been suggested, may have been compiled for or by, or may have been sometime in the possession of a family of that name living near Chester (Talbot & Hammond, 1975, p. 73); consequently the combination of texts, like those found in Y, reflects the utilitarian, literary and medical concerns of a relatively well-to-do family. The two parts of C6 are similar in terms of hand and decoration, and were bound together shortly after writing (Mooney, 1981a, p. 483); the MS is topped and tailed by ballads – "Gentilesse" and "Lak of Stedfastnesse", a moral poem and a complaint about contemporary conditions in the world respectively (Benson, 1987, p. 654), and a poem entitled "Balade fet de la Reygne Katerine Russell" – but the intermediary texts are a blend of astrological material, household books and charms and recipes. Framed by the moral and advisory tone of the three ballads we find astrological/astronomical tracts which advise on treatment of illness, with reference to the moon and the zodiac, as well as treatises on (un)lucky days and days suitable for bloodletting. The medical texts include a regimen of health after Galen, a uroscopy text, a note on the signs of death, and a short text on administering medicines;[36] texts which could have been used in conjunction with these, or would have been independently functional too, are those on gathering herbs and on equine medicine.[37] Amongst the many

[36] The multi-disciplinarity of C6 is summarised in the prologue to one of its texts, "A general techynge to 3eue medecyns" (f 16^{r-v}): "þe wyse man seith whoso ys a leche and knoweth nou3te of astronomye he ys like a blynde man þat goth with a staf and sekith þe wey…" (Mooney, 1995, p. 51).

[37] London, British L, MS Sloane 1609 (S3) has notes on the births and deaths of the children of the Hill family of Lambeth, and has a similar selection of texts to Y and C6, including a calendar, a dietary also attributed to Galen, a herbal, and a dreambook; this volume, however, had an

collections of charms and recipes, however, are two charms for a difficult childbirth, which would have been consulted and used – directly or otherwise – by the female members of a household. Women may also have accessed the moral and monitory ballads, or have listened to them being read aloud, just as they may have had access to the *Trotula* gynaecological text in London, British L, MS Add 12195 (B), the prologue of which recommends that it be read by lettered women to those who could not read, and features advice on childbirth and how to chose a nurse (Wogan-Browne *et al.*, p. 157-59). Like C6, the volume has a charm for a difficult childbirth (f 142^{v}), a brief prose prayer in Latin about the Virgin's delivery of Jesus, with accompanying instructions in English (Keiser, 1998, p. 3673). Devotional material and texts in verse, which are often conducive to selective reading, or reading aloud, also occur frequently in *Wise Book* miscellanies; Oxford, Bodleian L, MS Ashmole 189 (B1) contains many carols and prayers, along with secular verse texts, such as one on the choosing of friends based on physical characteristics (f 213^{r}).

Other reading contexts should, however, be considered for the *Wise Book*'s miscellany MS tradition. B1 is composite in four parts, and, as noted by Ker, has evidence from an inscription that part II was owned by Richard Coscumb, prior of Muchenely Abbey, Somerset (1941, I, p. 73). The glut of carols and prayers in the middle of the MS, therefore, had a separate existence before being bound together with the *Wise Book* and other astrological materials; however other parts of the codex also have what Taavitsainen terms a "Muchenely connection" (1988, p. 168), so it is possible that the secular texts, and the *Wise Book*, continued to be read and used in an ecclesiastical setting. The collection of religious, legal, grammatical and medical material found in London, British L, MS Add 12195 (B) does not immediately obviate its circulation at the house of Austin canons at Creake, near Walshingham (*LALME* 1.100); the volume contains prayers and notes on services for certain times in the liturgical year, as well as services used by the Carmelites, alongside notices of banns, wills and testaments, grammatical texts, charms and recipes and a portion of John Lydgate's *Rammeshorne*. In a more literary context is Cambridge, University L, MS Ll.4.14 (C2), which contains a

ecclesiastical context prior to its use by the Hill family (1633), having notes of banns in Latin and English, dated 1453-4.

copy of the B-text of *Piers Plowman* (ff 1^{r} – 107^{r}), a text which looks at the arguments of the psalms, two arithmetical treatises, and *Mum and the Sothsegger*. Langland, just like the author of the *Wise Book*, is attuned to the explanation and elucidation of "complex theological problems" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. xii). This particular context, C2, also contains a glossary of difficult words found in *Piers*, and the didactic tone of the MS, both in terms of moral and scientific instruction, may have contributed to its ultimate function as a schoolroom volume (Benson & Blanchfield, 1997, p. 45).[38] Krochalis and Peters suggest, however, that the inclusion of the *Wise Book* in this volume may have been in some way encouraged by Langland's reference, in Passus XV, to "[A]lle the sciences under the sonne and alle the sotyle craftes" (1975, p. 5). The *Wise Book*, in Cambridge, University L, MS Ee.4.31 (C1), also has a literary context, being accompanied by a version of the widely read and disseminated prose *Brut* and a copy of Robert of Gloucester's metrical chronicle, and signed by two early owners.

Voigts' assertion that lunary texts reached and were actively sought out generally by members of the three estates, and particularly by rural families, aristocratic landowners, middle-class families, domestic staff, professional medics and the clergy, is certainly true of and applicable to the *Wise Book*; however, it does have another context which may not always mimic those of the lunary text. We find it in books composed of astronomical/astrological tracts which may not necessarily have been used by medical men, such as Oxford, Bodleian L, Radcliffe Trust MS e.30 (Br); the context, too, of San Marino, Huntington L, MS HM 64 (H) is for the main part cosmological and prognosticary, and the tracts are supplemented by diagrams of the universe, one of a Zodiac Man, and tables of eclipses. It is found too, however, in books which are exclusively given over to the *Wise Book*, or of which our text is the main focus. London, British L, MS Sloane 2453 (S4) contains only the *Wise Book* and the *Book of Destinary*, and is, both dimensionally and in terms of appearance, a modest MS. Oxford, Bodleian L, MS Rawlinson D 1220 (B5) is similar in content, but both the *Wise Book* and the *Book of Destinary* are richly decorated. This volume has some

[38] Or, as Krochalis & Peters term it, to an understanding of "the social and spiritual concerns of late-fourteenth century Englishmen" (1975, p. xv).

miscellaneous notes and a verse fragment at ff 1-2, but it is probable, in contrast to S4, that it was not intended to be home to further texts. Oxford, Bodleian L., MS Add B. 17 (B6) has two additional tracts; both are, however, specifically concerned with the zodiac, and are illustrated with small drawings of the signs, and some illuminated capitals. Tokyo, Takamiya MS 39 has a comparable focus on the astrological, accompanying the *Wise Book* and the *Book of Destinary* with four pages of diagrams. In effect, the *Wise Book* had a tradition of circulation which required no companion texts and no explanation; that it was circulated as the sole, or primary, text in more than one MS infers that it was considered sufficiently informative or useful to act as a stand-alone text, supporting or being supported by illustrations. In this sense, and despite its overtly 'miscellaneous' context, the *Wise Book* must have been thought of as authoritative enough to warrant the creation of at least a few expensive, presentation MSS.

The types of MSS in which we find the text suggest not only the diverse circumstances in which the *Wise Book* circulated; they also, and perhaps more importantly, reveal a more complex and textured reception history for the text, thereby accounting for a diversity of not only actual readers and communities, but for layered responses to the text. Its manuscripts suggest, like the text itself, that it can be actively and/or selectively used; it can also be advisory and didactic, so that readers can passively encounter it; the text can be approached in conjunction with other tracts similar in focus or theme; or it can be read, perused, or displayed. (Braswell) Means reminds us that evidence surviving in the form of books from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries "proves that the very large number of astrological texts circulated widely in every class of manuscript - from the most deluxe, illuminated copy on parchment to the poorest household almanac on dog-eared paper" (1992b, p. 368). The nature of the books that preserve *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy* is such that is difficult to imagine a narrow, closed community of readers, such as the one alluded to in the text's prologue. It is hoped that this examination of the cultural position of the text reveals not only that it found some influence in the later Middle English literary landscape, but that it challenges our prejudices regarding seemingly simplified and randomly copied vernacular texts, which were known and encountered in many reading contexts in the Middle Ages.

Section 3: Handlist of Wise Book Manuscripts

The following handlist of the MSS containing the Middle English *Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy* is provided with an intended dual function. Essentially, it collates the information available on those MSS into an accessible and utilitarian format. A large amount of the data reproduced here is necessarily gleaned from diverse sources: from catalogues of library collections, of manuscripts at auction, and from the various indices and manuals in print which assist the study of medieval texts and their contexts. This handlist, however, is also intended to provide an holistic view of the manner and format in which the *Wise Book* was read and copied; since the *Wise Book* survives in a large number of MS witnesses it is hoped that, by presenting details on and bibliographic references for both co-texts and MSS, the student of the *Wise Book* will be facilitated in an examination of not only individual books, but in the overall scope and range of its MS tradition. Moreover, the handlist will supplement the observations made in the thesis as a whole, and will allow for further study of both text and MSS. Thus, the handlist is included to supply as much detail as possible about the contexts in which the *Wise Book* circulated and to offer, in as much detail as this study permits, an overview of the manuscript tradition for purposes of comparison and further research.

This handlist, however, is by no means exhaustive; many MS collections lack modern, up to date catalogues, so the student is often reliant on late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century reference works, which are frequently inaccurate and lacking in important and substantive detail. As mentioned in the *Introduction* to the present work, the recent publication of various finding aids and descriptive catalogues has been crucial to the study of late medieval texts and MSS; however, such finding aids are often genre-, form- or language-specific, and thus by nature exclude information on certain texts or aspects of a given MS or collection. This handlist seeks to list the full contents, and provide references for, each companion text in Middle English and, where possible, texts in Latin, and French and German, where they occur. Some MSS have longer, more detailed entries than others; this is generally either because information about the MS is scant (as with Tokyo, Takamiya MS 39 (T), which is in a private collection, with, as yet, no published catalogue), or because the *Wise Book* is one

of the few texts in the volume, as with Oxford, Bodleian L MS Rawlinson D 1220 (B5), a richly decorated MS which features the *Wise Book* and the *Book of Destinary* only, or Oxford, Bodleian L, MS Additional B. 17 (B6), which has just four texts.

The beginning of the entry for each of the thirty-three MSS supplies references to catalogues for and general references to the MS, all of which are provided in abbreviated form (the full entry for each is supplied in the *Works Cited* section at the end). Also, where possible a brief description is provided for each; this generally includes an approximate date for the MS, a brief note on practicalities (materials, size/dimensions, hand, decoration), dialect (where known) and provenance. More detailed analysis (for example, of collation, present binding, and so on), though desirable, has been omitted due to the fact that not all MSS have been physically examined; additionally, the work is intended to be an overview study, and such details will, it is hoped, form part of a full critical edition of the text. Again, the scope of these entries varies for similar reasons as have been stated above.

The contents entry for each MS is laid out in a similar manner; firstly, all major catalogues (including catalogues which have been made available online) for the MS are listed, then works which refer, in general terms, to the content of the MS; there follows the brief description of the MS and the list of contents. Each text is given a separate entry including a short description and a list of editions, major reference works and, where relevant, other *Wise Book* MS in which a text is contained. Some reference works (such as *IMEP* or *eVK*), which are referred to consistently throughout the handlist, are cited in abbreviated form; a list of abbreviations used throughout is provided above.

The handlist examines MSS alphabetically according to city, following the order given at close to the beginning of the thesis; references to other *Wise Book* MSS within handlist entries are indicated by sigla. Ancillary physical details about the MS (generally regarding missing or blank folios) are given in square brackets throughout. Finally, a note on *eVK* references to the *Wise Book*; in the *eVK* database, the *Wise Book* generally has two entries per manuscript – one for the prologue, and a second for the text proper. These entry numbers, therefore, do *not* refer to *The Book of Destinary*, which, when occurring, is listed separately to the *Wise Book*.

I Cambridge, University Library MS Ee.4.31 (Cl)

Catalogues: Hardwick & Luard, II, 1856-67, pp. 164-66.

Brief Description: MS s. xv (Keiser, 1998, p. 3766), 1475 – 1500 (Embree, 1999, pp. 6-7; Kennedy, 1989, p. 2189), parchment, ff 272, 35 ll per page; in a number of hands of the latter part of s.xv. Signed "Will Cliffe, his booke", and "Hughe Cooke" (Hardwick & Luard, II, 1857, p. 164).

Contents:

1. ff 1^{r} – 6^{v}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

An incomplete version (*eVK* 969, 2233).

2. f 7^{r}: "Parvus Cato"

By Benedict Burgh. Seven stanzas in rime royal.

Reference: NIMEV 3955.

3. f 7^{v} – 24^{r}: "Cato Major"

Benedict Burgh's version. Forty-four stanzas in rime royal (*NIMEV* 854).

4. ff 25^{r} – 50^{r}: Chronicle of Emperors and Popes

A fourteenth-century prose translation of the thirteenth-century *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* by Martinus Polonus (Martinus von Trappau, d. 1279). This English translation, found in four MSS is derived from the third recension of the *Chronicle* that ended in 1277. The two English MSS that appear to be complete, this MS included, omit the early history found in the source and begin with an account of Christ and of the first emperor Octavian; the last emperor mentioned is Conrad IV (d. 1254) and the last pope is John XXI (d. 1277). This is wanting f 38 (Embree, 1999, p. 6).

Edition: Embree, 1999, pp. 29-144 (not this MS).

References: Kennedy, 1989, pp. 2663-4, 2879-2880.

4. ff 53^{r} – 202^{v}: Robert of Gloucester's Metrical Chronicle

Found in two versions (this one B-Text), this is written in seven-stress couplets, in an original dialect of the Southwest or Southwest Midlands. It covers the period from Brutus to 1270 in the longer version and to 1272 in the shorter (this MS) (Kennedy, 1989, pp. 2617-21, 2798-2807).

Reference: *NIMEV* 727.

5. ff 203^{r} – 276^{v}: The Prose *Brut* (Chronicles of England)

Survives in at least 172 MSS, which are listed in Kennedy (below); more recently, however, Matheson records 203 copies (1998, p. 137). Kennedy notes that the version in this MS is "a continuation" of [4] above (p. 2819). Includes two verse songs, "Maydens of Engelande sare may ye morne", said to have been sung by the Scots at Bannockburn; five lines (*NIMEV* 2039.3); and the victory song over the Scots, 1296; six lines (*NIMEV* 3558.5). Matheson terms this the "common version".

References: Kennedy, 1989, pp. 2629-37, 2818-33.

Matheson, 1998, p. 137.

NIMEV 3918.5.

II Cambridge, University Library, MS Ll.4.14 (C2)

Catalogues: Benson & Blanchfield, 1997, pp. 21-27, 44-46, 137-149; Hardwick & Luard, IV, 1861, pp. 66-68.

General References: *LALME* 1.68, 2.87; Kane & Donaldson, 1988, p. 4; Thorne & Uhart, 1986, pp. 248-54; Uhart, 1986, p. 255.

Brief Description: second quarter of s. xv (Doyle, 1986, p. 41; Hanna, 1993, p. 39); paper; ff. ii + 160; 285 x 210mm; MS appears to be composite, but Kane & Donaldson disagree, arguing against the division after item two; it is more likely that the division occurs after item five (Benson & Blanchfield, 1997, p. 45 n 50); scribe A (items one to five) writes in a small, neat anglicana, and the scribe of item nine in a mid-sixteenth century, regular and clear Secretary hand. Items one to five are decorated and annotated, with red capitals, paraphs and underlinings (Benson & Blanchfield, 1997, pp. 44-6). Part one of the MS is "probably in one hand throughout, though the language changes somewhat", and is located in Ely (*LALME* l, p. 68). Samuels notes that the dialect is Cambridgeshire (1988, p. 206).

Contents:

1. ff 1^{r} – 107^{r}: *Piers Plowman* (B-Text)

For a description with list of manuscripts, editions and studies, see Middleton, 1986, pp. 2211-2234, 2419-2448.

Reference: NIMEV 1459.

2. ff 107^{v} – 119^{v}: *Mum and the Sothsegger*

This text was known, before the discovery of the longer fragment of 1751 alliterative long lines in MS BL Additional 41666, as *Richard the Redeless* or *Poem on the Deposition of Richard II* (857 different lines in this MS). The date of the latter lies between 1403 and 1406, and the poem "is directly connected with the events which had occurred in 1399 with the removal of Richard II from the throne on charges of tyrannical rule" (Schlauch, 1956, p. 288). The fragment in this MS has a prologue and four passus. Ends imperfectly (Robbins, 1975, pp. 1504-5, 1705-7).

Editions: Skeat, 1886, l, p. 603 (this MS).

---, 1873 (from this MS).

Day & Steele, 1934, p. 199.

References: Embree, 1975, pp. 4-12.

NIMEV 296.3.

Steele, 1922, p. 965.

3. ff. 127^{r} – 140^{v}: Cambridge Arithmetical Treatise

An unedited prose treatise, which Acker describes as an independent translation, conflating material found in other treatises, and dealing with (in separate chapters) numeration, addition, subtraction, multiplication, mediation, division, progression, and extraction of roots (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3639, 3810). This MS is the only extant.

References: Acker, 1993, p. 76.

eVK 813.

4. ff. 141^{r} – 147^{v}: "Here Begynneth Minicoun…"

An unedited prose arithmetical treatise, on fractions (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3639, 3810). This MS is the only extant.

References: Acker, 1993, p. 76 (and n. 20).

eVK 2382.

5. ff. 153^{r} - 156^{r}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

This early part of this version is accompanied by marginalia which details the domination of each sign over various parts of the body.

Editions: (Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 619 (selection).

Brown, 1994, pp. 9-10.

Krochalis & Peters, 1975, pp. 3-17.

Reference: *eVK* 974, 2272.

6. ff 156^{v} - 159^{v}: *The Book of Physiognomy*

This physiognomy describes internal qualities by examining external forms, and also looks at the elements and humours, and at the planets and their influence on mankind. It concludes with the signs and significance of the head, hair, face, forehead, eyes, nose, brows, mouth, teeth, ear, neck and throat (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3610, 3759). This version stops at the ear, but Acker supplies the ending from MS P (1985, p. 266). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS P and A.

Editions: Acker, 1985, pp. 266-69.

Krochalis & Peters, 1975, pp. 218-228.

References: eVK 653, 6819.

Pack, 1974, p. 113.

[f 160 missing]

7. ff 161^{r} – 163^{r}: *Tabula Psalmorum* – Arguments of the Psalms

Latin Distichs, incomplete (Benson & Blanchfield, 1997, p. 45).

[f 163^{v} blank]

8. f 164^{r} – 167^{r}: Sayings of the Fathers

This is the only extant MS of this text known as Sayings of the Fathers, which is 278 lines in couplets, excluding the Latin quotations that precede each English translation (*NIMEV* 4128).

[f 167^{v} blank; f 168 missing]

9. ff 170^{r}: Glossary to *Piers Plowman*

Incomplete (Benson & Blanchfield, 1997, p. 46).

[ff 169^{r-v} and 170^{v} mostly blank; ff 171-2 missing]

10. ff 173^{r} – 174^{v}: *Piers of Fulham*

'A man that lovith ffisshyng and fowlyng bothe…' 360 lines of couplets; an introductory colophon explains that Piers of Fulham, a noble clerk and sometime usher of Venus's school, briefly compiled many pretty conceits in love under covert terms of fishing and fowling. Incomplete; lacks moral and allegorical elements (Keiser, 1989, pp. 3928, 3708).

References: eVK 637.

NIMEV 71.

Editions: Hartshorne, 1829, p. 117.

Hazlitt, 1864-66, II, p. 215.

11. f 174^{v}: Prayer of the Five Wounds of Christ

A popular prayer to Jesus in one quatrain (*NIMEV* 1686).

III. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 457/395 (II) (C3)

Catalogues: Rand Schmidt, 2001. pp. 88-113; James, 1907-8, p. 531; Smith, 1849, 457.

General References: Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 69-70, (Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 12.

Brief Description: xv-xvi (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 113) s. xv (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 69); paper; ff iiii+86+i ((Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 12); 280 x 185 mm (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 69); written area 250 x 180 mm ((Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 12); in Latin and English with both prose and verse; MS in "several ugly hands...carelessly written" (James, 1907-08, p. 531), which (Braswell) Means notes are "anglicana with secretary influence" (1993, p. 12); names "Iamys Hyll" (twice on f 83^{v} in a s. xvi hand) ((Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 12), John Thomas, and Thomas Sowman of Rayleghte (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 70; James, 1907-08, p. 532); also, Henry Goode on f 1^{r} ((Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 12); gift of William Moore (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 113; James, 1907-08, p. 531). (Braswell) Means notes that the MS may have been "a physician's *vade mecum*" (1993, p. 12).

Contents:

1. ff 1^{v}– 12^{r}: Recipes, Charms and Remedies

Around ninety-six, for various conditions and complaints; includes recipes for ink of various colours (f 2^{v}); medical recipes for fever and other illnesses (f 3^{r-v}; 5^{r-v}; 6^{v}; 6^{v}-8^{r}; 8^{v} – 9^{r}; 10^{r-v}; 11^{r} – 12^{v}); recipe against the bite of a rabid dog (f 4^{r}); recipes and charms against toothaches (ff 4^{v}-5^{r}); recipes for killing birds (f 5^{r}); charms against hallucinations and evil spirits (f 5^{r}); alchemical recipes (f 6^{v}); recipes reducing the sexual urges of men or women (f 9^{v}), including one for oil of Exeter (f 10^{v} – 11^{r}) (Rand Schmidt, 2001, pp. 88-93). There also features a wafer charm, "Pater est Alpha..." (f 8^{v}), directing that the victim of fever eat, on three consecutive days, items on which have been written sacred words in Hebrew, Latin and Greek. Instructions are not in the vernacular, but they appear with English instructions. Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B and B4 (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3672, 3869-70).

References: *eVK* 2471, 5586.

Forbes, 1971, p. 296.

Sheldon, 1978, p. 218.

Thomson, 1979, p. 208.

2. 13^{r} - 17^{v}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Incomplete, variant version with *The Book of Ypocras* incorporated at ff 14^{v} – 16^{v} (recurs at ff 77^{v} – 78^{v}); with a variant prologue (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 93).

Reference: *eVK* 884, 1131, 1613, 2234.

3. ff 17^{r-v}: Text on Zodiacal Signs

and on the illnesses associated with them (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 94).

4. ff 18^{r} – 21^{v}: "Primus liber Aristotilis..."

Text attributed to Aristotle; consists of around seventy-five medical and household recipes (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 95).

Reference: eVK 1629.

5. ff 22^{r} – 25^{r}: "De Cognitione Herbarum"

Primarily in Latin, with the incipit "Igitur virtutes et naturas singulorum debemus agnoscere"; after a description of ten herbs it turns to English and a further fifty-one herbs are described (Rand Schmidt, 2001, pp. 95-6). It is attributed to Macer and is incomplete (*eVK* 3604).

Reference: Frisk, 1949, p. 17.

6. ff 25^{v} - 27: Medical Recipes

Approximately twenty-nine recipes, some for plasters and sores, for diagnosing a fractured skull, for menstrual irregularities, and for various medicinal draughts (Rand Schmidt, 2001, pp. 96-7).

Reference: eVK 4112, 4338.

7. ff 27^{v}: Notes on Perilous Mondays

and on days for bloodletting (*eVK* 7263, 7264).

8. ff 27^{v} – 32^{r}, 32^{v} – 33^{v}: Medical Recipes

Approximately seventy-six recipes for medicinal powders, draughts and syrups, and against various ailments (Rand Schmidt, 2001, pp. 96-99).

Reference: *eVK* 4112, 4338.

9. f 32^{r}: *Synonymy*

Such lists of English, Latin, and French plant-names or glosses of Latin herbals are frequently found in medical miscellanies, particularly those with collections of Latin writings (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3645, 3827). Similar items are found in *Wise Book* MSS Bs and H.

Reference: Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 99.

10. f 34^{r}: Tract on waters and oils

Introduction, followed by the names of fourteen waters, oils and unguents and their areas of use (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 100). Title also given as "General Rule for All Manner of Surgery of Apostemes" (*eVK* 3816).

11. ff 34^{v} – 44^{r}: Medical Recipes

Approximately 136 recipes for plasters, ointments, and salves, with a note warning against letting women see wounds sustained in war (f 44^{r}) (Rand Schmidt, 2001, pp. 100-01).

Reference: eVK 1429.

12. ff 44^{r-v}: "Galeyne"

Ointments required by a surgeon, followed by uses of different types (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 101). Attributed to Galen (*eVK* 4647).

13. f 45^{r-v}: Medical recipes

Nine recipes against various ailments (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 102).

Reference: eVK 4112, 4338.

14. ff 46^{r-v}: "De canicularibus diebus"

Advice for healthy living, beginning with rules for the canicular days (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 102).

References: eVK 7134.

Taavitsainen, 1994, p. 298.

---, 1988, p. 55.

15. ff 46^{v} – 47^{r}: "De complexcionibus"

Text on the four humours (Rand Schmidt, 2001, pp. 102-03).

Reference: eVK 4355.

16. ff 47^{r} – 50^{r}: "De physiognomia"

Written for "Alysaunder the gret conquerour…"; a version of the physiognomy from *Secretum secretorum* (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 103).

Reference: eVK 802.

Manzalaoui, 1977, pp. xlvii, 10-14.

17. f 50^{r-v}: "Thunder in January"

Significations of thunder in terms of weather, crops and various other concerns (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 103).

Reference: eVK 7563.

18. ff 50^{v} – 51^{v}: "De diebus nociuis per lunares menses"

Twenty-four perilous days, two in each month, with some guidelines for bloodletting. It is noted that several texts are conflated here (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 104)

References: eVK 1233, 1234, 1179, 1182.

19. ff 51^{v} – 52^{r}: "De regimine planetarum in diebus"

On the reign of planets (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 104).

Reference: eVK 1541.

20. ff 52^{r} – 53^{r}: New Year's Day Prognostications

Outcomes for the year based on the first of January (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 109). Similar to Christmas Day prognostications (item [32] below). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B1 and Bd.

References: eVK 2585, 2587.

Keiser, 1998, pp. 3624, 3782.

IPMEP 164.

21. 53^{r-v}: On the Four Humours

Text on the relationship between the humours and the seasons, the four parts of the day and night, the four ages of man and the four parts of a man's body (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 105).

Reference: *eVK* 3048.

22. ff 53^{v} – 55^{r}: Influence of the Planets

References: *eVK* 4491.

Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 105.

23. ff 55^{r-v}: "De regimine signorum"

Introduction on Ptolemy and the *Almagest*, followed by a list of the signs of the zodiac and their relationship to the human body and to seasons of the year. Also some material on languages of England and Greece (Rand Schmidt, 2001, pp. 105-06).

Reference: eVK 748.

24. ff 55^{v} – 56^{r}: "De tempore secundum cursum lunae minuendi"

Bloodletting lunary (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 106).

Edition (partial): Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 79-80.

Reference: eVK 3425.

25. f 57^{r-v}: " De regimine lune cum signis"

An introduction on determining signs of the zodiac from the movement of the moon, with a list of signs and advice on bloodletting (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 106).

Reference: eVK 7531.

26. ff 57^{v} – 60^{v}: Text on Urine

Accompanied by diagrams of twelve jordans, with descriptions of colours, diagnosis and the prescribed medicine. Ends "explicit quod Whyston" (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 107).

Reference: eVK 4402, 7749.

27. ff 61^{r}, 63^{v} – 67^{v} : Medical Recipes

There are five on f 61^{r} – one against the prick of a thorn, one against cankers, one for migraine and two against colic. Between ff 63^{v} and 67^{v} there fifty-five, a mixture of recipes and charms, which are mostly in English but with three in Latin (Rand Schmidt, 2001, pp. 107-08).

Reference: eVK 5706.

28. ff 61^{v} – 62^{v}: Extract from *Secretum secretorum*

From a translation of a French version, this describes the four parts of the body and the manners of fishes (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 108).

References: eVK 2487.

IPMEP 260, 262.

Manzalaoui, 1977, pp. xlvii, 352-58.

Steele, 1898, pp. 30-32.

29. ff 68^{r} – 74^{r}: *God of Hys Grace*

Prose lunary based on the thirty days of the moon (Rand Schmidt, 2001, pp. 108-09); it is a collective lunary with biblical motifs (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 69). This text bears similarities to *The Thrytty Days of the Mone* which is found in *Wise Book* MSS Bd and H. Only extant version.

Edition (partial): Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 69, 197-223.

References: eVK 2050.

Keiser, 1998, pp. 3620, 3774.

Taavitsainen, 1987, p. 24.

30. ff 74^{r} – 75^{r}: Christmas Day Prognostications

Esdras-type prognostications based on the day of the week on which Christmas falls; similar to New Year's Day prognostications (item [20] above) (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 109).

References: eVK 2583.

IPMEP 327.

31: ff 75^{r-v}: "Dieta ypocratis"

A dietary for the months, attributed sometimes to Galen. A commonly occurring regimen, which exists in hundreds of MSS (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 109).

Editions: Braekman, 1988, pp. 58-60.

Mooney, 1994, pp. 251-55.

References: *eVK* 2979.

Keiser, 1998, pp. 3659, 3849 (this MS not listed).

32. f 75^{v}: Lucky and Unlucky days: On Perilous Mondays

On perilous Mondays (*eVK* 893).

References: Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 110.

Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 53.

33. f 76^{r-v}: Medical Recipes

Around nine, and against various ailments. Includes an ophthalmology treatise (*eVK* 679).

Reference: Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 110.

34. ff 77^{v} – 78^{v}: *The Book of Ypocras*

A prose tract, unedited, with instructions for determining the course of an illness by using information concerning the time when it began (Keiser, 1998, pp. 2623, 2779). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B, B2, and Bs.

References: Braswell-Means, 1992b, p. 382

eVK 8038.

IPMEP 629 (not identical to present text).

Kibre, 1945, p. 399.

Rand Schmidt, 2001, pp. 110-11.

Thorndike, 1977, pp. 282, 295.

Voigts, 1990, p. 26.

35. ff 79^{r} – 83^{v}: *The Merveyllys and the Sothefast Kunnyng of Astrologie*

A prose treatise on the zodiac, with an explanation of the dates for each of the twelve signs. It covers beginnings of undertakings, phlebotomy, disease, business, parts of the human body, construction, marriage, nativities, the return of stolen goods, agriculture, meteorology, and national and international events (Keiser, 1998, pp. 2622, 3776-77). Taavitsainen describes it as a collective zodiacal lunary (1988, p. 82). Also found in *Wise Book* MS B2.

Editions: (Braswell) Means, 1993, pp. 45, 223.

---, 1992b, p. 360.

References: eVK 8185.

Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 111.

Taavitsainen, 1987, p. 23.

Voigts, 1990, p. 26.

---, 1986, p. 149.

36. f 83^{v}: *The Mone of Ptholome*

A prose tract exclusively concerned with journeys, this treatise is one of several such works extant in Middle English (Keiser, 1998, pp. 2622, 2777). Rand Schmidt describes it as a "zodiacal moonbook" (2001, p. 112). Also found in *Wise Book* MS B2.

*Edition: (*Braswell) Means, 1993, pp. 42, 197.

References: eVK 3785.

Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 111-12.

Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 83 (omits this version).

Voigts, 1990, p. 26.

37. ff 84^{r} – 85^{v}: Medical Recipes

Eight in total (*eVK* 5091).

References: Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 112.

38. f 84^{v}: Nota

On the usefulness of the volume, added in on blank lower half of page (Rand Schmidt, 2001, p. 112).

39. f. 85^{r-v}: Medical Recipes

To cure lip sores, fever, and for a draught.

References: eVK 5091.

Rand Schmidt, 2001, pp. 112-13.

IV: Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 878 (C4)

***Catalogue*:** McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, pp. 3-5.

Brief Description: MS s. xv; parchment, 168 x 120 mm; pp v + 192 + v; ll 27 –31 per page. All the work of one hand, which is an anglicana formata, save pp. 39 – 41, which is in a small cursive hand. The dialect has features of that of East Anglia. Rubricated throughout by one hand. No signatures, but the author of the recipe on p. 160 claims that it cured "Ser Wylliam Elmedene" (McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, pp. 4-5).

Contents:

1. pp. 1 – 16: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

References: *eVK* 2271, 3217.

McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 3.

2. pp. 16 – 34: *The Book of Destinary*

Reference: eVK 1088, 3747.

3. pp. 34 – 35: Lucky and Unlucky days and Bloodletting

Text on perilous days, especially Mondays, for bloodletting (*eVK* 1343).

3. pp. 36 – 37: Prophecies of Esdras

Lucky and unlucky days (*eVK* 1538).

[p 38 blank]

4. pp. 39 – 54: Uroscopy Treatise

References: *eVK* 7758.

McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 3.

Robbins, 1970, p. 399.

5. pp. 54 – 58: Recipe Collection

Between twenty and twenty-six medical recipes (*eVK* 4987).

Reference: McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 3.

6. pp. 59 – 107: *Liber de Diversis Medicinis*

Prose; the attention given to this treatise is due primarily to the fact that it is preserved in Lincoln Cathedral MS 91, which was compiled and copied by Robert Thornton of East Newton, Yorkshire. The organisation, at least the beginning, is head-to-foot (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3656, 3841). McKitterick and Beadle

point out that the collection contains several hundred recipes, many of which appear in Thornton's MS between ff 280^{r} and 314^{v} (1992, p. 3).

Edition: Ogden, 1938.

References: Brewer & Owen, 1975, p. xx.

eVK 3472.

McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 3.

7. pp. 108 – 113: *De urinis*

Latin (McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 3).

Reference: Thorndike & Kibre, 1963, col. 1004.

8. pp. 113 – 118: Alphabetical Lists In Latin

Of medical ingredients, and oils and unguents (McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 3).

9. pp. 118 – 121: The Properties of Oil

Latin (McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 3).

10. pp. 121 – 25: Medical Recipes

Around thirty-five, in English (McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 3).

Reference: *eVK* 1285.

11. pp. 125 – 26: Recipe and Notes

In Latin, on the zodiac (McKitterick & Beadle, p. 3).

12. pp. 127 – 133: Herbal

In Latin (McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 3).

Reference: Thorndike & Kibre, 1963, col. 84.

13. pp. 133 – 151: Dictionary

Of medicinal ingredients, in Latin (McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 3).

Reference: Thorndike & Kibre, 1963, col. 84.

14. pp. 152 – 170: Recipes

Around thirty-five, in English, for medicines and ointments (McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 3).

Reference: *eVK* 6500.

15. pp. 170 – 76: Regimen of Health

Including recipes appropriate for months and seasons (*eVK* 7870; McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, pp. 3-4), information on canicular days (*eVK* 1380) and on diet and bloodletting (*eVK* 2805).

16. pp. 176 - 78: Herbal

In English, dealing with four plants, and including a note on freckles (McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 4).

Reference: *eVK* 1271.

17. pp. 178 – 81: The Four Parts of a Man

Medicinal notes on anatomy and on the signs and symptoms of disease (*eVK* 2150).

Reference: McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 4.

18. p. 181: Prognostication

Recipes for (*eVK* 4944).

19. pp. 181 – 83: Urina Mulieris

English; notes on the urine of women (*eVK* 7811).

Reference: McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 4.

20. pp. 183 – 184: Uroscopy

References: *eVK* 7801.

McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 4.

21. pp. 184 – 187: Medical Recipes

Twenty, including medicines for cholera (McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 4).

22. pp. 187 – 192: Plague Tract Attributed to John of Burgundy

The best known and most influential of medieval English translations of works on the pestilence was the *Plague Tract* attributed to John of Burgundy. The work exists in several versions, only one of which, a four-chapter prose version, is available in a modern edition. The version in this MS is in four chapters, and is dated to 1365 (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3662-4, 3856-57, which has an extensive bibliography). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B3 and S1.

References: eVK 6965, 7293.

IPMEP 659 (omits this MS).

McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 4.

23. p. 192: Medical Recipe

Along with other notes in English and Latin (McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 4).

24. p. iv: A List of Contents

Including "The Book of Philosophy", with the *explicit* "Johann de Burgundie qui obiit A. D. 1194 (McKitterick & Beadle, 1992, p. 4)

V: Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.10.21 (1473) (C5)

Catalogue: James, 1900-02, no. 1473; Mooney, 1995, p. 149; *TCCWebcatalogue*, 19/12/05.

General References: (Braswell) Means, 1992a, pp. 606-7, 621; *LALME* 1.66, 3.414, LP 6830, 6820.

Brief Description: MS composite, part one (I) s.xv, part two (II) s.xiii; (I) paper, (II) vellum; 295 x 225 mm, ff ii + 136, 39 ll per page (I), and double columns of 54-8 ll (II) (*TCCWebcatalogue*). MS located in Oxfordshire (*LALME* 3.414, LP 6820 & 6830). Deed on ff i – ii (item [1] below) dated 1418 at Cologne (Mooney, 1995, p. 149).

Contents:

Part I:

1. ff i – ii: Deed

Relating to Magister Richard Garsdal, of Oriel College, Oxford, and Hugo Knight, dated November 4, 1418 at Cologne, with notary's mark at the bottom (*TCCWebcatalogue*). Also names Thomas Lentwardyn, Henry Kyall, John Martell, John Brygon, John Carpenter, and Reginald Pekok (Mooney, 1995, p. 149).

2. ff 1^{r} – 3^{v}: Table of Contents to *De Urinis* [3]

Mostly in Latin, but gives English equivalents, beginning in the second column of f 3^{r}, and continues to end of table on f 3^{v}; then follows a Latin prologue (in English in some MSS) (ff 3^{v} – 4^{r}), followed by the English text (Mooney, 1995, p. 149).

Reference: *TCCWebcatalogue.*

3. ff 4^{r} – 94^{r}: Henry Daniel's *De Urinis (Liber Uricrisarum)*

The prologue of this prose tract is addressed by Henry Daniel of the Order of Preachers to his beloved fellow in Christ, Walter Tournour of Leton, who has urged the author to write "Domes of Urine" in the vernacular. The work includes three books; the first discusses the etymology of the word urine, the properties of urine, and how to judge urine. Book two discusses the colours of urine; into this book is interpolated a section providing detailed information about the planets and the zodiac, including prose and verse discussions of, among other things, the calculation of leap years. The third book details the contents of

urines; at the end is an exposition of the rules of Isaac from his book of urines (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3661, 3851-2). Eldredge (1992, p. 55) describes it as a translation of the *De urinis* of Isaac Judaeus, with material from Aegidius Corboliensis' poem *De urinis* and the commentary on same by Gilbertus Anglicus. For other writings by Henry Daniel see *The Herbal of Henry Daniel*, and *A Treatise on Rosemary by Henry Daniel* (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3643-4, 3824). In English and Latin (Mooney, 1995, p. 149).

Edition: (Braswell) Means, 1992a, pp. 604-06, 621-22 (selections).

eVK 7784.

Keiser, 1997, p. 59.

---, 1998, pp. 3661, 3851-2.

NIMEV 3347.77.

Talbot & Hammond, 1975, p. 79.

4. ff 94^{v} – 99^{r}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

An extract, from this incomplete version, is edited by Brown, (1994, p. 10) (Mooney, 1995, p. 149).

Reference: *eVK* 974, 2235.

Part II

1. f 100^{r} – 107^{v}: *Liber urinarum*

This translation (into Latin) is attributed in the prologue to Constantinus Africanus. Includes an illuminated initial, which shows a man in a brown robe with hanging sleeves, holding up a white vessel. Text incomplete (*TCCWebcatalogue*).

2. f 108^{r} – 115^{r}: *Liber Diuisionum Rasis*

Latin; translation attributed (in *explicit*) to Gerard of Cremona; imperfect version (*TCCWebcatalogue*).

3. f 116^{r} – 131^{r}: *Experimenta rasis*

Latin (*TCCWebcatalogue*).

4. f 132^{r} – 136^{v}: *Synonymarasis*

Latin (*TCCWebcatalogue*).

V: Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.14.51 (921) (C6)

Edition (partial): Miller, 1978, pp. viii-xi, 1 – 179.

Catalogues: James, 1900-01, pp. 336-338 (921); Mooney, 1995, pp. 49-53.

General References: Mooney, 1981a, p. 483.

Brief Description: s. xv (Miller, 1978, p. viii); parchment; ff v + 95, 255 x 167mm; flyleaves iv and v have been added in s. xvi; two MSS bound together shortly after writing, in similar hands and decoration; red and blue decoration throughout (Mooney, 1981a, p. 483). The hand is anglicana formata, and the MS is in an East Midlands dialect (Miller, 1978, p. viii). On f iii^{r} is an illustration of a circular horse mill with the inscription "Bussell" underneath (s.xv) (James, 1900-01, pp. 336-7; Mooney, 1995, p. 49), which may refer to a family of that name near Chester (Talbot & Hammond, 1975, p. 73; Mooney, 1981a, p. 483). The MS was owned by John Fertho of Cambridge (d. 1630, and by George Atkinson in 1680; before that, Jacob Hawkins of Worcester (f. 1^{r}) (Mooney, 1981a, p. 483).

Contents:

1. f i^{v}: "Gentilesse"

By Geoffrey Chaucer. Three stanzas rime royal; one stanza only here.

Edition: Benson, 1987, pp. 654, 1189-90.

References: NIMEV 3348.

Miller, 1978, p. vii.

2. f ii^{r}: "Lak of Steadfastnesse"

By Geoffrey Chaucer, entitled "Balade" in MS. Four stanzas in rime royal, including envoy.

Edition: Benson, 1987, pp. 654, 1190.

References: NIMEV 3190.

Miller, 1978, p. vii.

3. ff ii^{v} – iii^{v}: Six Medical Recipes

References: eVK 5665.

Mooney, 1995, pp. 49-50.

4. ff 1^{r}- 8^{v}; 10^{r}; 12^{r} – 13^{r}; 17^{v} – 18^{r}: Stockholm Verse Recipes

Usually 496 lines of verse, in couplets, with prose material conflated, this collection begins with recipes for diseases of the head but does not sustain the

downward arrangement. It contains a substantial group of recipes (eighty-eight lines) on dropsy, hot and cold. This set of verse recipes continued to receive attention and appeared in two editions within sixty years of Stephen's 1944 one. It is sometimes found alongside *A Tretis of Diverse Herbis*. Keiser advises that Miller's 1978 dissertation has been regularly cited without reference to her edition of an acephelous text of the *Stockholm Verse Recipes*, which has been conflated with a number of other works (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3654, 3837). Also found in *Wise Book* MS H.

Editions: Garrett, 1911, p. 183 (this MS).

Holthausen, 1896, p. 292 (this MS).

Stephens, 1844, pp. 349, 393 (this MS).

References: IMEVS 1408.

Miller, 1978, pp. xii-xvi.

Mooney, 1995, p. 50.

NIMEV 1496.3.

5. ff 6^{v} – 34^{r}: Collection of Charms and Recipes.

Approximately 125 in all, interspersed with some in French, English and Latin verse and prose. Includes items [6 -23] below.

Edition: Miller, 1978, p. 14.

References: eVK 353.

NIMEV 1496.3.

Mooney, 1995, p. 50.

5. f 10^{r-v}: Miscellaneous Toothache Charms: Abraham on Mount Olivet

Similar to the St Peter charm, and exists in variant forms for other problems (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3671, 3868). Included in item [5] above. Also found in *Wise Book* MS B4.

6. f 10^{v}: Magi Charms: *For the Falling Evil*

These charms occur in a large number of learned treatises and remedy books in verse and prose. They usually direct that the names and gifts of the Magi, in Latin, be written on a parchment with the epilepsy victim's blood and tied about the neck. Other versions of magi charms invoke their names for protection against thieves and for the healing of a fester (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3671-2, 3868-9). Included in item [5] above. Also found in *Wise Book* MS B4.

Edition: Briggs, 1954, p. 454.

Miller, 1978, pp. 23-4.

References: IPMEP 643, 773.

Forbes, 1971, p. 300.

Gray, 1974, p. 62.

7. ff 10^{v} – 11^{r}: Gathering Herbs

Prose directions for harvesting herbs according to their nature and the season. In some versions are found recipes for medications using the herbs (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3645, 3826). Included in item [5] above.

Edition: Miller, 1978, pp. 24-5.

References: eVK 1333.

8. ff 11^{v} – 12^{r}: Days for Bloodletting

"ffor to knowe þe days of blode lattynge", on lucky and unlucky days (Mooney, 1995, p. 50). Included in item [5] above.

Edition: Miller, 1978, pp. 25-6.

Reference: eVK 8153.

9. f 13^{r}: Prose Treatise on Lucky and Unlucky Days

Perilous days in each month (Mooney, 1995, p. 50). Included in item [5] above.

Edition: Miller, 1978, pp. 28-9.

Reference: eVK 6925.

10. f 16^{r}: *Maria Peperit Christum* Charm for Difficult Childbirth (1)

A brief prose prayer in Latin, with accompanying English instructions, about the Virgin's delivery of Jesus, with variant forms recalling other holy births, especially Anne's delivery of the Virgin or Elizabeth's delivery of John the Baptist. Exists in two forms, one for difficult childbirth (1), and the other for delivery of a dead child (2); it is to be written on parchment and bound about the stomach of the woman. Both versions found in this MS (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3673, 3873). Included in item [5] above. Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B and B4.

Edition: Ogden, 1969, p. 57.

References: Braekman, 1986, p. 122.

Hunt, 1990, p. 98.

11. f 16^{r-v}: "A general techynge to 3eue medecyns"

On the necessity of knowing astronomy for the practice of medicine (Mooney, 1995, p. 51). Included in item [5] above.

Edition: Miller, 1978, pp. 35-36.

12. f 16^{v}: Signs of Zodiac

Attributed to "maistere Tholomeus". Details the part of the body ruled by each sign of the zodiac. Included in item [5] above.

Edition: Miller, 1978, pp. 36-7.

References: eVK 1045.

Mooney, 1995, p. 51.

13. f 18^{r-v}: Urine and Uroscopy

"Here folowe howe þe doctour techith þe howe þou schalte knowe vryne" (rubric heading) (Mooney, 1995, p. 51). Mooney notes the similarities between this text and that found in *Wise Book* MS Bs at f 110^{r} (1995, p. 51). Included in item [5] above.

Edition: Miller, 1978, p. 41.

Reference: eVK 7833.

14. ff 18^{v} – 20^{r}: *The Waxynge of the Mone*

This prose treatise, a bloodletting lunary, explains when and where to bleed for each of the thirty days of the moon. This MS is the only extant. (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3621, 3775). Included in item [5] above.

Edition: *eVK* 2906.

Miller, 1978, pp. 42-44.

Reference: Mooney, 1995, p. 51.

Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 79.

15. ff 20^{r} – 22^{r}: *Of þe Mone*

A prose treatise that prophesies the destiny of, respectively, male children and female children born on each of the thirty-one days of the moon (Keiser, 1998, pp. 2621, 3775). Included in item [5] above. This MS is the only extant.

Edition: Miller, 1978, pp. 44-8.

References: (Braswell) Means, 1992b, p. 380.

eVK 2905.

Mooney, 1995, p. 51.

Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 71, 127, 129.

---, 1987, p. 23.

16. ff 22^{r} – 23^{r}: Prose Treatise on Lucky and Unlucky Days

Specifically for bloodletting (Mooney, 1995, p. 51). Included in item [5] above. Also found in *Wise Book* MSS Bd and W1.

Editions: Förster, 1903, p. 352.

Miller, 1978, pp. 49-50 (this MS)

Mooney, 1981a, p. 183.

References: (Braswell) Means, 1992b, p. 383.

eVK 608.

IPMEP 384, 713, 723.

Keiser, 1998, pp. 3624, 3780.

Robbins, 1970, p. 397.

Wallis, 1995, p. 121.

17. ff 23^{r} - 26^{r}: Charms & Recipes

In prose and verse (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3671, 3867; 3673, 3873; 3676, 3881). Included in item [5] above.

Edition: Miller, 1978, pp. 51-58.

References: Forbes, 1966, p. 85.

---, 1971, pp. 298, 302.

Gray, 1974, p. 63.

18. f 26^{r}: "For Bloodletting"

Edition: Miller, 1978, p. 58. Included in item [5] above.

References: eVK 2837.

Mooney, 1995, pp. 51-2.

19. ff 26^{v} – 28^{r}: Dietary of Galen

A prose regimen explaining, month by month, appropriate diet and proper days for bloodletting (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3659, 3849). Included in item [5] above. Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B4, H, S3 and S.

Edition: Henslow, 1898, p. 63.

Miller, 1978, pp. 60-2.

References: *eVK* 2995.

Mooney, 1995, p. 52.

23. f 28^{r}: Charm to Know A Thief: Feeding Letters to a Suspect

Prose charm, which depends on the use of names of suspects in conjunction with actions that induce a revelatory dream or a painful response from the guilty party (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3674/3875). Included in item [5] above. Also found in *Wise Book* MS S.

Edition: Miller, 1978, pp. 62-3.

24. f 28^{r}: Magi Charm: *For the falling evil*

For "þe foule euell". See item [6] above. Included in item [5] above.

Edition: Miller, 1978, p. 63.

Reference: Keiser, 1998, pp. 3671-2, 3868-9.

25. f 29^{r-v}: Plate of Lead Charm

Prose directions that a piece of lead can be marked in its four corners and in its centre with crosses; illustrations of the crosses accompany the directions. It then prescribes a moderately lengthy series of prayers and conjurings by the Passion of Christ, his wounds, the cross and the nails (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3673, 3872). Included in item [5] above.

Editions: Forbes, 1971, p. 312.

Gray, 1974, p. 68.

Miller, 1978, p. 65.

---, 1979, p. 154.

Sheldon, 1978, p. 157.

26. ff 29^{v} – 30^{r}: *Longinus* Charm

These charms either recount or allude to the legend of the Roman centurion who pierced the side of the crucified Christ, and are generally concerned with staunching blood flow. Extant in prose and verse (Keiser, 1998, pp. 2671, 3866). Included in item [5] above. Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B3 and B4.

Editions: Gray, 1974, p. 62.

Miller, 1978, pp. 66-7.

Stephens, 1844, p. 401.

27. ff 32^{r-v}: Urine and Uroscopy

Included in item [5] (Mooney, 1995, p. 52)

Edition: Miller, 1978, pp. 72-3.

Reference: eVK 2679.

28. f 32^{v}: Note on a sign of death.

Included in item [5] above.

Edition: Miller, 1978, p. 73.

Reference: Mooney, 1995, p. 52.

29. ff 33^{r-v}: "To kenne þe veynes to late blode"

Couplets (fifty-six lines) claiming to describe thirty-three veins and the diseases to be treated by bleeding at each (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3659, 3848-9). Included in item [5]. Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B4 and Bs.

Editions: Furnivall & Furnivall, 1888, p. 228.

Hunt, 1996, pp. 321-2.

Miller, 1978, pp. 75-6.

Robbins, 1952, pp. 77-80.

Reference: eVK 7689.

30. ff 34^{v} – 47^{r}: *A Tretys of Diverse Herbis*

A treatise in verse couplets, discussing twenty-four to twenty-six herbs, with variations in the treatment of each herb. Some MS versions are shorter, often dealing with one herb only, or existing as separate poems (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3642, 3821-2). Also found in *Wise Book* MS B4.

Editions: Keiser, 1996, p. 35.

Miller, 1978, pp. 77-99.

Selection: Luria & Hoffman, 1974, p. 112.

References: *eVK* 7651.

IMEVS 417.8, 1810, 2026.5.

NIMEV 3848.

Powell, 1987, pp. 155-6.

Rohde, 1922, p. 194.

Schuler, 1979, nos. 28, 363, 547.

31. f 47^{v}: Six Medical Recipes

Reference: (Mooney, 1995, p. 52).

32. ff 48^{r} – 77^{v}: *Boke of Marchalsi*

A prose work on equine pathology and medicine, with only selections edited to date. Its preservation, both in complete and in fragmentary forms, in ten MSS, attests to the wide circulation of the *Boke* in the fifteenth- and early sixteenth-

centuries. The version in this MS is incomplete (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3693, 3907). Includes Job charms for farcy (ff 61^{r} – 63^{r}), in both prose and verse (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3675, 3879).

Edition: Odenstedt, 1973, pp. vii, xxxxvii, xlii, 1.

References: Braswell (Means), 1984, pp. 343, 368.

eVK 267.

IPMEP, no 335.

Mooney, 1995, p. 52.

33. ff 77^{v} – 86^{r}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Incomplete version (Mooney, 1995, pp. 52-3).

Edition: Braswell (Means), 1992a, pp. 620-21 (selection, this MS).

Reference: *eVK* 2272, 3220.

34. ff 86^{r} – 94^{v}: *The Book of Destinary*

Reference: (Braswell) Means, 1992b, pp. 369-70.

eVK 1088, 3201.

f 95^{r}: "Balade fet de la Reygne Katerine Russell"

Two eight-line and two six-line stanzas.

Reference :NIMEV 3158.

Cohen, 1915, pp. 290-1.

Miller, 1978, p. viii.

VI: British Library, MS Additional 12195 (B)

Catalogues: *BLWebcatalogue*, 19/12/05; Brown & Higgs, 1988, pp. xi, 45-51; *Cat. Add.*, 1850, VII, pp. 50-1; Thomson, 1979, pp. 59, 193-211.

General References: (Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 9; Green, 1992, pp. 53, 59, 65, 66; *LALME* 1.100, 2.23; Mustain, 1972, p. 474; Robbins, 1970, p. 410; Thomson, 1977, p. 213.

Brief Description: third quarter s.xv (Thomson, 1979, p. 59); paper, ff v+190+iii, 147 x 103-08 mm (except for ff 16 and 24, which are parchment and measure 144 x 102 mm). In English and Latin, the MS is written mostly in anglicana formata by John Leke who, at f 90^{r} (and f 96^{v}), identifies himself as living in North Creyke, Norfolk, during the reign of Edward IV (1461-1483) (*LALME* 1.100); there are, however, up to eleven different hands in the volume (Thomson, 1979, p. 59; Means, 1993, p. 9). The MS is a volume of "miscellaneous tracts and legal papers, religious, grammatical and astrological material, and codicological recipes" (Means, 1993, p. 9); Robbins describes it as a "miscellaneous medical manuscript" (1970, p. 410). MS probably from the house of Austin canons at Creake, near Walsingham (*LALME* 1.100).

Contents:

1. f 2^{r}: Signature, "W. Herbert, 1770".

[f 2^{v} blank]

2. f 3^{r} – 15^{v}: *Circa testamenta*

A collection of thirty-six specimen forms of testaments and notices of banns, localised to Oxford, 1477-8 (Thomson, 1979, p. 194).

3. f 16^{r}: Prayer

The end part only. The beginning was probably on the lost leaf which preceded f 16. Signed in later hand "Thomas frost hys ‹ ›" (Thomson, 1979, p. 195).

[f 16^{v} mostly blank, some scribbles]

4. ff 17^{r-v}: Devotional Notes in Latin

Three or four hymns/prayers, with a note for the souls of "Iohannis Cowper et Margarete" on the verso, along with incipits for the *historiae* for the first Sunday in Advent (Thomson, 1979, p. 195).

5. ff 18^{r} – 20^{v}: Office of St Gatianus (Bishop of Tours)

For matins and lauds (Thomson, 1979, p. 195).

6. f 20^{v}: Three Prayers

Reference: Thomson, 1979, p. 196.

7. f 21^{r}: *Fabula de philomela et saggitario*

References: Hervieux, 1896, IV, p. 252.

Thomson, 1979, p. 196.

8. f 21^{v}: Order of Service

For the churching of women (Thomson, 1979, p. 196).

9. f 22^{r}: Receipts

For payments for masses for the dead (Thomson, 1979, p. 196).

10. ff 22^{r-v}: Hymns and Prayers

Eleven in total, for Passiontide (Thomson, 1979, pp, 196-7).

11. f 23^{r}: Liturgical Notes

Additions to the Carmelite ordinal (Thomson, 1979, p. 197).

12. f 23^{v}: *Leccio libri sapiencie*

From Eccles. 44: 20-27 (Thomson, 1979, p. 197).

[f 23^{v} blank]

13. f 24^{r}: Additions to Carmelite Ordinal

For the Mass of the Fathers (Thomson, 1979, p. 197).

Reference: King, 1955, pp. 235-324.

14. f 24^{v}: Liturgical Notes

Reference: Thomson, 1979, p. 197.

15. ff 25^{r} – 28^{r}: *Legenda commemoracionis beate ma Marie*

Readings and prayers for the office of the Commemoration of Our Lady of Mount Carmel (Thomson, 1979, pp. 197-8).

16. ff 28^{r} – 31^{r}: *In commemoracione sancti Thome martiris*

Mass of St Thomas of Canterbury; addition to the Carmelite ordinal (Thomson, 1979, p. 198).

17. ff 31^{v} – 32^{r}: *Benedictiones beate verginis Marie*

Benedictions for the feast day of the Virgin; includes, at f 31^{r}, liturgical notes for Carmelite use (Thomson, 1979, p. 198).

18. f 32^{r}: Hymn

On the Annunciation, in four verses (Thomson, 1979, p. 198).

19. f 32^{v}: Liturgical Notes (Carmelite)

Reference: Thomson, 1979, p. 198.

20. ff 33^{r} – 58^{v}: *In festo sancti Helyzey prophete*

Carmelite collection, featuring the proper feasts for the relics of Elisha, the Visitation, the Relics, the Octave of SS Peter and Paul, the Commemoration of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, and so on (Thomson, 1979, p. 199).

Reference: Zimmerman, 1910, pp. 292-302.

21. f 59^{r-v}: Treatise in Latin

This incomplete tract explains the meaning of Hebrew words used in the Old Testament (Thomson, 1979, p. 199).

22. ff 60^{r} – 62^{r}: *Hic incipunt verba latina missalis*

Latin-English glossary of words from the Missal (Thomson, 1979, p. 199).

23. ff 62^{v} – 64^{r}: Miscellaneous Vocabulary

With some grammatical notes (Thomson, 1979, p. 199).

24. f 64^{v}: Erotic Lyric

With music (Thomson, 1979, pp. 199-200).

Reference: Dronke, 1966, pp. 419, 557.

25. ff 65^{r-v}: Latin-English Vocabulary

Incomplete version; the beginning only (Thomson, 1979, p. 201).

26. f 66^{r}: *The Accedence*

A Latin grammar, on the eight parts of speech, possibly composed at Oxford by John Leylond. This work is an English version of the form of Donatus's *Ars Minor* that was circulating in fourteenth-century England, and it makes use of the question and answer technique beyond that found in Donatus, along with vernacular examples to define parts of speech (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3716, 3937).

Edition: Thomson, 1979, p. 44.

References: IPMEP 3081.

Thomson, 1979, pp. 9, 49, 55, 193.

27. f 66^{v}: Liturgical Notes

With psalms and prayers (Thomson, 1979, p. 201).

28. ff 67^{r} – 71^{r}: Treatise on Syntax

Latin; partially in *questio* form (Thomson, 1979, p. 200).

29. ff 71^{v} – 72^{v}: Readings for All Saints Day

With some liturgical notes (Thomson, 1979, p. 201).

30. ff 73^{r} – 74^{r}: Notes

In Latin, on the seven sacraments, the ten commandments, and so on (Thomson, 1979, pp. 201-02).

31. ff 74^{r} – 77^{v}: *De corpore Christi*

A Latin treatise on the feast of Corpus Christi and its meaning (Thomson, 1979, p. 202).

32. ff 78r – 79r: Treatise on the Figures of Speech (Latin)

Reference: Thomson, 1979, p. 202.

33. ff 79^{v} – 81^{r}: Collection of Notes

In Latin, and on various topics (Thomson, 1979, p. 202).

[f 81^{v} – 82^{r} blank]

34. ff 82^{v}, 98^{v}: Charms to Know a Thief: Identification Through Dreams

Prose charms, two versions of which are preserved in this MS. These depend on the use of names of suspects in conjunction with actions that induce a revelatory dream or painful response from the guilty party (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3647, 3875). There is a similar text in *Wise Book* MS C5, where the letters are fed to a suspect (see above).

References: eVK 8217.

Thomson, 1979, pp. 202, 204.

35. f 82^{v} : Riddles

Two, in verse, on biblical figures (*NIMEV* 2026.33).

Thomson, 1979, p. 202.

36. ff 83^{r} – 90^{r}: Treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins

Along with the ten commandments, twelve articles of the faith, ending with four types of arrogance (Thomson, 1979, p. 203).

37. f 90^{v}: Alphabets

Reference : Thomson, 1979, p. 203.

38. ff 91^{r} – 96^{v}: Treatise on Orthography

Reference: Thomson, 1979, p. 203.

39. ff 97^{r} – 98^{v}: Liturgical Notes

With a charm to catch a thief in English (see item [34] above) (Thomson, 1979, p. 203).

40. ff 99^{r-v}: Liturgical Notes

Reference: Thomson, 1979, p. 205.

41. ff 100^{r} – 101^{r}: Commentary on *Equivoca*

Latin (Thomson, 1979, p. 204).

42. ff 101^{v} – 102^{v}: *Quid est grammatica?*

Treatise defining grammatical terms (Thomson, 1979, p. 204).

43. f 103^{r-v}: Commentary on *Synonyma*

With a grammatical note (Thomson, 1979, p. 204).

44. f 104^{r}: Short Treatise on Observing Sunday

Reference: Thomson, 1979, p. 204.

45. ff 104^{v} – 105^{r}: Latin Sentences

Written out in different word-orders (Thomson, 1979, p. 204).

46. f 106^{r-v}: Various Notes

Reference: Thomson, 1979, pp. 205-06.

47. ff 107^{r} – 114^{v}: Collection of Latin Proverbs

And riddles, with English glosses (Thomson, 1979, p. 205).

48. ff 115^{r} – 116^{r}: Notes on the Saints

In both prose and verse (Thomson, 1979, p. 205).

49. ff 117^{r} – 119^{v}: Latin Riddles

Along with explanations (Thomson, 1979, p. 205).

50. ff 120^{r} – 121^{v}: Various Notes and Verses

In Latin and English (Thomson, 1979, pp. 206-07).

51. f 121^{v}: John Lydgate's *Rammeshorne*

Stanza six only here. The complete poem is in seven stanzas of eight lines each, and is a satire in which qualities (for example, Righteousness) are personified. (Renoir & Benson, 1980, pp. 1893, 2149).

Editions: Fitzgibbon, 1888, p. 78.

MacCracken, 1934, pp. 107, 461.

References: NIMEV 199.

Pearsall, 1970, p. 216.

Scattergood, 1971, p. 304.

Rigg, 1968, pp. 57-60.

52. ff 122^{r} – 124^{r}: *De experimentum serpente*

English; attributed to Johannes Paulinus. A version is also found in *Wise Book* MS H.

References: eVK 2498.

Johnsson, 1913, pp. 257-67.

Thomson, 1979, pp. 207-08.

53. ff 124^{r} – 127^{r}: Thirteen Recipes and Charms

Medical and magical charms and recipes (*eVK* 909). Apparently intended to be supplementary to item [51] above (Thomson, 1979, p. 208).

54. ff 127^{v} – 135^{r}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Incomplete version (Thomson, 1979, p. 208).

Reference: eVK 974, 2307.

55. ff 135^{r} – 136^{r}: Medical Recipes

Eight, which correspond to some of those found at f 142^{r} (Thomson, 1979, p. 208).

Reference: eVK 5645.

56. f 136^{v}: Charms and Recipes

This collection of five includes prose wafer charms, directing that the victim of fever eat, on three consecutive days, items on which have been written sacred words – Hebrew, Latin, and Greek – often in corrupted forms. Though the incantations are not in the vernacular, almost all appear with English instructions of varying length and interest (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3672, 3869-70). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS C3 and B4.

References: eVK 6342.

Forbes, 1971, 296.

Sheldon, 1978, pp. 218, 222, 225, 226.

Thomson, 1979, p. 208.

57. ff 137^{r} – 139^{r}: *The Book of Destinary*

An incomplete version (*eVK* 1093, 3747).

Reference: Thomson, 1979, p. 208.

58. ff 139^{v} – 156^{v}: Recipes

Medical recipes, charms and formulae, some to do with hunting and fishing also. Approximately eighty-eight in all (*eVK* 5359). This selection includes the *Maria Peperit Christum* Charm for Difficult Childbirth (f 142^{v}) which is found in *Wise Book* MSS B4 and C6, and the Charm of St William (Eustace) (f 146^{r}) (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3673, 3872).

Editions: Forbes, 1971, p. 312.

Ogden, 1969, p. 57.

References: Braekman, 1986, p. 122.

Gray, 1974, p. 68.

Henslow, 1972, p. 144.

Hunt, 1990, p. 98.

Thomson, 1979, p. 209.

Stephens, 1844, p. 402.

59. ff 157^{r} – 184^{v}: *Trotula*

Prose treatise based on *Trotula major*, *Trotula minor*, and the *Gynaecia* of Musico. The prologue states that the author has composed the treatise in English because women of our tongue can better read and understand this language, and directs lettered women to read it to those who are unlettered so that they can avoid showing their diseases to men. It cautions male readers not to use the information contained therein to slander women, reminding them that the evils suffered by women in the present were once suffered by women who are now saints. It also contains advice concerning childbirth and the choice of a nurse (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3667, 3861).

Editions: Barratt, 1992, 27-35 (selections only).

Howarth, 1996 (from this MS).

Wogan-Browne *et al.*, 1999, pp. 157-159 (prologue only).

References: *eVK* 3972.

Green, 1992, pp. 53, 64.

Rowland, 1981, p. xii.

Thomson, 1979, p. 209.

60. ff 184^{r} – 185^{r}: Medical Recipes

Three, on medicine, obstetrics and gynaecology (*eVK* 5654).

Reference: Thomson, 1979, p. 209.

61. ff 185^{r} - 190^{v}: *The Book of Ypocras of Deth and of Lyf*

A prose text consisting of instructions for determining the course of an illness by using information concerning the time when it began (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3623, 3779). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B2, Bs and C3. This version is accompanied by diagrams (Thomson, 1979, p. 209).

References: Braswell-Means, 1992b, p. 382

eVK 8014.

IPMEP 629 (not identical to present text).

Kibre, 1945, p. 399.

Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 60, 140.

Thorndike, 1977, pp. 282, 295.

Voigts, 1990, p. 26.

VII: British Library, MS Egerton 827 (El)

Catalogue: *BLWebcatalogue*, 17/07/02; *List Add.*, 1843, p. 16.

General References: (Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 601, n. 27; Green, 1992, p. 83; Robbins, 1970, pp. 394-95; Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 71.

Brief Description: MS c. 1400 (Keiser, 1998, p. 3766); parchment; ff 54; 185 x 122 mm, ll. 28 per page; in English and Latin; the main part in one hand in "formal writing" (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 71), though a hand change occurs at f 49^{v} – 51^{r}, where the first scribe resumes; a signature, "Welles leche", occurs at f 50^{v}, and annotation (names of months and so on) of the *Wise Book* at ff 2^{r-v}, and a doodle of a hand pointing to word "p*re*destinashun" (f 6^{r}); rubrics occur throughout, with some capitals also tinted in red; the rubric "Ihs marie ffilius help now + spede vs" at f 1^{r}. The dialect is Midlands (Green, 1992, p. 84). Taavitsainen notes that the MS "has the quality of being written for one's own use rather than for sale" (1988, p. 165); some confusion as to the foliation, since Robbins gives the *Wise Book* at ff 1^{r} – 13^{v}, and Keiser at ff 1^{r} – 9^{r} (1998, p. 3766).

Contents:

1. ff 1^{r} – 9^{v}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

References: eVK 3221 (mistakenly has the text occupying ff 5^{r} – 13^{v}).

2. ff 11^{r} – 14^{v}: *Triginta Dies Lune*

An unedited prose text of the fifteenth century. Similar to *The Thyrtty Days of the Mone*, which is to be found in *Wise Book* MSS Bd and H (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3620, 3774; see Section I, n. 22 (above)). This MS is the only extant.

References: eVK 6741.

Taavitsainen, 1987, p. 24.

---, 1988, pp. 71, 166 (illustration).

3. ff 20^{r} – 27^{v}: *Predestinationes* of Esdras.

Text on the zodiac, with elements of physiognomy (*eVK* 3749). Includes the rubric: "Ianuarius sol in aquario".

4. ff 28^{r-v}: Latin Destinary

This destinary is suggested as a possible source for the *Book of Destinary*, which is frequently found immediately following or in conjunction with the *Wise Book* ((Braswell) Means, 1992b, p. 391 n. 71).

5. ff 28^{v} – 30^{v}: "Off þe nature of wommen"

Or the *De naturis mulerium*. This prose text is an abbreviated form of a long Latin adaptation of Musico's *Gynaecia*, which was probably composed in late thirteenth-century Paris. It includes a description of the ovaries and the seven cells of the womb, menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, and post-partum treatment (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3669, 3863). This MS is the only extant.

Edition: Green, 1992, pp. 84-88.

Reference: *eVK* 7915.

6. ff 30^{v} – 33^{v}: The Seven Planets

Reference: *eVK* 4470.

7. ff 31^{r} - 39^{v}: *Off The XIJ Synys*

Unedited prose treatise, which prescribes activities for the periods during which the moon is in each of the twelve signs. Among the subjects treated are the beginnings of undertakings, including diplomacy, agriculture, commerce, journeys, imprisonment, marriage; health and medicine, including treatment of the body parts influenced by each sign (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3623, 3779). Apparently incorporates a text entitled "Tract of the Moon" at ff 33^{v} – 39^{v} (*eVK* 8075). Breaks off abruptly at f 39^{v}.

References: Taavitsainen, 1987, p. 25.

---, 1988, pp. 73, 82.

---, 1994, pp. 291, 299.

7. ff 40^{r} – 48^{v}: The Egerton/Sloane Lapidary

Prose text which is a translation of the *Second Anglo-Norman Prose Lapidary*. This text, closely translating the original and covering thirty-one gems, is imperfect at the beginning, owing to a lost manuscript leaf; all thirty-five stones treated in the Elizabethan copy were probably also covered in the original (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3677, 3884). This copy is imperfect, beginning with topaz.

Edition: Evans & Serjeantson, 1933, pp. 11, 119.

References: eVK 506.

IPMEP 153.

Keiser, 1994, p. 74.

8. ff 48^{v} – 50^{v}: ca. Thirteen Recipes

Medical and cosmetic recipes, and charms (including "a charm of gret vertu" (f 48^{v}). Illegible and obscured in parts.

Reference: eVK 3015.

9. ff 51^{r} – 53^{r}: Calendar and Computus

With tables.

References: Braswell (Means), 1992a, p. 601, n. 27.

eVK 3041.

10. f 53^{v}: Urinary ("Hic incipit gahon")

Reference: *eVK* 6592.

11. f 54^{r}: Medical Notes

With a recipe, "for a consumption", in later hand.

12. f 54^{v}: "Yche figure in first sted significat himseluen…"

Brief prose notes on numeration. They describe place value in a decimal scheme of writing numbers; ends imperfectly. This MS is only extant (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3639, 3811).

References: Acker, 1993, p. 77.

eVK 1516.

VIII: British Library, MS Egerton 2433 (E2)

Catalogue: *BLWebcatalogue*, 17/07/02.

Brief Description: MS late s.xv; paper; ff 54. Small Quarto; signed twice, once at f 1^{r}, "q. Brunfilld", and at f 41^{r} "Brunfylld" (*BL Webcatalogue*). Spaces left for initials; some filled in red. Hand is large and unpractised, with an untidy appearance.

Contents:

1. ff 1^{r} – 9^{r}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Edition: (Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 620 (selection).

Reference: *eVK* 2307, 3220.

2. ff 9^{v} – 19^{v}: *The Book of Destinary*

References: BL Webcatalogue.

eVK 1081, 3751.

3. ff 19^{v} – f 40^{v}: Medical Prescriptions, Instructions and Recipes

Approximately 150 recipes, including, at f 28^{v}, an extract from the regimen of health from the *Secretum secretorum* (*eVK* 1107), and an illustrated Latin urinary at ff 19^{v} – 26^{v}.

References: ff 18^{v} - 19^{r} (*eVK* 6295); ff 22^{v} – 23^{r} (*eVK* 7829); ff 27^{r} - 28^{r}; (*eVK* 5664); ff 29^{r} - 40^{v} (*eVK* 6133).

4. ff 41^{r} – 42^{v}: *A Tretys of Surgere After Galyan* [Galen]

A prose plague tract, which is apparently an adaptation of a form of the treatise attributed to John of Burgundy. It is in four parts: one, a regimen for diet, drink, and other conduct in the time of pestilence; two, an explanation of how the pestilence is engendered; three, instructions for blood-letting in a sick person; four, diet, drink and medicines for those afflicted with the pestilence (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3664, 3857). The prologue claims that the text was translated from Latin by Galen "because he had a gud frend þt vnderstod no latyn" (*BLWebcatalogue*). This MS is the only extant.

References: eVK 2288, 2919.

Singer & Anderson, 1950, p. 95.

5. f 43^{r-v}: Bloodletting and Lucky/Unlucky Days

Followed by "þe dayes of certane monethes when tyme is to bled" (*BLWebcatalogue*)

Reference: *eVK* 5506.

6. ff 43^{r-v}: Bloodletting Tract

Attributed to Hippocrates and Isidore (*eVK* 1191).

7. ff 43^{v} - 45^{v}: Bloodletting Tract

Reference: *eVK* 6945.

8. ff 46^{r-v}: Bloodletting Tract

Reference: *eVK* 2786.

9. f 47^{r} – 49^{r}: *Complecciones hominis astronomie at philosophie secundum galyanum*

Followed by prescriptions, after which is the colophon "Explicit liber sirurgie secundum galyane."

Reference: *BLWebcatalogue*.

10. 49^{r} – 54^{v}: Translation of the *Circa Instans* (*De medicinis simplicibus*) of Platearius

Incomplete text on herbs and herbal medicine, covering approximately thirty-eight plants, in alphabetical order. Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B3 and B4.

References: BLWebcatalogue.

eVK 867.

Keiser, 1998, pp. 3641, 3643.

IX: London, British Library, MS Royal 17.A.3 (R1)

Catalogues: *BLWebcatalogue*, 13/11/2005; Warner & Gilson, 1921, II, 214-15.

General References: Taavitsainen, 2004b, pp. 214, 218; Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 72, 170; Voigts, 2004, pp. 199, 207.

Brief Description: MS s.xv; parchment, ff 186; 138 x 95 mm, 26 ll per page; written in anglicana formata, with some paraphs, and some initials in red (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 72). In English and Latin; described as a "medical codex of high quality…with professional medical tracts" (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 136). Signed "Seton" (f 1^{r}) and "Thomas Crumwell" (f 168^{r}) (*BLWebcatalogue*). Belonged to John Theyer in 1654 (*ex dono* Johannis Somner de Hellingly in Com. Sussex) (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 72).

Contents:

1. f 1^{r}- 11^{r}: Tract on Urines

Latin, in twelve chapters; imperfect due to loss of a leaf at the beginning (*BL Webcatalogue*)

2. 11^{v} –13^{r}: *Modus flebotomie*

Latin tract on bloodletting (*BL Webcatalogue*).

3. ff 13^{r} – 17^{r}: *A Treatise on Rosemary* by Henry Daniel

The Dominican friar, Henry Daniel, was a botanist, writer and translator of learned Latin writings, especially in his widely circulated *Dome of Uryns* and the *Herbal of Henry Daniel* (completed after 1379, and incorporating parts of the *De propitatibus rerum* and the *Circa instans*). This *Treatise on Rosemary* forms part of the *Herbal*, but it circulated widely as an independent treatise, and is of particular interest for the fact that it implies that rosemary came to England ca. 1340, and for its attention to the cultivation of the plant (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3643, 3824). The treatise itself purports to be a "litel boke that the Scole of Sallerne wroat to the Cuntasse of Henowd (Hainault) and sche sente the copie to her dou3ter Phillip[pa], the quene of England" (Robbins, 1970, p. 401, from this MS). Also found in *Wise Book* MS B4.

References: eVK 4385.

Getz, 1990, p. 261.

Robbins, 1970 p. 401.

Talbot, 1967, p. 187.

4. ff 16^{r-v}: Treatise on Rosemary

An anonymous, unedited collection of recipes for the use of rosemary; perhaps derived from (or interpolated with) Henry Daniel's treatise or its other source. The treatise is found independently at the end of or within other herbals, including *A Tretys of Herbis*, the prose *Vertues off Herbes*, and John Lelamour's herbal. In addition, it was incorporated into the work now known as *Bancke's Herbal*, the first printed version of *Agnus Castus* (Keiser, 1998, pp. 2644, 3825); here, it is incorporated into item [3] above. Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B3 and R2.

5. f 17^{r-v}: Notes in Latin

Recipe in Latin for headaches; notes on the hours of the day assigned to each humour (*BLWebcatalogue*).

6. ff 18^{r} – 24^{v}: Herbal Medicine & Recipes

Reference: eVK 6344.

7. f 24^{v}: Brief notes on Simples

Reference: *BLWebcatalogue*.

8. f 24^{v} – f 30^{r}: "Hic incipit antidotarius Nicholai…"

One of the many forms of alphabetical antidotary bearing this name (*BLWebcatalogue)*

9. f 30^{v}: *Lac Puellae*

A recipe for dye and one for medicine (*eVK* 5598; *BLWebcatalogue*).

[f 31^{r} blank]

10. ff 31^{v} – 32^{v}: Nominale

A Latin - English vocabulary of nouns classified by subjects; incomplete (*BLWebcatalogue*).

11. ff 32^{v} – 72^{v}: Medical, magical and prognosticory recipes

Includes a verse text, "Tokens of Death" (*eVK* 2418; *IMEVS* 3998, 4033); a magical recipe "to go invisible" (Latin), f 44^{r}; Latin verses on temperament, f 47^{v}; a urinary, ff 60^{v} – 61^{v} (*eVK* 7850); a text on the Virtues of Waters, ff 67^{v} – 68^{v} (*eVK* 1033) and a table of Arabic numerals, f 72^{v} (*BLWebcatalogue*). The magical recipes, "to go invisible" and "if þou wilt whe*þ*e*r* a wom*m*an be a mayd" (f 44^{v}) have been partially erased.

Reference: Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 29.

12. f 73^{v}: Planets

Notes in English, and in Latin, on masculine and feminine planets, the qualities of each, and how to determine the effects of each (*BLWebcatalogue*).

Reference: *eVK* 7306.

13. ff 74^{r} – 75^{v}: *Declaraciones*

Attributed to Richard of Wallingford (*eVK* 2685). Also found in *Wise Book* MS S1.

Edition: Voigts, 2004, pp. 197-208 (this MS).

Reference: North, 1976, I, p. 558.

13. f 76^{r}: Latin Planetary

Reference: *BLWebcatalogue*.

14. f 76^{v}: A Note On "The great lordschip…"

Reference: *BLWebcatalogue*.

15. ff 76^{v} – 80^{v}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

An abridged version of the text.

References: *eVK* 975, 2229.

Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 72.

16. f 80^{v}: Note on Distillation (Latin)

Reference: BLWebcatalogue

17: ff 81^{r} – 86^{v}: Medical Recipes, with Appendix

Attributed to Theodericus Catalanus, a Dominican medical writer (*BLWebcatalogue*).

18. f 87^{r}: "Ad faciendam aquam aredentam"

A Latin recipe for Distillation.

Reference: BLWebcatalogue

19. ff 89^{r} – 91^{r}: Miscellaneous Recipes in Latin

Reference: *BLWebcatalogue*.

20. ff 91^{r} – 95^{v}: *Tretys of Astronomie for Lewide Men*

Probably a prose paraphrase of *Storia Luna*, made not long after the poem had been written. This MS is the only extant (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3620, 3773).

Edition: Taavitsainen, 1987b, pp. 521, 528.

References: (Braswell) Means, 1992b, p. 385.

eVK 587.

Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 121-2, 136.

21. ff 95^{v} – 125^{v}: Miscellaneous Recipes

Around fifty-nine recipes, mostly medical, in English and Latin, which sometimes occur individually, and through which are scattered some culinary and drink recipes (Hieatt & Butler, 1985, p. 31).

Reference: eVK 4185, 4286.

Keiser, 1998, pp. 3680, 3891.

22. ff 126^{r}– 133^{v}: An English Translation of a Charter of the London Weavers' Company

Dated October 15th 1365 (*BLWebcatalogue*).

Reference: Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 72.

23. ff 134^{v} – 168^{r}: British Library, MS Add 33996 Recipe Collection

Lengthy prose collection of remedies and charms, in English and Latin, for human maladies and for divination, (including some on ff 119^{r} – 125^{v}), and apparently not arranged according to any clear principle (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3655, 3839). Also found in *Wise Book* MS B4.

Edition: Heinrich, 1896.

References: eVK 4327.

Hargreaves, 1981, pp. 101 - 108.

Singer & Anderson, 1928-31, no. 900.

24. ff 168^{v} – 180^{v}: Medical Recipes

Medical recipes, in English and Latin, for human maladies, along with recipes for soap, dyes and pigments, and for treating leather (*eVK* 4327).

25. ff 181^{r}- 185^{v}: Medical Tracts in Latin

On cures provided by balsam and on phlebotomy, along with some miscellaneous notes at the end (*BLWebcatalogue*).

X: London, British Library, MS Royal 17.A.32 (R2)

Catalogue: *BLWebcatalogue*, 13/11/2005.

Brief Description: s.xv (Keiser, 1998, p. 3766); ff 132; vellum; composite, in two parts, the second of which appears to begin at f 21^{r}, and is in a more formal book hand, with decorative initials in blue and red throughout, and proper nouns (Galen, Ypocras) rubricated. At f 5^{r} occurs the name "Henry Dynepey", and he has written a note at f 199^{r} (see below), suggesting that the two parts were bound as one MS soon after production.

Contents:

1. ff 1^{r-v}: Notes in Latin

Beginning "Salut magister".

2. ff 2^{r-v}: Four Recipes

Medical, and to do with humours; attributed to John Malverne (*eVK* 7858).

3. ff 3^{r} – 5^{r}: *The Victorious and the Vanquished*

Also known as The Golden Table. A prose text attributed to Pythagoras, which advises divination by calculation based on numerical equivalents assigned to days and names. The prognostications concern sickness, victory in battle, the outcome of a journey, the length of life of spouses, and the outcome of illness. The text exists in two forms, and Burnett suggests that the close correspondence of the numerical equivalents in both points to a common origin, perhaps the *Secretum Secretorum* (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3625, 3786). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS A, B1, H, S3 and P.

Editions: Burnett, 1988, pp. 159-163.

Voigts, 1994, pp. 123, 131.

References: Braekman, 1988, pp. 83, 105.

eVK 2739, 7411.

Voigts, 1989a, p. 360.

---, 1986, pp. 291, 297, 302.

[ff 5^{v} – 6^{r} blank]

4. f 6^{v}: Astrological Tables and Tables of Dates

5. ff 7^{r-v}: The Ages of Man, the Elements and the Humours.

Reference: eVK 3371.

6. ff 8^{r} – 20^{r}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Incomplete, with some blank folios throughout.

Reference: *eVK* 973, 2227.

[f 21^{v} blank]

7. ff 21^{r} – 42^{v}: *The Vertues Off Herbes*

A prose text that treats of thirty-two herbs describing the medical qualities, the portion of the plant to be used for medicinal purposes, and recipes for internal and external use (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3643, 3823). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B4, Bs, S3 and Y.

Edition: Grymonprez, 1981, pp 11, 15, 27.

References: eVK 2376, 4059.

Rohde, 1922, p. 199.

8. ff 40^{r} – 42^{v}: Prose Treatise on Rosemary

An anonymous, unedited collection of recipes for the use of rosemary; perhaps derived from (or interpolated with) Henry Daniel's treatise or its other source. The treatise is found independently at the end of or within other herbals, including *A Tretys of Herbis*, the prose *Vertues off Herbes*, and John Lelamour's herbal. In addition, it was incorporated into the work now known as *Bancke's Herbal*, the first printed version of *Agnus Castus* (Keiser, 1998, pp. 2644, 3825). Here, it is part of item [8] above. Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B3 and R1.

9. ff 43^{r} – 119^{r}: Recipes

Over three hundred recipes dealing with human ailments, ointments, charms, and herbs and herbal medicine (*eVK* 6451). Begins: "Heere in þis boke ben medecynes for many yuelis…". Includes a remedybook (ff 101^{r} – 104^{r}) and recipes for *Aquae vitae* and distillation (ff 115^{r} – 116^{v}). Also includes a collection of remedies in Latin (ff 112^{v} – 115^{r}).

References: *eVK* 2153, 2341, 4883, 5378, 5810, 6401.

10. f 119^{r}: Note by Henry Dyndey

Dated the "xxij day of febwary yn the seconde yere of owre soverayne ladye qvene Elyzabethe" (1560).

[f 119^{v} blank]

11. f 120^{r-v}: Uncorrupted Wounds of Christ Charm

A couplet and three lines with internal rhymes, beginning with the statement that Christ's wounding on earth was known in heaven, and asserts that these wounds did not fester, suppurate or cause distress; it concludes that neither should those of the wounded person (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3672, 3871)

Edition: Hunt, 1990, p. 311.

12. ff 120^{r}, 127^{v}, 129^{v}: Job Charms

These charms occur in both prose and verse, and are of varying lengths. These charms tell of Job's afflictions with nine worms, and are intended to cure equine maladies (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3675, 3879).

Edition: Gray, 1974, p. 65 (this MS).

References: eVK 3012, 3275.

Hunt, 1990, p. 83.

IPMEP 356, 372, 422.

13. f 120^{v} – 121^{r}: Recipes on Horticulture & Arboriculture

Three in all, including "Apple Trees in Winter", of which this version is the only extant.

Edition: Braekman, 1985, p. 26.

References: eVK 1188.

Keiser, 1998, pp. 3690, 3904.

14. ff 121^{v}: Two Medical Recipes

Reference: eVK 5998.

15. 122^{r}: "He that may thrive and will not"

Four monorhyming lines (*NIMEV* 1162.6).

16. f 122^{r}: "In troble & in thraull / vnto the Lord I caull"

A simple prayer against slanderers in one six-line stanza. Occurs again at f 122^{v} (below, item [14]) with two moralising couplets added (Louis, 1993, pp. 3001, 3374). This MS is the only extant.

References: IMEV 1586.

Robbins, 1939b, p. 338.

17. f 122^{v}: "Howe Hurtfull is the Thing"

Short poem on lying and transgression. (Louis, 1993, pp. 3001, 3374).

Reference: NIMEV 1256.5.

18. f 122^{v}: "In troble & in thraull/vnto the Lord I caull".

See item [15] above.

[ff 123^{r} –125^{r} blank]

19. f 125^{v} – 126^{r}: Note

Entitled: "A godly exhortacoun for a father to his childrene".

[ff 126^{v} – 127^{r} blank]

20. f 127^{v}: Charm

See item [12] above.

21. ff 128^{r} – 131^{v}: Charms and Recipes

Approximately twenty-eight recipes for veterinary and equine medicine; includes Job charm at f 129^{v} (see item [12] above) (*eVK* 1495).

22. f 131^{v} – 32^{r}: "God that was Well Born" Charm

This version is in verse, and it uses a repetitive technique to call for the healing of worms, festers, and rankling in a horse; six lines (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3675, 3879). This MS is the only extant.

Edition: Sheldon, 1978, p. 264.

References: eVK 2060.

NIMEV 992.

Schuler, 1979, no. 209.

23. f 131^{v}: St Nicasius & St Loy Charm[1]

A prose charm against equine diseases; in these charms are abbreviated allusions to St Nicasius, Longinus, and the uncorrupted wounds of Christ (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3675, 3879).

Edition: Sheldon, 1978, p. 262.

Reference: eVK 2060.

24. f 132^{r}: Notes in Latin on Bloodletting

[f 132^{v} blank]

[1] St Nicasius was a fifth-century bishop of Rheims who was slain at the door of his cathedral by invading Huns, while St Loy (or St. Eligius), c. 588-660, bishop of Noyon, incurred the wrath of King Dagobert by his refusal to swear. Chaucer's Prioress, Madam Eglentyne, famously swears by St Loy (*The Canterbury Tales*, General Prologue, ll. 120-121) (Benson, 1987, p. 25).

XI London, British Library, MS Sloane 965 (S1)

Catalogue: *BLWebcatalogue*, 26/10/2005; Scott, 1904.

General References: (Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 601, n. 32; 1993, pp. 8, 20-1; *LALME* 1.115, 210, 233; Taavitsainen, 2004b, pp. 215, 226-227, Voigts, 2004, pp. 197-208.

Images: *BLCIM*, 13/03/06.

Brief Description: MS c. 1449 (*BLWebcatalogue*); parchment; ff iii+182+ii; 120 x 80mm; in single hand of anglicana formata with some features of secretary; high grade MS, richly decorated with gold illumination, and red and blue tinting throughout. Language northeast Leicestershire or Rutland (Taavitsainen, 2004b, p. 226). Appears to have been a deluxe *vade mecum* for a physician. Name John Skeffingham in s.xvi hand (10^{r}) and Abell Collyer in s.xviii (3^{r}) ((Braswell) Means, 1993, pp. 20-1).

Contents:

1. f 2^{r}: Zodiac Man

Full page drawing in brown, with labelling in blue and gold (*BLCIM*, *BLWebcatalogue*).

2. ff 3^{r} – 6^{r}: *Declarationes*

Attributed to Richard of Wallingford (*eVK* 2685). Also found in *Wise Book* MS R1, from which Voigts suggests this version was copied (2004, p. 200).

Edition: Voigts, 2004, pp. 197-208.

References: eVK 2692.

North, 1976, I, p. 558 (this MS).

3. ff 6^{v} – 7^{v}: "Whanne Thou Wilt Done Any Thinge"

A prose treatise advising favourable times to travel (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3622, 3777). This MS is the only extant.

Edition: (Braswell) Means, 1993, pp. 41, 201.

References: *eVK* 8076.

Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 83.

---, 1987, p. 24.

4. ff 9^{r} – 21^{v}: Calendar

For the years 1444-1517 (ff 9^{r}-10^{v}) (Means, 1993, p. 21); otherwise in Dutch and French (*BLWebcatalogue*).

5. f 11^{r}, 22^{r}: Verses on Astrology and Signs of Zodiac

Reference: *eVK* 1501.

6. ff 21^{r} – 23^{v}: *De quatuor humoribus corporis*

A Latin text on the four humours (*BLWebcatalogue*).

7. ff 24^{r} – 106^{v}: *Chirurgia Magna*

In 1363 Guy de Chauliac completed his *Chirurgia Magna*, one of the most important and influential of medieval surgical texts. Guy studied medicine at Toulouse, Montpellier, and Bologna and, while at Lyons, where he was canon of St. Just, he was appointed private physician to Clement VI at Avignon and, subsequently, to Innocent VI and Urban V. His death occurred between 1367 and 1370.

Guy's treatise was fully translated into Middle English twice in the late 14th and 15th centuries; there are also two incomplete English versions. Guy's emphasis is on the need for knowledge of anatomy; however, perhaps the best-known and most compelling portion of the treatise is his account of his experience in 1348, especially the result of the terror inspired by the Black Death: "the fader visited nou3t þe sone, ne þe sone þe fader. Charitie was dede, and hope was þrowen downe" (Ogden, 1971, p. 155) (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3647-8, 3831-2). References provided here are for this MS only; see Keiser (above) for an extensive bibliography. This MS contains the anatomy only.

References: *eVK* 336, 1881.

Simpson, 1989 p. 1.

Taavitsainen, 2004b, pp. 226-7.

Wallner, 1987, p. 286.

8. ff 106^{v} – 107^{v}: Zodiac and Humours.

Short notations on establishing the moon's degree in a sign through counting by fives ((Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 601).

Reference: eVK 2692.

9. ff 108^{r} – 130^{v}: *Aurum is Golde*

A prose alchemical text (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3636, 3806). This MS is the only extant.

References: eVK 1212.

Singer & Anderson, 1928-31, no. 413.

Voigts, 1987, p. 107.

10. ff 132^{r} – 143^{r}: Plague Tract attributed to John of Burgundy

The best known and most influential of medieval English translations of works on the pestilence was the *Plague Tract* Attributed to John of Burgundy. The work exists in several versions, only one of which, a four-chapter prose version, is available in a modern edition. The version in this MS is in four chapters, and is dated to 1365 (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3662-4, 3856-57, which has an extensive bibliography). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B3 and C4.

References: eVK 1798, 7375.

IPMEP 659.

11. ff. 145^{v} – 147^{v}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

References: *eVK* 970, 2195.

Scott, 1904, p. 54.

12. ff 146^{r} – 154^{r}: On Human Diseases

An incomplete tract, attributed to Thomas Betrisden (*BLWebcatalogue*).

14. ff 156^{r} – 161^{v}: Bloodletting Tract

Reference: *eVK* 7065.

14. 161^{v} – 163^{r}: Bloodletting Tract

Reference: *eVK* 659.

15. ff 163^{v} – 164^{v}: Tract on Cupping

Reference: *eVK* 1841.

16. ff 165^{r} – 180^{r}: *The Book of Destinary*

17. f 181^{r}: On Wine

A sixteenth-century note on the commodities and discommodities of wine (*BLWebcatalogue*).

18. f 184^{v}: Zodiac Man

Illustration, on a folio two centimetres longer than the others in the MS ((Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 21).

XII London, British Library, Sloane MS 1317 (S2)

Catalogue: *BLWebcatalogue*, 07/01/2006; Scott, 1904.

Brief Description: MS s.xvii; paper, quarto volume, ff 152, 212 x 140mm (*BLWebcatalogue*).

Contents:

1. f 1^{r-v}: Fragment

A vellum leaf from another MS, which has been inserted here, with fragments of a Latin text.

2. ff 2^{r} – 6^{r}: Latin Notes

On the drawing up of legal documents and wills (*BLWebcatalogue*).

3. f 6^{r}: Herb (Bugle)

Reference: *eVK* 4015.

4. f 6^{v} Anatomy and Ophthalmology

Text incomplete (*eVK* 7131).

5. ff 7^{v} - 16^{v}: Medical & Culinary Recipes

Around sixty-five recipes (*eVK* 4754).

6. f 17r: Prognostication By Name

Illustrated; incomplete (*eVK* 257).

7. ff 17^{v} – 18^{r}: Anatomy and Humours

Incomplete (*eVK* 1025).

8. f 18^{r}: Feoffment of Land

To William Andrews of Co. Essex; s. xvii (*BLWebcatalogue*).

9. ff 18^{v} - 19^{r}: Medical Recipes

Six recipes (*eVK* 5702).

10. ff 19^{v} - 20^{v}: Astronomy and Astrology

Reference: *eVK* 4485.

11. ff 21^{r} – 22^{r}: Medical Recipes

Eight recipes (*eVK* 4665).

12. ff 22^{v} - 24$^{v:}$ Astronomy and Astrology

Reference: (*eVK* 1689).

[f 25 blank]

13. ff 26^{r} – 27^{r}: Witchcraft and Charms ("Haec malefica..")

Reference: *eVK*2087.

14. ff 27^{v} - 31^{v}: Recipes: Medicine, Etiology

Around thirty recipes (*eVK* 2082).

15. f 32^{r}: Astrology and Signs of Zodiac

Notes in English and Latin on the seven signs (*eVK* 6695).

16. ff 32^{v} - 103^{v}: Medical Recipes

Some 480 recipes (*eVK* 5847). Includes a recipe for dwale (f 36^{r}), an anaesthetic used in surgery, which has received particular critical attention regarding what such recipes reveal about late medieval understandings of the human body and about the sophistication of medical practices (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3658/3844-5). Dwale recipe also found in *Wise Book* MS B4.

Edition: Henslow, 1972, p. 90 (Dwale text).

Reference: Voigts & Hudson, 1992, pp. 35, 47-8.

17. ff 57^{v} – 58^{r}: Short Form of the Book of Aristotle

Written by John Lanyais (*eVK* 7031).

18. ff 65^{v} – 69^{r}: Symptoms and Signs of Disease

Reference: eVK 871.

19. ff 73^{v} – 74^{r}: Text on Deontology

Reference: *eVK* 7918.

20. ff 79^{v} – 80^{r}: Tract on Horticulture

Reference: *eVK* 4702.

21. ff 87^{v} - 89^{v}: Tract on Urine

Reference: *eVK* 5497.

22. f 97^{v}: The Planets

Reference: *eVK* 1569.

23. f 98^{r}: Text on Urine

Reference: *eVK* 647.

24. ff 101^{v} – 102^{r} : Tract on the Four Humours

Reference: *eVK* 2409.

25. ff 103^{v} – 110^{r}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Reference: *eVK* 965, 2273.

26. 110^{v} – 115^{r}: *The Book of Destinary*

Reference: *eVK* 8131.

27. f 115^{v}: Sentence of Suspension, by Bishop of London

Against Edmund Thurland, Vicar of Chestnut, Herefordshire, for his non-appearance at his primary visitation, 1561 (*BLWebcatalogue*).

28. f 116^{v}: Commissions from the Bishop of London

To Nicholas Aspinall, Rector of Hormead, and to John Barnes, Rector of Wormley, 1561 (*BLWebcatalogue*).

29. ff 120^{v} – 41^{r}: Herbal and Medical Recipes

Approximately eighty recipes (*eVK* 2421).

30. ff 129^{v} – 30^{r}: Onomancy & Prognostication by Name

Reference: *eVK* 4620.

31. ff 133^{v} – 34^{r}: Text on Witchcraft & Mental Illness.

Reference: *eVK* 3097.

32. ff 142^{r} –147^{r}: *Proprietates verborum*

Latin Grammar, s.xvii (*BLWebcatalogue*).

33. 147^{r} – 151^{v}: Bible Commentaries

Latin (*BLWebcatalogue*).

XIII London, British Library, MS Sloane 1609 (S3)

Catalogue: *BLWebcatalogue*, 07/01/2006; Scott, 1904.

Brief Description: MS s. xiv – xv; mostly paper, ff 57, rebound mid-twentieth century; composite, some leaves (ff 5-10) of vellum.

Contents:

1. ff 1^{r-v}: Notes on Births and Deaths

Of the children of the Hill family, Lambeth, between 1504 and 1515 (*BLWebcatalogue*).

2. ff 2^{r} – 3^{v}: Medical Recipes

Ten recipes (*eVK* 4851).

Reference: *BLWebcatalogue*.

3. ff 3^{v} – 4^{v}: Dietary of Galen

A prose regimen explaining, month by month, appropriate diet and proper days for bloodletting, and for finding when Easter falls (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3659, 3849). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B4, C6, H and S.

Edition: Henslow, 1898, p. 63.

Mooney, 1994, p. 253 (this MS).

---, 1981a, p. 161 (this MS).

Reference: *eVK* 3489.

4. ff 5^{r} – 10^{r}: Kalendarium

Of saints' and feast days, complete.

Reference: BLWebcatalogue.

5. ff 11^{r} – 18^{v}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Imperfect; damage to the MS at ff 16^{r-v}.

Reference: eVK 974, 2231.

6. ff 18^{v} – 27^{r}: *The Book of Destinary*

With the *explicit* "tractatus bonus et utilis predstinacionis humane" (*BLWebcatalogue*).

Reference: *eVK* 974.

7. ff 27^{v} - 28^{v}: *The Victorious and the Vanquished*

Also known as the Golden Table. A prose text attributed to Pythagoras, which advises divination by calculation based on numerical equivalents assigned to

days and names. The prognostications concern sickness, victory in battle, the outcome of a journey, the length of life of spouses, and the outcome of illness. The text exists in two forms, and Burnett suggests that the close correspondence of the numerical equivalents in both points to a common origin, perhaps the *Secretum Secretorum* (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3625, 3786). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS A, B1, H, P and R2.

Editions: Burnett, 1988, pp. 159-163.

Voigts, 1994, pp. 123, 131.

References: Braekman, 1988, pp. 83, 105.

eVK 6997.

Voigts, 1989a, p. 360.

---, 1986, pp. 291, 297, 302.

8. ff 29^{r} – 32^{r}: The Interpretations of Daniel (*Somniale Danielis*)

This work is a list, alphabetised by the Latin word and attributed to the prophet Daniel, enumerating around 124 subjects of the dream and explaining what each betokens (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3625, 3785).

References: eVK 621.

IPMEP 100.

Edition: Bühler, 1962, p. 271.

Förster, 1911, p. 48 (this MS).

9. f 32^{r-v}: *Sententiae quaedam theologicae*

10. ff 33^{r} - 36^{v}: Medical Recipes

Around forty-eight recipes (*eVK* 8138).

11. ff 37^{r} – 40^{v}: *The Vertues Off Herbes*

A prose text that treats of thirty-two herbs describing the medical qualities, the portion of the plant to be used for medicinal purposes, and recipes for internal and external use (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3643, 3823). Seventeen plants only in this MS (*eVK* 537). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B4, Bs, R2 and Y.

Edition: Grymonprez, 1981, pp. 11, 15, 27.

References: Rohde, 1922, p. 199.

12. ff 41^{r} – 44^{r}: Medical & Cosmetic Recipes

Nineteen recipes (*eVK* 3633, 5232); in several hands.

13. f 45^{r}: Brief Astronomical Notes

14. f 45^{v}: Some Latin Verse

Reference: *BLWebcatalogue*.

15. f 46^{r-v}: "Ciu libet figura in primo loco posita…"

Brief prose notes on numeration, mostly unedited; jotted onto flyleaves of manuscripts or in spaces following longer works. Text describes place value in a decimal scheme of writing numbers; ends imperfectly (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3639, 3811).

References: Acker, 1993, p. 77.

eVK 6582.

16. ff 47^{r} - 48^{r}: Prognostication, by New Year's Day

Visions of Esdras the Prophet (*eVK* 2646, 7448).

17. ff 48^{r-v}: Prognostication by thunder: *De Tonitruo*

Reference: *eVK* 2613.

18. f 48^{v}: *De Saturno*

Reference: *eVK* 4480.

19. ff 49^{r-v}: *Dies Caniculares*

Lucky and unlucky days (*eVK* 8186).

20. ff 49^{v} – 51^{r}: Regimen of Health

Reference: *eVK* 2718.

21. f 51^{r}: Bloodletting and Lucky & Unlucky Days

Attributed to Bede (*eVK* 1236).

22. f 51^{r}: Zodiac and Physiognomy

The text acknowledges Ptolemy's *Almagest* as a source (*eVK* 1348).

23. f 51^{r}: Planets

Reference: *eVK* 4468.

24. ff 51^{v} – 52^{v}: The Planets

Reference: *eVK* 4489.

25. f 53^{r}: Planets and Days

Reference: eVK 3941.

26. ff 53^{r} – 54^{r}: Humours, Elements and Seasons

Reference: eVK 2479.

27. f 54^{r}: Prognostication on the Prime

Existing in both prose and verse, these prognostications foretell weather on the basis of the day of the week on which the new moon appears. Fragment only in this MS (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3624, 3784).

References: IMEVS 3609.6, 4040.

Mooney, 1981a, p. 356.

Schuler, 1979, no. 594.

28. ff 55^{r-v}: Medical Recipes

Fifteen recipes (*eVK* 5842).

29. f 56^{r}: "Esto memor mortis"

A didactic lyric, in eighty-four macaronic lines, part Latin, part Middle English.

Reference: NIMEV 3122.

30. f 57^{r}: Latin Prayer

For preservation from danger (*BLWebcatalogue*).

31. f 57^{r}: Certificate Of Banns

In Latin, against a clergyman (*BLWebcatalogue*).

32. f 57^{v}: Two Notices (Latin)

One for Thomas Wade, Canon of Holy Trinity Priory, Ipswich, for admission to the sub-deaconate; another to the Chaplain of St Mary's Church at Woodbridge from the Chaplain of St Margaret's, Ipswich, on the publication of banns. Both dated 1453/4 (*BLWebcatalogue*).

XIV London, British Library, MS Sloane 2453 (S4)

Catalogue: Scott, 1904.

Brief Description: ff 14, parchment, with rubricated text breaks; 190 x 100 mm, ruled, ll 29 per page.

Contents:

1. ff 1^{r} – 6^{r}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Reference: *eVK* 974, 2231.

2. ff 6^{r} – 14^{r}: *The Book of Destinary*

References: *eVK* 974, 2231.

3. f 14^{v}: Marginalia

Latin notes.

XV London, British Library MS Sloane 3553 (S5)

Catalogue: Scott, 1904.

Brief Description: MS 1475 (Keiser, 1998, p. 3766); composite, in two parts; the first vellum (205 x 145 mm) and the second paper (205 x 148mm).

Contents:

1. ff 1^{r} – 6^{r}, 7^{r} – 10^{r}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

An incomplete version.

Reference: *eVK* 2272, 3217.

[f 6^{v} blank]

2. ff 10^{r} – 20^{v}: *The Book of Destinary*

References: eVK 2272, 3217.

3. ff 21^{r} – 95^{v}: The Middle English Gilbertus Anglicus

The Middle English Gilbertus Anglicus is a prose adaptation of the *Compendium medicinae* compiled by Gilbertus around 1240. Though nothing is known of the life of the English Gilbertus, he was recognised as one of the great authorities on medicine, and his works were known to Chaucer's Doctour of Phisik. The large number of and the nature of the extant copies of the English translation suggest that it reached a wide audience, which included medical practitioners and others eager for access to the knowledge and information it contained (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3649-50, 3852-3).

Editions: Getz, 1982, p. 436.

Gray, 1985, p. 138 (selection).

References: Getz, 1990, p. 259.

Talbot & Hammond, 1965, pp. 56, 57.

Talbott, 1970, p. 24.

XVI London, University College, MS Anglia 6 (A)

Catalogues: Coveney, 1935, pp. ix, 23-24; Ker, 1969, I, p. 133; *UCLWebcatalogue*, 20/05/2005.

General References: Acker & Amino, 1994, pp. 141-157; Voigts, 1987, pp. 94-98, 107-109.

Brief Description: s. xv – xvi; paper, ff 48; 121 x 142 mm (text space 160 x 105 mm) (Ker, 1969, I, p. 133); 28-31 ll. per page; MS is misbound. In a single cursive hand throughout, headings and initials in red (*UCLWebcatalogue*); watermark is a bull's head (Coveney, 1935, p. 23); owned by John Thomas Graves, mathematician and professor of Jurisprudence at University College London, and whose collection was bequeathed to the library there following his death in 1870 (Coveney, 1935, p. ix).

Contents:

1. ff 1^{r} – 9^{v} ***The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy***

Reference: eVK 2274, 3220.

2. 10^{r} – 31^{v}: ***The Book of Destinary***

Misbound, with part of text on f 48^{v} (*eVK* 3220).

Reference: Voigts, 1987, pp. 107, 108.

3. ff 32^{r} – 33^{r}: "þe names of men in latyne"

Eighty-one names of men and sixty-four of women, in two alphabetical series, Adam – Zacheus, and Anna – Welete (Ker, 1969, I, p. 133).

4. ff 33^{v} – 35^{v}, 11^{r-v}, 36^{r}: The Golden Table of Pythagoras

Also known as *The Victorious and the Vanquished*. A prose text attributed to Pythagoras, which advises divination by calculation based on numerical equivalents assigned to days and names. The prognostications concern sickness, victory in battle, the outcome of a journey, the length of life of spouses, and the outcome of illness. The text exists in two forms, and Burnett suggests that the close correspondence of the numerical equivalents in both points to a common origin, perhaps the *Secretum Secretorum* (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3625, 3786). Also found in *Wise Book* MS Bl, H, P, S3 and R2. Misbound in this MS; ends imperfectly, f 11^{v}; diagrams occur at ff 11^{r}, 36^{r} (Ker, 1969, I, p. 133).

Editions: Burnett, 1988, pp. 159-163.

Voigts, 1994, pp. 123, 131.

References: Braekman, 1988, pp. 83, 105.

eVK 3538.

Voigts, 1989a, p. 360.

---, 1986, pp. 291, 297, 302.

5. ff 36^{v} – 47^{v}: ***The Boke of Palmistry***

Describes five hands, with large accompanying diagrams at ff 36^{v}, 37^{r}, 48^{r}, and smaller drawings throughout. Addressed to a "worschypfull ladye" (Ker, 1969, I, p. 133). Also found in *Wise Book* MS P.

Edition: Acker & Amino, 1994, pp. 141-183.

References: *eVK* 1492, 2910.

Keiser, 1998, pp. 3626, 3787.

6. f 48^{v}: ***The Book of Physiognomy***

This physiognomy describes internal qualities by examining external forms, and also looks at the elements and humours, and at the planets and their influence on mankind. It concludes with the signs and significance of the head, hair, face, forehead, eyes, nose, brows, mouth, teeth, ear, neck and throat (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3610, 3759). Misbound in this MS; ends imperfectly (Ker, 1969, I, p. 133). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS P and C2.

Editions: Acker, 1985, pp. 266-69.

Krochalis & Peters, 1975, pp. 218-228.

References: eVK 655, 6820.

Pack, 1974, p. 113.

XVII London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library MS 411 (W1)

Catalogues: Moorat, 1962, pp. 278-80; *WellcomeCat*, 07/01/2006.

General References: Grothé, 1982, II, pp. 745, 857 and *passim*; Mooney, 1981a, p. 522; Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 75-6.

Brief Description: MS s. xv; parchment; ff 63, 220 x 155mm, 31 ll per page (Moorat, 1062, p. 278); in single hand throughout. Red ink used for lunar table at 51^{r} (Mooney, 1981a, p. 522). Names "Wyllyam Davy" and "Thomas Champe" occur at f 63^{v} in early s.xvi hand (Moorat, 1962, p. 280); also contains a note regarding George Sheffield, Allen Harrow, Henry Parker, and Miss Allen, dated 25th October 1610 (Moorat, 1962, p. 280; Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 75-6).

Contents:

1. ff 1^{r} – 2^{r}: Christmas Day Couplets

Based on the days of the week on which both Christmas and New Year's fall, these prophecies foretell weather and expectations for agriculture and husbandry in the coming year. More elaborate versions contain additional prophecies – the general fate of those who are born or fall ill on that day, political events – such as are found in lunar treatises. These works are generally known as Esdras (Ezra) or Ezekiel prophecies. In the sixteenth-century, when they were frequently printed, they came to be known as "Erra Pater" prophecies (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3624, 3781). This version (eighty-eight lines) lacks the beginning (Moorat, 1962, p. 278). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B1, Bd and H.

Editions: Denham, 1965, pp. 69-70.

Robbins, 1952, pp. 63-7.

---, 1939, p. 330.

References: (Braswell) Means, 1992b, p. 369.

eVK 329.

NIMEV 1905.

Förster, 1903, p. 349.

Schuler, 1979, nos. 337, 344

Talbert, 1942, p. 6.

2. ff 2^{v} – 3^{r}: Dietary of Lydgate

Verse couplets, eighty lines (Moorat, 1962, p. 278).

References: *eVK* 1852.

NIMEV 824

3. ff 4^{r} – 9^{r}: *The Ensamplys By Wise Clerkes*

Prose lunary, on profitable times to carry out tasks (*eVK* 6719, 7262). This MS is the only extant.

References: Keiser, 1998, pp. 3621, 3774.

Moorat, 1962, p. 279.

Taavitsainen, 1987, p. 24.

4. ff 9^{v} - 18^{v}: *Book of Destinary*

References: *eVK* 2296, 3505.

Moorat, 1962, p. 279.

5. ff 18^{v} – 19^{r}: Treatise on Lucky & Unlucky Days.

Prose, with two versions in this MS covering thirty-two days (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3624, 3780). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS Bd and C6.

Editions: Förster, 1903, p. 352.

Mooney, 1981a, p. 183.

References: (Braswell) Means, 1992b, p. 383.

eVK 7290.

IPMEP 384, 713, 723.

Moorat, 1962, p. 279.

Robbins, 1970, p. 397.

Wallis, 1995, p. 121.

6. f 19^{r}: A List of Executions, 1553 and 1555

A list of executions which took place in 1553, for treason, and 1555 for heresy. Amongst those named are John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who tried to put Lady Jane Grey on the throne, and was executed on August 22nd 1553. Also included are Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer who were burned in Oxford on October 16th, 1555 for heresy, at the command of Mary Tudor.

References: Moorat, 1962, p. 280.

Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 75.

[ff 19^{v} - 20^{r} blank]

7. ff 21^{r} – 26^{r}: Almanac

In Latin, containing directions for purging and bloodletting (Moorat, 1962, p. 279).

Reference: Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 75.

8. ff 27^{r} – 30^{r}: *Flores dietarum*

An abridged Latin text, attributed to Johannes de S. Paulo (Moorat, 1962, p. 279).

9. f 30^{r}: A Steward's Notes

On sums received from his master, William Watnor, and paid to several employees, late s.xv (Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 75-6).

[ff 30^{v} - 31^{v} blank]

10. ff 32^{r} – 37^{v}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

References: eVK 972, 2228.

Moorat, 1962, p. 279.

11. ff 38^{r} – 50^{r}: Medical Astrology

Notes and extracts, in Latin (Moorat, 1962, p. 279).

12. f 51^{r}: Lunar Table

Latin; drawn in red and black (Moorat, 1962, pp. 278-9).

13. ff 52^{r} – 53^{r}: *De conferentibus et nocentibus*

Latin; abridged. Attributed to Arnoldus de Villanova (Moorat, 1962, p. 279).

14. ff 53^{r} – 56^{r}: *De coitu*

Latin; extracts only. Attributed to Constantinus Africanus (Moorat, 1962, p. 279).

15. ff 56^{r} – 61^{r}: Cures for Venomous Bites

Reference: *eVK* 6663.

16. ff 61^{v} – 63^{r}: *Canon pro minutionibus et purgationibus recipendis*

Latin; attributed to Nicholas of Lynn (Moorat, 1962, p. 279-80).

XVIII London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library MS 564 (W2)

Catalogue: Moorat, 1962, pp. 439 – 442; *WellcomeCat*, 07/01/2006.

Edition: Grothé, 1982, II, pp. 153-167.

Brief Description: Grothé, 1982, II, p. 625; Moorat, 1962, pp. 439-40.

MS c. 1475 (Keiser, 1998, p. 3766), although Grothé suggests that the MS is "plus près du début du XVe siècle" (1982, p. 632); parchment, ff 201. 320 x 235 mm; main texts in two ruled columns of 34 ll, in a clear anglicana formata, with textura quadrata headings, and with several other, later hands throughout (Grothé, 1982, II, pp. 622-23, 625, 632). Capitals and running titles rubricated, also paraphs and underlinings in red; some large ornamental initials in red and black. The text of the *Compliacioun of Sirurgie* is dated 1392, and Grothé reckons that the MS copy is close to the original (1982, p. 630).[2] There are signatures throughout: "Mr Owen" (f 50^{v}), and "Mr Howlett" (f 51^{r}), both s. xvi; "Husband, Westmynster, Jones, Holenshed" (f 81^{v}), early s.xvi; a receipt signed by "John à Bryggs", dated 1511 (f 190^{v}); "Edward Clarke" (f 193^{r}) (Moorat, 1962, pp. 439-40). The MS was subsequently owned by the renowned physician, Edward Tyson, in the seventeenth-century (Grothé, 1982, II, p. 621).

Contents:

1. ff 10^{r} – 128^{r}: *The Compilacioun of Sirurgie*

The MS contains two prose treatises, based on the works of Lanfranc and Henri de Mondeville (d. 1325). The *Compilacioun of Sirurgie* was to consist of an Anatomy, a discussion of diseases and illnesses related to surgery, and an Antidotary. Only the Anatomy and a portion of the second part are in the MS (Grothé, 1982, II, p. 627). Though some portions come from Lanfranc, the work is largely taken from Mondeville. The third distinction of the Anatomy is a text of *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*. The compiler was a London surgeon, possibly also a physician, working in 1392 (f 10^{r}) (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3651, 3835-6). This version corresponds closely to that edited by Fleischacker (1894).

Editions: Grothé, 1982, I, pp. 1 – 248.

Mory, 1977, pp. 1, 22, 29, 43 (selection only).

[2] "...le ms. 564 est donc celle d'une première copie, ou à tout le moins d'une des premières copies (1982, p. 30).

References: Beck, 1974, p. 192.

eVK 936, 6865.

Furnivall & Furnivall, 1888, p. 5.

Heninger, 1975, no. 304a.

Russell, 1947, p. 954.

2. ff 47^{r} – 55^{v}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Embedded in item [1] above.

Edition: Grothé, 1982, II, pp. 153-167.

3. ff 128^{v}- 130^{v}: Illustrations

Urine flasks, with uroscopy in English in a sixteenth-century hand (Moorat, 1962, p. 440).

References: eVK 3290.

MacKinney, 1965, p. 146.

4. ff 131^{r} – 137^{r}: Alchemical, Chemical and Pharmaceutical Notes

In English (Moorat, 1962, p. 440).

References: eVK 2434, 4588, 6786.

5. ff 137^{v} – 138^{v}: Numeration

From 1 – 1000 in English and Latin, and medical recipes in English (Moorat, 1962, p. 440).

References: eVK 3424, 4209, 4273.

6. f 139^{r}: Medical Recipes

In various sixteenth-century hands (Moorat, 1962, p. 440).

Reference: *eVK* 4273.

[ff 139^{v} – 143^{r} blank]

7. ff 143^{v} – 145^{v}: Notes and Recipes

On the humours, medical astrology, weights and measures (Moorat, 1962, p. 441).

References: *eVK* 667, 671, 910, 1073, 2574, 6475.

8. ff 146^{r} – 171^{r}: *The Tretis of Surgerie*

Perhaps the work of the same translator as [1] above, the *Tretis of Surgerie*, also prose, is translated from the second part of Mondeville's *Cirurgia*. What survives in this MS is fragmentary (chapters 1-10 only) (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3651, 3835-6); it breaks off in mid-phrase (Grothé, 1982, II, p. 627).

Edition: Grothé, 1982, I, pp. 275-324.

Reference: eVK 6744; see also item [1] above.

9. ff 171^{v} – 196^{r}: Medical Recipes

In several hands (Moorat, 1962, p. 441). Includes the *Virtues of Herbs* (six plants only) at f 181^{v} (*eVK* 292), and a Urinary (attributed to Galen) at f 195^{v} (*eVK* 1999).

References: *eVK* 575, 3150, 3232, 3343, 3542, 4148, 4211, 4222, 4339, 5338, 5994, 7434, 7761, 7817, 7822.

[ff 196^{v} – 200^{r} blank]

10. f 201^{r-v}: Medical Recipes

With some scribbled notes and signatures. Described as an original vellum flyleaf (Moorat, 1962, p. 441).

Reference: *eVK* 4211

XVIX New York, Columbia University, Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, MS Plimpton 260 (P)

Catalogue: De Ricci & Wilson, 1935-1940, II, p. 1800; *DSD*, 20/05/2005.

Brief Description: MS first quarter s. xv (Keiser, 1998, p. 3766); vellum, ff 134, 130 x 90 mm; MS not composite (in four parts). Ruled, 20 ll per page, in a gothic book hand, with some decorative initials; diagrams in red, blue and gold (*DSD*). Described as a "compact-sized…codex containing a wide range of prognostications" (Acker, 2005, p. 262).

General References: Plimpton, 1935, pl. 37 (facsimile).

Images: *DSD*, 20/05/2005.

Contents :

PART 1

1. f 1^v – 2^r: Moon and Zodiac

A guide to suitable activities according to the days of the moon and the zodiac (*DSD*). Accompanied by a table (f 2^r) which allows the user to determine what day is good to travel, to let blood and so on.

Reference: *eVK* 1670.

3. ff 2^v – 4^r: List of Names

Boy's names first, then girl's, in Latin. Also found in *Wise Book* MS A.

Reference: Ker, 1969, I, p. 133.

[ff 4^v – 5^r Missing]

[f 5^v Blank]

4. ff 5^v - 13^v: The Golden Table of Pythagoras

Also known as *The Victorious and the Vanquished*. A prose text attributed to Pythagoras, which advises divination by calculation based on numerical equivalents assigned to days and names. The prognostications concern sickness, victory in battle, the outcome of a journey, the length of life of spouses, and the outcome of illness. The text exists in two forms, and Burnett suggests that the close correspondence of the numerical equivalents in both points to a common origin, perhaps the *Secretum Secretorum* (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3625, 3786). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS A B1, H, S3 and R2. This version accompanied by diagrams at ff 10^r and 13^r.

Editions: Burnett, 1988, pp. 159-163.

Voigts, 1994, pp. 123, 131.

References: Braekman, 1988, pp. 83, 105.

eVK 320.

Voigts, 1989a, p. 360.

---, 1986, pp. 291, 297, 302.

PART 2

1. ff 14^{r} - 31^{v}: *The Book of Physiognomy*

This physiognomy describes internal qualities by examining external forms, and also looks at the elements and humours, and at the planets and their influence on mankind. It concludes with the signs and significance of the head, hair, face, forehead, eyes, nose, brows, mouth, teeth, ear, neck and throat (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3610, 3759). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS A and C2.

Editions: Acker, 1985, pp. 266-69.

Krochalis & Peters, 1975, pp. 218-228.

References: eVK 654.

Pack, 1974, p. 113.

[ff 26^{v} – 29^{r} faded and illegible]

PART 3

1. ff 32^{r} – 33^{r}: Significations of the Winds

Edition: Acker, 2005, pp. 262-3.

Reference: *eVK* 1000.

2. ff 33^{r} – 57^{v}: *The Boke of Pawmestry* (Chiromancy)

Describes five hands, with large accompanying diagrams at ff 39^{v}, 41^{r}, 42^{v}, 43^{r-v}, and 44^{v}; f 57^{v} has a full page diagram of a palm with inscriptions. Addressed to a "worschypfull ladye" (Ker, 1969, I, p. 133). Also found in *Wise Book* MS A.

Edition: Acker & Amino, 1994, pp. 141-183.

References: *eVK* 1493, 2909.

Keiser, 1998, pp. 3626, 3787.

PART 4

1. ff 59^{r} – 80^{r}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Reference: eVK 967, 2272.

2. ff 80^{v} – 130^{v}: *The Book of Destinary*

Reference: eVK 1758, 3752.

XX New Haven, Yale University, MS Beinecke 163 (The Wagstaff Miscellany) (Y)

Catalogues: De Ricci & Wilson, 1935-40, 1902-03; Faye & Bond, 1962, p. 36; Shailor, 1984, I, pp. 216-23; Silk, 1944, 1-9; *YUBWebcatalogue*, 13/03/2002.

Images: Shailor, 1984, I, plate 20; *YaleImage*, 07/01/2006.

General References: Hieatt, 1988, pp. 9-23; Keiser, 1999, pp. 470-494; Shailor, 1996, pp. 162-167.

Brief Description: fourth quarter of s.xv (Keiser, 1998, p. 3766); ff 193, 291 x 200mm, with a text space of 217 x 135mm; MS is in two parts, and written in anglicana formata by two main scribes; some decoration of initials in blue and red, and illustrations of checkerboards (*YUBWebcatalogue*). Compiled and owned by John Whittocksmead (1410-1482), of Wiltshire (Keiser, 1999, p. 474), whose signature if found at f 59^{r} and 101^{v}, and has been partially effaced from f 14^{v} (*YUBWebcatalogue*).

Contents:

1. ff 1^{r} – 14^{v}: *Historia septem sapientum Romae*

Latin (*YUBWebcatalogue*).

2. f 14^{r} – 15^{v}: Medical Recipes

Five charms and prognostications, in English and Latin (*eVK* 4875). Includes a Conjuration against Thieves (f 15^{r}), a binding charm which invokes the Trinity, all the Masses ever said, and the virtues and herbs, grass, stones, and trees to hold the thief until found by the speaker (Keiser, 1998, 3673-4, 3874-5).

Editions: Bühler, 1958, pp. 371-2.

Vann, 1959, pp. 636-37.

References: IMEV 873.8, 939, 1293.5, 1952.5.

NIMEV 242.5.

Schuler, 1979, nos. 207, 255, 289.

YUBWebcatalogue.

3. ff 16^{r} – 23^{r}: *De modo tenendi parliamentum*

Latin, but final two portions of the text are in Middle English (*YUBWebcatalogue*).

Reference: Pronay & Taylor, 1980, pp. 67-72, 197-201.

4. ff 23^{r-v}: Medical Recipes

Eight recipes in English (*eVK* 4733).

Reference: *YUBWebcatalogue*.

5. ff 24^{r} – 28^{v}: Astrological Text

In Latin and English (*YUBWebcatalogue*).

Reference: Thorndike & Kibre, 1963, col. 1209.

6. f 28^{v}: Dreambook

Latin; text on the interpretation of dreams attributed to the prophet Daniel (*YUBWebcatalogue*).

7. f 28^{r} – 29^{r}: John Walton's Boethius Translation (Walton's Prosperity)

Chaucerian apocrypha in a single eight-line stanza (ll. 83-90) from Walton's prologue to his 1410 translation of Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*, on the evils of prosperity, especially money and women (Robbins, 1975, pp. 1071, 1291-3).

Editions: Lass, 1965, p. 174 (this MS).

Science, 1927.

References: Brown, 1916, 1, p. 477.

Raymo, 1968, pp. 2373, 2578-9.

YUBWebcatalogue.

8. f 29^{r}: "Now to Speke I Will Noght Spare.'

Verse on speaking for one's self; four lines only in this MS.

Editions: Brown, 1916, I, p. 477 (this MS).

Lass, 1965, p. 172 (this MS).

References: *NIMEV* 2371.

Louis, 1993, pp. 3001, 3375.

YUBWebcatalogue.

9. f 29^{r}: "Man bewarre er the be woo."

A fourteen stanza poem, of which stanza six only occurs here (*NIMEV* 3381).

10. f 29^{r}: "Ryght as poverte causeth sobrenesse…"

Selected verses on eating and drinking from John Walton's translation of Boethius (*NIMEV* 1597), lines 83-90 (*NIMEV* 2820).

Reference: *YUBWebcatalogue*.

11. ff 30^{r} – 31^{v}: Verse on Exchequer

References: Poole, 1921, pp. 58-67.

YUBWebcatalogue.

12. f 31^{v}: "Ffor the palsy"

Medical recipe in English (*YUBWebcatalogue*).

13. ff 32^{r} – 49^{v}: Tract on Equine Medicine

Latin; indexed at ff 32^{r-v} (*YUBWebcatalogue*).

14. ff 50^{r} – 56^{r}: Medicine for Horses

Directions on training horses, along with a collection of remedies for equine maladies including problems of the hoof and leg, problems of the eye, and internal problems. The material in this treatise found favour with English readers and horsemen for several centuries. Gervase Markham (1568? – 1637), renowned for having adapted earlier books for his contemporaries, incorporated a major portion of this treatise into *Markham's Masterpiece* (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3692-3, 3906-7).

Editions: Braekman, 1986, pp. 67, 72.

Mooney, 1981a, p. 434 (selection).

References: eVK 4738

IPMEP no. 718.

YUBWebcatalogue.

15. f 55^{v}: Recipes

Six recipes, concerned with both human and equine medicine (*eVK* 6389).

Reference: *YUBWebcatalogue*.

16. ff 56^{v} –76^{v}: *An Ordinance of Pottage*

A culinary recipe collection, with an index at ff 56^{v} – 57^{r} (*eVK* 5212). The text of this MS corresponds closely to the collection found in London, British Library, MS Sloane 7, and contains some 185 recipes (*YUBWebcatalogue*).

Editions: Hieatt, 1988.

--- & Butler, 1986, p. 15.

References: Keiser, 1998, pp. 3680, 3891.

17. ff 76^{v} – 82^{v}: *The Vertues off Herbes*

A prose text that treats of thirty-two herbs describing the medical qualities, the portion of the plant to be used for medicinal purposes, and recipes for internal

and external use (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3643, 3823). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B4, Bs, R2 and S3.

Edition: Grymonprez, 1981, pp. 11, 15, 27.

References: eVK 4050.

Rohde, 1922, p. 199.

YUBWebcatalogue.

18. ff 82^{v} – 99^{r}: Medical Recipes

Collection of around 212 medical recipes, beginning with the head and continuing downwards, followed immediately with remedies for wounds (*YUBWebcatalogue*).

Reference: *eVK* 5040.

19. ff 99^{r} – 101^{v}: *Tractus mirabilis aquarum*

Attributed to Petrus Hispanus. Text begins in Latin and changes to English after the recipe *partum muleris*; thus only the final section is in English (*YUBWebcatalogue*).

Reference: Thorndike & Kibre, 1963, col. 119.

20. ff 101^{v} – 102^{v}: Miscellaneous Medical Recipes

English (*eVK* 4956).

Reference: *YUBWebcatalogue*.

21. ff 103^{r} – 105^{v}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Incomplete version (*eVK* 968).

Reference: *YUBWebcatalogue*.

22. 106^{r} – 112^{v}: *The Book of Destinary*

23. f 113^{r}: Unidentified Poem

Latin, in thirty-four verses (*YUBWebcatalogue*).

24. ff 113^{v} – 115^{r}: Short selections

Such as the Ten Ages of Man, the Fifteen Signs of Judgement Day, The Four Elements of the World, The Seven Joys (*YUBWebcatalogue*).

25. ff 115^{r} – 122^{v}: *De spiritu Guidonis*

Latin; the poem mentions the date 16th December 1323.

Editions: Horstmann, 1896, pp. 292-333.

Scheich, 1898, pp. i-lxviii, 1-230.

Reference: YUBWebcatalogue.

26. ff 122^{r} – 124^{r}: Wagstaff Treatise on Wine

Lists of wines, directions for restoring wine, and recipes for making *ypocras* or other wine-based drinks occur frequently in medieval miscellanies. The collection consists of thirteen prose recipes, which explain how to rectify wine that has gone wrong in colour or flavour (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3681, 3894). This MS is the only extant.

Edition: Arn, 1990, p. 109.

References: *eVK* 5108.

YUBWebcatalogue.

27. ff 124^{r-v}: Medical Recipes

Around ten recipes in English (*eVK* 6513).

Reference: *YUBWebcatalogue.*

28. ff 125^{r} – 134^{r}: The Percy Poem on Falconry

"Thou that art a gentilman / And gentilmanys game wylt lere" (*eVK* 7541). 660 lines, quatrains, possibly composed in the Fenland area (north-eastern Ely). Its editor observes that the emphasis on training and flying in this treatise, written by an author experienced in the area, is different from most other treatises, which are concerned mostly with diseases and their treatment. In this treatise attention is given to the cure of diseases as a part of the process of training the hawk (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3697, 3912-3). This MS is the only extant.

Edition: Danielsson, 1970, pp. 5-60.

Reference: eVK 7541.

NIMEV 3693.

YUBWebcatalogue.

29. ff 134^{v} – 178^{v}: Edward, Duke of York's *Master of the Game*

Edward Plantagenet, second Duke of York, translated and elaborated *Le livre de chasse* by Gaston II, Count de Foix and Béarn (Gaston Phoebus), for Henry V prior to his accession to the throne (ca. 1406-13). Hands describes *Master of the Game* as a library piece, rather than a practical, working manual of hunting (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3700-1, 3917).

Editions: Baille-Grohman & Baille-Grohman, 1904.

Rickert, 1948, p. 218.

References: Braswell (Means), 1984, pp. 343, 367.

eVK 7670.

Gray, 1985, p. 145.

IPMEP 775.

YUBWebcatalogue.

30. f 179^{r}: "For tympanyetes"

Medical recipe (*eVK* 4708).

Reference: *YUBWebcatalogue.*

31. ff 179^{r} – 183^{v}: *Confessio* (Forms of Confession)

Prose guide to the penitent in self-examination for confession; consists of a review of the actions which constitute sin in the form of an interrogation or a series of self-accusations under the headings of the Seven Deadly Sins, the Ten Commandments, the Five Wits, and the Seven Works of Mercy. Some also provide instructions in the method of making confession (Raymo, 1986, pp. 2358-9, 2562-4).

Edition: Bowers, 1939, p. 40.

References: IMEV 10, 271, 804, 3231.

Jolliffe, 1974, pp. 69-73.

YUBWebcatalogue.

32. f 184^{r}: "To Make oyle Exceter"

Recipe in English for various remedies (*eVK* 4681).

Reference: *YUBWebcatalogue.*

33. f 184^{v}: Miscellaneous Notes and Verses in Latin

References: *YUBWebcatalogue.*

34. ff 185^{r} – 186^{r}: The "J. B. Group"

The title for an entire body of miscellaneous manuscript materials on hawking and hunting, the J.B. Group is the invention of Rachel Hands; while no two texts are identical there is a nucleus of sufficiently similar items for the collection to be recognizable as a small but popular treatise. Hands describes it as "a popular collection rather than a handbook" (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3701, 3919).

References: eVK 5371.

Hands, 1971, p. 85.

---, 1967, p. 373.

YUBWebcatalogue.

35. f 186^{r}: *Proper Terms*

Lists of terms of varying length frequently found in manuscript miscellanies with hawking and hunting treatises. Also includes terms of association (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3702, 3922). Also found in *Wise Book* MS B1.

Editions: Furnivall, 1868, pp. lxxxvii.

Gray, 1985, p. 144 (selection only).

36. f 186^{r-v}: Seven lines of English Verse on Hunting

Reference: *YUBWebcatalogue*.

37. f 186^{v}: "Mary moder well thou be / Mary mayden thenk on me"

A prayer to the Blessed Virgin in the *Speculum Christiani* (*Octaua Tabula*); twenty-seven couplets. Extract only here.

Reference: NIMEV 2119.

38. f 186^{v}: "Ihesu lord þat maist me / And wiþ þi blessid blood has bou3t"

Richard de Caistre's hymn in twelve quatrains.

Reference: NIMEV 1727.

39. ff 187^{r} – 193^{r}: List of Emperors, Kings and Archbishops and their Sees

Appears to have been compiled in 1288 (date 20th November 1288 occurs on f 193^{r}), but the date of writing is probably later (*YUBWebcatalogue*).

40. f 193^{v}: Hymn of Richard de Caestre

See item [38] above.

XXI Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 189 (B1)

Catalogue: Black, 1845, cols. 150-53; Eldredge, 1992, pp. 4-6; *SC* 6777; Maden, 1937, II, part ii.

General References: (Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 9; Ker, 1941, I, p. 73; LALME I, 145; Mooney, 1981a, p. 462; Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 67-8, 139-40.

Brief Description: MS c. 1430 (Keiser, 1998, p. 3766); paper, ff vi+219+xvii, 210 x 140 mm; a compilation of four astrological MSS bound together (Mooney, 1981a, p. 462), in three hands (Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 185). Part I belonged to "Gylbart Banystur" by late s.xvi, while a s.xvi inscription on f 115^{r}, part II, attributes ownership to Richard Coscumb, prior of the Benedictine Abbey of St Peter and St Paul at Muchelney, Somerset ((Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 9). It is also noted that the part II (ff 70 – 115) has an inscription of the owner "Richard Daniel", among others, "Dwelling in mylke street" (f 68^{v}) ((Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 9).

Contents:

1. ff 1^{r} – 24^{v}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Taavitsainen notes of this version that the "regular components" of the text have titles in this version, for example, *De planetis* (f 5^{r}) and *Nota de circulis celestibus* (f 7^{r}) (1988, p. 139).

Reference: *eVK* 964, 2230.

2. 33^{r} – 63^{v}: *The Book of Destinary*

"Nota de vij omnium signis et eorum natura…"; Eldredge suggests that "there is some indication on f 1 that the scribe may have considered this text to be part of [the *Wise Book*]: '…and ffyrst þys boke tellythe how many hevennys þer be and afterward he pronouncythe … of the xij sygnis'" (1992, p. 4). Incomplete in this MS.

References: *eVK* 3748.

Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 82, 140.

3 ff 64^{r} – 67^{r}: *Hard to Scape*

This prose text is extant only in a fragmentary form. It begins at the fifteenth day, and ends at the thirtieth. For each day there are prophecies concerning the future of the child born thereon, and business activities, the outcome of sickness

contracted that day, dreams and bloodletting (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3621, 3774). This MS is the only extant.

Editions: (Braswell) Means, 1993, pp. 27, 85.

Förster, 1944, p. 137 (selection only).

References: Braswell (Means), 1984. pp. 346, 375

---, 1978, pp. 190, 193.

Eldredge, 1992, p. 4.

eVK 4532.

Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 76, 81.

---, 1987, p. 23.

4. f 67^{v}: *To Knowe What Tyme is Good*

Prose text containing advice on journeys, and on when and when not to travel (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3622, 3777). This MS is the only extant.

Editions: (Braswell) Means, 1993, pp. 41, 203.

Förster, 1944, p. 137 (selection).

References: Braswell (Means), 1984, pp. 346, 375.

Eldredge, 1992, p. 4.

eVK 7626.

5. f 68^{r-v}: *For Company*

Prose text based upon the moon and zodiacal signs, which offers advice upon times most propitious for establishing friendships or political relationships (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3623, 3778). This MS is the only extant.

Edition: (Braswell) Means, 1993, pp. 41, 197.

References: Braswell (Means), 1984, pp. 346, 375.

Eldredge, 1992, p. 4.

eVK 2596.

6. f 68^{v}: Notes

On the lower right side of leaf, in a fifteenth-century hand: "Duue item delyueryd terme mine vnto aj aj iij and wyllyam stadin dwellyng john a park dwellyng in mylke strete mich matall lle mine". Also on the lower left side of leaf, in same hand: "G-g suns g mars y moon y moon y iubiter g venus y saturn g" (Eldredge, 1992, p. 4).

7. ff 72^{r} – 76^{v}: The Golden Table of Pythagoras

Also known as *The Victorious and the Vanquished* (item [9] below). A prose text attributed to Pythagoras, which advises divination by calculation based on numerical equivalents assigned to days and names. The prognostications concern sickness, victory in battle, the outcome of a journey, the length of life of spouses, and the outcome of illness. The text exists in two forms, and Burnett suggests that the close correspondence of the numerical equivalents in both points to a common origin, perhaps the *Secretum Secretorum* (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3625, 3786). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS A, H, P, S3 and R2. This version accompanied by diagrams at ff 10^{r} and 13^{r}.

Editions: Burnett, 1988, pp. 159-163.

Voigts, 1994, pp. 123, 131.

References: Braekman, 1988, pp. 83, 105.

Eldredge, 1992, p. 5.

eVK 4012, 7475.

Voigts, 1989a, p. 360.

---, 1986, pp. 291, 297, 302.

8. ff 77^{v} – 79^{r}, 79^{v}, 83^{r-v}: The Golden Table (shorter version of above)

"First it is to know in what day he take his sickness of battle or of fugitive or any other thing…" (*eVK* 1660, 2010). Also found in *Wise Book* MS H.

9. ff 80^{r} – 83^{r}: *The Victorious and the Vanquished*

Also known as The Golden Table. See description and references for item [7] above.

References: Eldredge, 1992, p. 5.

eVK 6750, 7625.

10. ff 83^{r-v}: Sphere of Life and Death

Divination by name; illustrated (*eVK* 2014). This MS is the only extant.

Reference: Eldredge, 1992, p. 5.

11. ff 84^{v} – 86^{r}: *The Experimentys of the Lunesons*

A collective lunary, incomplete (Eldredge, 1992, p. 5). (Braswell) Means notes that this text is "fragmentary and highly corrupt" (1993, p. 5), a "combined zodiacal and mansion lunary" ((Braswell Means, 1992b, p. 370).

References: Eldredge, 1992, p. 5.

eVK 6784.

Keiser, 1998, pp. 3623, 3778.

Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 49, 76, 127.

---, 1987, p. 18.

12. ff 86^{v} – 101^{v}: "þe vij dayes of þe weke and...þe vij planetts"

A discourse on the correspondence of the seven days of the week with the seven planets. It is an amalgam of several short texts, and includes a medical lunary (ff 91^{r-v}), and a collective lunary (ff 91^{v}- 93^{r}). Partial copy also found in *Wise Book* MS Bs (Eldredge, 1992, p. 5).

References: eVK 616, 1137, 1351, 2943, 3430, 3800, 3801, 3808, 4444, 4451, 4481, 5501, 6367, 6949, 7726, 8036.

Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 44, n. 10, 83.

13. ff 102^{r} – 103^{v}: "Off the Thonderes"

This prose version, closely related to an Old English text, had a remarkably long life. It also includes prognostication by New Year's Day (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3634, 3783-4). Also found in *Wise Book* MS H.

Editions: Förster, 1912, p. 288.

Mooney, 1981a, p. 366.

References: eVK 2610.

Eldredge, 1992, p. 6.

IPMEP 334, 414, 475, 510.

14. f 104^{r}: "*Regum regum* A mayde hath borne / To Sawe mankynde"

A macaronic song of the Nativity in seven quatrains; this MS is the only extant (*IMEV* 2799).

References: Brown, 1939, pp. 112-3.

Greene, 1935, p. lxxxi.

15. ff 104^{r-v}: "Cryste Made Mane yn þis Maner of Wise"

A carol on Christ's sacrifice and on religious counsel; this MS is the only extant (*NIMEV* 610).

Edition: Greene, 1935, p. 228; 1977, pp. 202-3.

References: Brown, 1939, p. 162.

Greene, 1980, pp. 1748, 1995.

Kane, 1951, p. 132.

16. ff 104^{v} – 105^{r}: "*Regem regum*: A Mayde hath borne"

A macaronic song of the nativity, in seven quatrains (*NIMEV* 2799).

Reference: Brown, 1939, pp. 112-13.

17. f 105^{r}: *Salvum me fac Domine*

Six quatrains; this MS is the only extant (*NIMEV* 774).

Reference: Brown, 1939, p. 85.

18. f 105^{v}: *Parce mihi Domine*

Six quatrains; this MS is the only extant (*NIMEV* 773).

Reference: Brown, 1939, pp. 210-11.

19. f 105^{v} – 106^{v}: *Alma redemptoris mater*

A lyric in twelve quatrains. This MS is the only extant (*IMEV* 3240).

References: Brown, 1939, pp. 106-8.

20. f 106^{v}: "Thys Mayden hy3th Mary she was full mylde"

A carol, taking the form of a dialogue between the Virgin and Christ. The poem proper consists of four eight-line stanzas. This MS is the only extant (*NIMEV* 2628).

Edition: Brown, 1939, pp 7-8, 294-95.

Reference: Utley, 1972, pp. 678, 838.

20. f 107^{r}: *Saluator mundi domine*

Macaronic Christmas carol in five quatrains; focuses on the religious significance of the nativity is foremost in this carol (Greene, 1980, pp. 1746, 1958).

References: Brown, 1939, pp. 117, 368 (this MS); 1977, pp. 45-6.

Greene, 1935, p. 54 (this MS).

IMEVS 3070.

Oliver, 1970, p. 20.

21. f 107^{v}: "*Omnipotentum semper adorant* / Operacyons heuenly"

A macaronic song of praise to the Lord of Creation in nine eight-line stanzas (*NIMEV* 2676).

22. f 109^{r}: "Thou synfull man of resoun þ^{t} walkest her vp & downe"

A lament of the Blessed Virgin, in three stanzas rime royal; this MS is the only extant (*NIMEV* 3692).

Reference: Brown, 1939, pp. 16-17.

23. ff 109^{r-v}: The *Carta Dei*

A verse text of varying length, in short couplets, under the figure of a charter recording a grant of heaven's bliss to a man on condition that he forswears sin and gives his love to God and his neighbour. This version (B) is the short charter of thirty-two lines (Raymo, 1986, pp. 2342-4, 2548-51).

Edition: Furnivall, 1901, p. 637.

References: *NIMEV* 4184.

Spalding, 1914, pp. 1-16.

24. f 110^{r}: "God þat ys myghtfull / Spede all ryghtfull"

A simple prayer in monorhymed lines (*NIMEV* 981).

Reference: Robbins, 1939b, pp. 328, 342-3.

25. ff 110^{r} – 115^{r}: "O Ihesu cryste of euerlastynge swettnes"

Fifteen Os of Christ, thirty-four stanzas in rhyme royal (*NIMEV* 2469).

26. f 210^{r-v}: Christmas Day Couplets

Based on the days of the week on which both Christmas and New Year's fall, these prophecies foretell weather and expectations for agriculture and husbandry in the coming year. More elaborate versions contain additional prophecies – the general fate of those who are born or fall ill on that day, political events – such as are found in lunar treatises. These works are generally known as Esdras (Ezra) or Ezekiel prophecies. In the sixteenth-century, when they were frequently printed, they came to be known as "Erra Pater" prophecies (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3624, 3781). This MS begins with Thursday. Also found in *Wise Book* MSS Bd, H and W1.

Editions: Denham, 1965, pp. 69-70.

Robbins, 1952, pp. 63-7, 247-8.

---, 1939a, p. 330.

References: (Braswell) Means, 1992b, p. 369.

eVK 253.

NIMEV 1905.

Förster, 1903, p. 349.

Schuler, 1979, nos. 337, 344

Talbert, 1942, p. 6.

27. f 211^{r}: Proper Terms

Lists of terms of varying length frequently found in manuscript miscellanies with hawking and hunting treatises. Also includes terms of association (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3702, 3922). Also found in *Wise Book* MS Y.

Editions: Furnivall, 1868, pp. lxxxvii.

Gray, 1985, p. 144 (selection only).

Reference: Eldredge, 1992, p. 6.

eVK 926.

28. ff 212^{r} – 215^{v}, 218^{r-v}: *Storia Lune* / *The Thrytty Dayes of the Mone*

These couplets cover thirty days, each associated with a biblical character or event, and treats nativities, bloodletting, dreaming and various other enterprises. Misbound (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3620, 3773). Also found in *Wise Book* Bd and H.

Edition: Braswell (Means), 1978, p. 190.

References: (Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 37.

---, 1992b, p. 385.

eVK 3419, 6731.

NIMEV 1991.

Schuler, 1979, nos. 354, 356, 499.

Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 65, 164, 167.

---, 1987, p. 22.

29. f 213^{r}: "That Man ys Best yn Mynde and Wel Ymade"

Thirteen lines, which list the characteristics of the ideal friend: medium stature, soft skin, brown face, dark hair, straight body, and clear voice; only extant MS (Louis, 1993, pp. 2993, 3369).

Reference: NIMEV 3285.

30. ff 216^{r} – 218^{r}: Note on the Seasons, Winds and Humours

"that age ys hote and moyst thenne begynneth yowthe and lastyth ynto xxxvti wynter or lxti…" Misbound and incomplete. An acephalous work on physiognomy and the correspondence of man's nature with the elements of the cosmos (Eldredge, 1992, p. 6).

Reference: *eVK* 490.

Manzalaoui, 1977, pp. 10-17.

XXII Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1405 (B2)

Catalogues: Black, 1845, cols. 311-12; Eldredge, 1992, pp. 55-6; *SC* 7694.

General References: (Braswell) Means, 1993, pp. 8, 11; Manzalaoui, 1977, p. xxvii.

Brief Description: MS s.xvi (Keiser, 1998, p. 3766); paper, pp i+204+i, in various Tudor hands; described as a commonplace book, with many inscriptions: "Thomas Bokemaster" (p. 1); "Young Doctour Walker" (p. 44); "Doctour Wendeyth myself 30 Aprilis 1547" (p. 204); "Dr Hatcher 2 May 1551" (p. 204) ((Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 11); "Humphrey follnesse of peterburgh scholemaster" (p. 1), and "Thomas Hare" in s.xvi hand at pp. 71, 204 (Eldredge, 1992, pp. 56, 55).

Contents:

1. pp 1 – 69: Medical Recipes

Includes a chapter on sharp fevers, after the *Practica* of Valescus (pp 46 – 65).

References: eVK 687, 6106, 6040, 6514.

2. pp 71 – 78: *The Speculations of Vrynns*

The scribe's name, T. Hares, appears on p. 71, just after the title/rubric, and his annotations are dated in the 1550s (Eldredge, 1992, p. 55).

Reference: *eVK* 2677.

3. pp 78 – 84: "Albus Color"

Uroscopy text.

References: eVK 1431.

Eldredge, 1992, p. 55.

4. pp 84 – 87: *Discretio Urinarum*

Reference: *eVK* 7825. Also found in *Wise Book* MS Bs.

5. pp 88 – 98: Tokens of Water by the Content of the Urine

Reference: *eVK* 7774.

6. pp 97 – 98: *The Book of Destinary*

References: *eVK* 1697, 7598.

7. pp 99 – 122: *Valescus*

Continuation of pp. 46 – 55 in item [1] (above).

8. pp 123 - 30: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Incomplete copy, which breaks off after the section on the four elements (Eldredge, 1992, p. 55).

Reference: *eVK* 941.

9. pp 130 - 139: *The Merveyllys and the Sothfast Kunnyng of Astrologie*

Prose; the zodiac is the basis for the structure of the treatise, with an explanation of the dates for each of the twelve signs. It covers beginnings of undertakings, phlebotomy, disease, business, parts of the human body, construction, marriage, nativities, the return of stolen goods, agriculture, meteorology, and national and international events (Keiser, 1998, pp. 2622, 3776-77). According to Taavitsainen, it is a collective zodiacal lunary (1988, p. 82). Also found in *Wise Book* MS C3.

Editions: Braswell-Means, 1992b, p. 360.

---, 1993, pp. 45, 223.

References: Eldredge, 1992, p. 55.

eVK 7046

Taavitsainen, 1987, p. 23.

Voigts, 1990, p. 26.

---, 1986, p. 149.

10. pp 139 - 146: *Book of Ypocras of Deth and Lyf*

A prose tract, unedited, with instructions for determining the course of an illness by using information concerning the time when it began (Keiser, 1998, pp. 2623, 2779). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B, Bs and C3.

References: Braswell-Means, 1992b, p. 382

Eldredge, 1992, p. 56.

eVK 1080, 1711.

IPMEP 629 (not identical to present text).

Kibre, 1945, p. 399.

Thorndike, 1977, pp. 282, 295.

Voigts, 1990, p. 26.

11. pp 146 – 147: "How Thou Shouldest Know All Manner Sores and Apostemes"

"First take heed of the color if it be nesh red and in feeling nesh…" (*eVK* 1724).

12. pp. 147 - 48: *The Mone of Ptholome*

A prose tract exclusively concerned with journeys, this treatise is one of several such works extant in Middle English (Keiser, 1998, pp. 2622, 2777). Rand Schmidt describes it as a "zodiacal moonbook" (2001, p. 112). Also found in *Wise Book* MS B2.

Edition: (Braswell) Means, 1993, pp. 42, 197.

References: eVK 2712.

Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 83.

Voigts, 1990, p. 26.

13. pp 149 – 153: Waters and Distillation

Tract on nineteen waters: "Water of wormwood is good for the stomach and for the liver and the spleen…" (*eVK* 7896).

14. pp 155 – 200: List of Herbs

In Latin, with translations into English. The text breaks off at p 161 and resumes on p 177, the intervening pages containing a calendar, with instructions for its use, and recipes (Eldredge, 1992, p. 155).

XXIII Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1443 (B3)

Catalogue: Eldredge, 1992, pp. 72 – 4; *SC* 6912.

Contents:

1. p 2: "A Figure of Augrym…"

Brief note on numeration, describing place value in a decimal scheme of writing numbers; ends imperfectly (Eldredge, 1992, p. 72). This MS is the only extant.

References: Acker, 1993, p. 77.

eVK 581.

2. pp 3 - 11: "For to distory a posteme"

Eighteen medical recipes (Eldredge, 1992, pp. 72-3).

Reference: eVK 5601.

3. pp 13 - 46: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Reference: *eVK* 974, 2231.

4. pp 47 – 81: *The Book of Destinary*

5. pp 87 – 189: *Circa instans*

On herbs and herbal medicine, covering approximately 376 plants (*eVK* 720). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B4 and E2.

References: Eldredge, 1992, p. 73.

Keiser, 1998, pp. 3641, 3643.

6. pp 157 – 160: Anonymous Prose Treatise on Rosemary

Included in item [5] above. An anonymous, unedited collection of recipes for the use of rosemary; perhaps derived from (or interpolated with) Henry Daniel's treatise or its other source. The treatise is found independently at the end of or within other herbals, including *A Tretys of Herbis*, the prose *Vertues off Herbes*, and John Lelamour's herbal. In addition, it was incorporated into the work now known as *Bancke's Herbal*, the first printed version of *Agnus Castus* (Keiser, 1998, pp. 2644, 3825). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS R1 and R2.

References: Voigts, 1990, p. 26.

7. pp 193 – 350: "Ffo þe hedace"

Medical treatise containing recipes which deal with common ailments (Eldredge, 1992, p. 73).

eVK 2125.

8. pp 376 – 393: Plague Tract Attributed to John of Burgundy: *A Noble Tretis for Medicina Agenst the Pestilence*

The best known and most influential of medieval English translations of works on the pestilence was the *Plague Tract* attributed to John of Burgundy. The work exists in several versions, only one of which, a four-chapter prose version, is available in a modern edition. The version in this MS is the longer version of s.xv (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3662-4, 3856-57, which has an extensive bibliography). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS C4 and S1.

References: Eldredge, 1992, p. 73.

eVK 1138, 1627.

IPMEP 659.

9. pp 393 – 395: *Some Men in Oxford*

A prose note which is appended to item [8] above, on the treatment of bubonic plague. This MS is the only extant (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3664, 3857).

Edition: Singer & Anderson, 1950, p. 82.

Reference: Eldredge, 1992, pp. 73-4.

10. pp 399 – 460: Recipes

Around twenty-two medical recipes: "A surgeon is a worker with hand outward in mans body that may be seen with mans eyes as wound…" (*eVK* 695).

11. pp 401 – 460: "For to staunch blode"

Medical tract, treating more of violent injury than common disease; ends imperfectly (Eldredge, 1992, p. 74). Contains a *Longinus* Charm (pp 401 – 2); these charms either recount or allude to the legend of the Roman centurion who pierced the side of the crucified Christ, and are generally concerned with staunching blood flow. Extant in prose and verse (Keiser, 1998, pp. 2671, 3866). The *Longinus* charm is also found in *Wise Book* MSS B4 and C6.

References: Gray, 1974, p. 62.

Miller, 1978, pp. 66-7.

Stephens, 1844, p. 401.

XXIV Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1477 (B4)

Catalogues: Black, 1845; Eldredge, 1992, pp. 89-92; *SC* 7719.

General References: Mooney, 2004, pp. 192-194; Mooney, 1981a, p. 465.

Brief Description: f 20 is the first folio in the MS, and missing leaves lead to the following foliation: 20-21, 23, 26, 28, 30-32, 34-36, 41-42, 46-52; foliation ends at fifty-two, and Ashmole's pagination begins on the following leaf with p. 94, he evidently having mistaken the fifteenth-century five for a nine (Eldredge, 1992, p. 89). MS s.xv; paper; 263 x 202mm; composite, with twelve medieval MSS which were probably bound together at the end of the Middle Ages or shortly thereafter; signed by R. Saltere (p. 195), G. Martyn (p. 51, 1568), and also by William Gynnes (part 3, f 1^{r}) (Mooney, 1981a, p. 465).

Contents:

PART 1

1. f 20^{r} – f 52^{r}: Collection of Medical Recipes

Approximately 167 in total (Eldredge, 1992, p. 89).

Reference: *eVK* 6284.

PART 2

1. pp 94-5: Lunary

Text relating medical problems in specific areas of the body with signs of the zodiac (Eldredge, 1992, p. 89).

Reference: *eVK* 1064.

2. pp 95-6: *De phlebotomia* of Galen

Translation of Galen's tract, which also known as the "Dieta Ypocras" (Eldredge, 1992, p. 89).

Edition: Mooney, 1994, pp. 245-61 (251-2) (this MS).

Reference: *eVK* 3261.

3. pp. 96-8: "Veynes þer be XXXti and two"

Couplets, generally between eighty-nine to ninety-two lines, which describe sites for letting blood and the diseases to be treated by bleeding at each (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3659, 3848). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS Bs and C6.

Edition: Mooney, 1981a, p. 135.

Robbins, 1952, pp. 77-80.

References: *eVK* 3550, 7860.

NIMEV 3848.

Hunt, 1996, pp. 314, 316.

Schuler, 1979, no. 568.

4. pp 100-111: Herbal

With entries arranged alphabetically according to the Latin name; many of the descriptions are also in Latin (Eldredge, 1992, pp. 112-3).

Reference: *eVK* 1022.

5. pp 112-14: Medical Tract

Describes diseases, with some adaptation from Avicenna's *Liber canonis* (Eldredge, 1992, p. 89).

Reference: *eVK* 1984.

6. pp 114-195: *Circa instans*

On the medicinal properties of herbs and additional things, such as gold, mercury and iron (Eldredge, 1992, p. 90). Versions are also found in *Wise Book* MSS B3 and E2.

References: eVK 867.

Keiser, 1998, pp. 3641, 3643.

7. pp 195-197: Medical Recipes

Ten, in various hands of the fifteenth century; incomplete (Eldredge, 1992, p. 90).

Reference: *eVK* 4890.

PART 3

1. ff 1^{r} – 47^{r}: Collection of Recipes

Around ninety-six medical recipes, though *eVK* notes over 220 (6003); preceded by a verse prologue ("The man that will of leechcraft lere / Read on this book and ye may hear…" (f 1^{r}) (*eVK* 6908; Eldredge, 1992, p. 90; *NIMEV* 3422). Also includes a herbal (*eVK* 1504), and a fourteen-line verse charm against a wound (f 22^{r}) (*NIMEV* 1293). Illustrated (f 12^{v}) with jordans (Mooney 2004, pp. 193-4).

References: *eVK* 1504, 1517, 3818, 4731, 6003, 6284, 6340, 6351, 6398, 6908, 7081, 7149, 7628.

Dawson, 1934, pp. 18 (no. 2), 248 (no. 792).

Henslow, 1972, p. 135.

Ogden, 1938, p. 1.

2. ff 29^{r} – 33^{v}: Herbal

Alphabetically arranged, by Latin names, with English translations; incomplete (Eldredge, 1992, p. 113).

PART 4

1. ff 1^{r-v}: On the Four Humours

Defective; excerpted from the *Wise Book* (Eldredge, 1992, p. 90).

Reference: *eVK* 3759.

2. ff 1^{v} – 2^{v}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Incomplete version, which ends after the section on the twelve signs of the zodiac.

References: Eldredge, 1992, p. 91.

eVK 974, 2356.

3. f 2^{r}: Astrological Note

Nativity for a child; dated 1415 (Eldredge, 1992, p. 91).

Reference: *eVK* 3586.

4. ff 2^{v} – 6^{r}: *The Vertues Off Herbes*

Attributed to Macer Floridus; a prose text that treats of thirty-two herbs describing the medical qualities, the portion of the plant to be used for medicinal purposes, and recipes for internal and external use (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3643, 3823). Around thirty plants dealt with in this MS. Includes a verse extract on betony. Also found in *Wise Book* MSS Bs, S3, R2 and Y.

Edition: Grymonprez, 1981, pp. 11, 15, 27.

References: eVK 1258, 1283, 2431, 4383, 7652.

NIMEV 2627.

Rohde, 1922, p. 199.

5. ff 6^{r} – 10^{r}: "For the pestelence"

Collection of recipes, mostly medical (Eldredge, 1992, p. 91).

Reference: *eVK* 5651, 6303.

6. ff 10^{v} – 12^{v}: Treatise on Urine

Illustrated with jordans, which are accompanied by a description of the colour, the condition leading to the colour, and the suitable herbal remedy (Eldredge, 1992, p. 91).

Reference: *eVK* 3082.

PART 5

1. ff 1^{r} – 7^{r}: Recipes

Forty-five medical recipes, sixteenth-century; incomplete (*eVK* 4845).

2. f 13^{r-v}: Recipes

Eight medical recipes; sixteenth-century (*eVK* 4300).

3. ff 14^{r} – 17^{r}: Uroscopy Text

Sixteenth-century (*eVK* 7776).

4. 17^{r}: Humours and Degrees

Sixteenth-century (*eVK* 8233).

5. ff 18^{r} -21^{v}: Uroscopy Text

Sixteenth-century text (*eVK* 2867).

6. ff 22^{r-v}: "Perfect Judgement of Waters"

Ursocopy, sixteenth-century (*eVK* 7839).

7. f 22^{v}: "Judgement of Death in Man and Woman"

Sixteenth-century (*eVK* 7771).

8. ff 17^{r-v}: The Ages of the Moon

Sixteenth-century (*eVK* 6793).

9. f 17^{v}: "To know the pulse"

A sixteenth-century text on diagnosis (*eVK* 3327).

10. f 17^{v}: "Five Manner of Phlegms That Reigneth"

On the four humours; sixteenth-century (*eVK* 6789).

11. ff 22^{v} – 24^{v}: Uroscopy Text

Sixteenth-century (*eVK* 3741, 6645).

12. ff 24^{v} – 37^{v}: Medical Recipe Collection

with approximately 215 recipes; incomplete. Sixteenth-century (*eVK* 4120).

XXV Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D 1220 (B5)

Catalogue: Saxl & Meier, 1953, I, pp. iv, 402-03; Saxl, 1938, pp. 73-4.

Illustrations: Coghill, 1986, p. 176 (f 31^{v}); Rawcliffe, 1995, p. 84 (f 32^{v}).

Brief Description: MS third quarter s.xv; parchment, ff 32, 212 x 150 mm; written in single column; the name "Matth. Stenham" occurs at f 2r, and at f 32v, on the lower margin the note: "Iste liber constat Nycolas Sydyhat cum magno gaudio et honore. Amen"; at ff 1 -2 is the fragment of a Latin poem on grammar, and some s.xvii and s.xviii legal and commercial notes (Saxl & Meier, 1953, I, p. 402). MS is richly decorated with full-folio illustrations.

Contents:

1. ff 1^{r} – 12^{v}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

References: eVK 945, 2232.

2. 13^{r} – 29^{v}: *The Book of Destinary*

References: eVK 7928.

The MS contains illustrations as follows: Aries (f 3^{v}), Taurys-Gemyny- Cancer-Lion (f 4^{r}), Virgo-Libra-Scorpio-Saggitarius (f 4^{v}), Capricornys-Aqwarius-Pissies (5^{r}); chart of the four elements in four circles (f 7^{v}); Aries – Marche (10^{v}); Thaurys – April (14^{r}); Geminy – May (15^{v}); Cancer – Jun (17^{r}); Leo – Juuly (18^{v}); Vyrgo – Agoste (24^{r}); Lybra – September (f 20^{v}); Sorpyo – October (22^{r}); Sagitoryus – Nowember (f 23^{v}); Capricornus – Dyscembre (f 27r); Aqwaryus – Jenywer (f 28^{v}); Pysses – Fewezer (f 29^{r}); Saturn and Children (f 25^{v}); Jubiter and Children (f 30^{r}); Mars and Children (f 30^{v}); Sol and Children (f 31^{r}); Venus and Children (f 31^{v}); Marcurius and Children (f 32^{r}); Luna and Children (f 32^{v}) (Saxl & Meier, 1953, I, p. 403; II, plate XCL (ff 30^{r}, 32^{r}).

XXVI Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Additional B. 17 (B6)

Catalogues: *BodWebcatalogue*, 28/12/2005; *SC* 28967.

***General References*:** Eljenholm Nichols *et al.*, 2000, p. 31; Pächt & Alexander, III, no. 800; Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 44, 83, 138, 150.

Brief Description: first half of s.xv; parchment; ff ii + 32; 120 x 165-170 mm; some illuminated capitals and small drawings of signs of the zodiac (*BodWebcatalogue*).

Contents:

1. f 1^{v}: Signs of Zodiac, illustrated

Reference: *eVK* 7934.

2. f 2^{v}: *Duodecim Sunt Signa*

Latin text on the signs of the zodiac.

Reference: *eVK* 2911.

3. ff 3^{r} - 9^{v}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Reference: *eVK* 1001, 2226.

4. ff 10^{r} – 18^{v}: *The Book of Destinary*

Reference: Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 44.

[ff 19– 32 blank]

XXXVII Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 88 (Bd)

Catalogues: Horner, 1987, pp. xiii, 29 – 43; Macray, 1883, p. 97; *SC* 1689.

***General References*:** Braswell (Means), 1978, pp. 193-4; 1993, p. 13; Matheson & Shannon, 1994, pp. 28-9; Mooney, 1981a, p. 459; Pächt & Alexander, 1966-1973, III, no. 1169; Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 68, 164; Wallis, 1995, pp. 121-2.

Brief Description: MS s.xv ex. (Horner, 1987, p. 29), and is dated 1417 in the calendar at f 80^{r} ((Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 12; parchment, ff i+ 98+ ii, 215 x 135 mm; a commonplace book for private use, in one hand and decoration throughout; MS was probably a series of folios which were assembled shortly after production (Mooney, 1981a, p. 459); illustrations in "red and brownish ink" (Braswell (Means), 1993, p. 12) are described as "amateurish" (Taavitsainen, 1987, p. 68). (Braswell) Means notes that the "varied nature of the contents – chiefly religious, medical, and astrological – suggests that the manuscript may have been a priest's handbook" (1993, p. 12). MS was at one time owned by Thomas Allen of Oxford (Watson, 1978, p. 311).

Contents:

1. ff 3^{r-v}: Notes on Religious Matters

Two notes on matters of religious devotion, among a series of fifteen items in Latin on sacramental, liturgical, catechetical and other religious matters. The first item appears in Latin written in the main-text hand of the MS, then in English in a different hand, one which appears frequently on blank leaves in the MS (Horner, 1987, p. 29).

Reference: Pächt & Alexander, 1966-1973, III, p. 1169.

2. ff 12^{v} – 13^{v}: "Dyuers tokyn of weþer"

Usually ascribed to the prophet Esdras; below the text is a diagram of a wheel with the direction of the compass in English and the winds in Latin (Horner, 1987, p. 30).

References: *eVK* 8103.

Förster, 1903, p. 347.

3. f 14^{r}: Dietary

A Latin dietary for the year. Also found in *Wise Book* MS H (English) (Horner, 1987, p. 30).

Thorndike & Kibre, 1963, col. 684.

4. f 15^{r-v}: Methods for counting hours of the day

According to marginal notes, the three are: "secundum romanos", "secundum grecos", and "secundum ebreos", written above and below a diagram of a wheel showing which planets control the hours of the day (Horner, 1987, p. 30).

References: *eVK* 7923.

Rawcliffe, 1995, p. 100 (illustration, f 15^{r}).

5. ff 16^{r} - 23^{v}: *A Treatise on the Elections of Times*

A prose treatise in two parts, the first of which treats of the properties of the seven planets, the dignities of the sign, the zodiac and the movement of the planets between them. The second deals with the election of house in mobile, fixed and common signs, the impediments of the moon, the hour of each planet, and the hours of conjunctions and the planets, with a lunary completing the book. The final part of this book is a zodiacal lunary (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3615, 3766). Ff 18^{v}, 20^{v} and 22^{v} have diagrams and tables relevant to the various parts of this treatise (Horner, 1987, p. 31); the text is attributed to Ptolemy at f 17^{r} (Braswell (Means), 1984, p. 357).

Edition: Matheson & Shannon, 1994, pp. 23-64.

References: (Braswell) Means, 1992b, pp. 373, 378.

---, 1984, p. 337-38.

---, 1978, p. 194, n. 21.

Brown, 1994, p. 8.

eVK 3796, 4578.

6. f 24^{v}: Three Latin Notes

On rewards for tithing, the seven joys of paradise and the seven pains of hell (Horner, 1987, p. 32).

7. ff 25^{r} - 26^{r}: *Kalends of January*

Erra Pater or prophecies of Esdras, prose, which are prognostics for seasons based on the Kalends of January (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3627, 3783).

Edition: Förster, 1912, pp. 294-95 (selection only).

References: Braswell, 1984, pp. 376.

eVK 8007.

Horner, 1987, p. 32.

Wallis, 1995, p. 121.

8. f 26^{r}: *Planets and Human Organs*

A brief prose account of the dominance of each planet on a specific human organ (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3617, 3768). Hanna (1980, pp. 240-1) publishes a poem from H which suggests a similar relationship between the planets and bodily organs (Horner, 1987, p, 32). This MS is the only extant.

Edition: Mooney, 1981a, p. 295.

Reference: *eVK* 4452.

9. f 27^{v}: "A remembrans to knowe the sacrament"

On the seven symbolic properties of the Eucharistic bread (Horner, 1987, p. 33).

10. f 28^{r-v}: *Mandeville's Travels*, Digby Extracts

Prose; extracts of a religious and devotional nature (Zacher, 1986, pp. 2239-41, 2452-57 for extensive bibliography).

References: Hanna, 1984b, p. 129.

Horner, 1980, p. 171 (this MS).

MacLeod Higgins, 2004, pp. 99-116.

Seymour, 1965-66, p. 167-310.

11. f 29^{r-v}: *The Complexions*

Verse, in stanza of rhyme royal, each stanza describing one of the four temperaments. Though not explicitly associated with astrological lore, these treatises are similar to discussions embedded in works such as the *Wise Book*. Probably a mnemonic work (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3617, 3769).

Editions: Mooney, 1981a, p. 261.

Robbins, 1952, pp. 72-3, 250-1.

References: Braswell (Means), 1978, p. 194, n. 22.

eVK 2791.

NIMEV 2624.

Schuler, 1979, no. 402.

Thorndike, 1959, p. 188.

12. f 29^{v}: Dominations of the Twelve Signs

Illustrated (*eVK* 1053).

13. ff 30^{r} – 31^{v}: *The Thirty Days of the Moon*

Verse, in four-line stanzas (754 lines). Illustrated; the diagram is accompanied by instructions in Latin (Braswell (Means), 1978, pp. 190, 193).

14. ff 34^{r} – 37^{r}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Given the Latin title *De Undecim Celis et Duodecim Signis* in this MS (*eVK* 3179).

15. f 39^{r}: St Gregory' s Trental

A list of the requirements needed to fulfil the devotion of St Gregory's Trental; crossed out with red pencil lines (Horner, 1987, p. 35).

Reference: Pfaff, 1974, pp. 75-90.

16. f 40^{r}: Sunbook

In Latin (Acker, 2005, p. 262).

Edition: Förster, 1912, pp. 64-6.

17. ff 42^{v} - 43^{r}: Weights and Measurements

A list of weights and a chart for "metynge of tymbre", and on f 43^{r} a list in Latin of measures based on the "denarius anglicus", and a method for measuring a mile (Horner, 1987, pp. 35-6).

Reference: *eVK* 680, 4904.

18. ff 44^{r} - 47^{v}: Chiromantic Diagrams with Text

Diagrams of the left hand of the left hand of a woman, and the right hand of a man, with explanatory material written on the drawings. Also includes diagrams of faces with legends in Latin and English, and f 47^{v} has a mnemonic device for remembering weights (Horner, 1987, pp. 36-7).

References: Acker & Amino, 1994, p. 154.

Braswell (Means), 1984, p. 378.

eVK 6661.

Keiser, 1998, pp. 3627, 3788.

King, 1979, p. 14.

Gettings, 1965, p. 108.

Ker & Piper, 1992, IV, p. 704.

19. f 61^{r-v}: "A table of the seuyn planettis"

Diagrams of nine concentric circles with legends indicating the distances between the various planets (Horner, 1987, p. 37).

Reference: *eVK* 6669.

20. f 61^{v}: Notes on Measurement: "For to Mesure & Mete Land"

Edition: Mooney, 1981a, pp. 401-02 (no. 72).

References: eVK 2756, 3421.

Horner, 1987, p. 37.

21. f 62^{r-v}: Nota for the Days of the Moon

Couplets with very general advice for activities on each of thirty days (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3621, 3775). This MS is the only extant.

Editions: Mooney, 1981a, p. 382.

Robbins, 1952, pp. 248-49 (this MS).

References: Braswell (Means), 1993, pp. 3, 38, 195.

eVK 2044.

NIMEV 956.

Schuler, 1979, no. 392.

Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 69.

---, 1987, p. 22.

22. f 62^{v}: The *Kalendarium* of John Somer (Extract)

The *Kalendarium* of John Somer, the work of a Franciscan friar of Oxford, prepared for Thomas Kyngesbury, provincial minister of his order, in 1380, and dedicated to Joan, princess of Wales and mother of Richard II. It is intended to cover the period from 1387 to 1462. This MS is an extract containing only a calendar of perilous days (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3618, 3769).

Editions: Mooney, 1998.

References: (Braswell) Means, 1992b, p. 380.

eVK 1641.

Horner, 1987, p. 38.

Mooney, 1993, p. 91.

Wallis, 1995, p. 121.

23. ff 64^{r} - 75^{r}: *Storia Lune* / *The Thrytty Dayes of the Mone*

These couplets cover thirty days, each associated with a biblical character or event, and treats nativities, bloodletting, dreaming and various other enterprises (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3620, 3773). This copy illustrated. Also found in *Wise Book* B1 and H.

References: (Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 37.

---, 1992b, pp. 369, 385.

---, 1978, p. 190.

eVK 2055, 6729.

NIMEV 970.

Robbins, 1952, pp. 63-4.

Schuler, 1979, nos. 354, 356, 499.

Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 65, 85, 164 (illustration, f 64^{r}), 167.

---, 1987, p. 22.

24. f 75^{r} - 76^{v}: Christmas Day Couplets

Based on the days of the week on which both Christmas and New Year's fall, these prophesies foretell weather and expectations for agriculture and husbandry in the coming year. More elaborate versions contain additional prophecies – the general fate of those who are born or fall ill on that day, political events – such as are found in lunar treatises. These works are generally known as Esdras (Ezra) or Ezekiel prophecies. In the sixteenth-century, when they were frequently printed, they came to be known as "Erra Pater" prophecies (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3624, 3781). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS Bl, H and W1.

Editions: Denham, 1965, pp. 69-70.

Robbins, 1952, pp. 63-7 (this MS).

---, 1939, p. 330.

References: (Braswell) Means, 1992b, p. 369.

eVK 2641.

NIMEV 1905.

Förster, 1903, p. 349.

Schuler, 1979, nos. 337, 344.

Talbert, 1942, p. 6.

25: f 77^{r}: Christmas Day Prophecies

Prose *Erra Pater* prognostics for the year based on Christmas day, but only two days, Sunday and Monday, are actually given here (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3624, 3782).

References: *eVK* 2587.

Horner, 1987, p. 38.

26. f 77^{r}: Prose Treatise on Lucky and Unlucky Days: Perilous Mondays

Prose text on three perilous Mondays (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3624, 3780). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS C6 and W1.

Editions: Förster, 1903, p. 352.

Hirsch, 1975, p. 90.

Mooney, 1981a, p. 183.

References: (Braswell) Means, 1992b, p. 383.

Bühler, 1973, p. 584.

eVK 7150.

IPMEP 384, 713, 723.

Moorat, 1962, p. 279.

Robbins, 1970, p. 397.

Wallis, 1995, p. 121.

27. ff 77^{v} – 78^{v}: Medical Recipes & Prognostics

Five recipes in Latin on f 77^{v}, and two in English on 78^{r}; f 78^{v} has prognostics for a man's fortune through the weather (Horner, 1987, p. 40).

References: *eVK* 623, 2587, 6279.

28. f 78^{v}: Prognostication

Prognostication for a man's fortune through the weather (Horner, 1987, p. 40).

Reference: eVK 623.

29. f 80^{r}: Chronological Table

Chronological table of history of salvation from Adam to Christ; written alternately in green and red ink in a larger, more formal style than the rest of the MS (Horner, 1987, p. 41). Dated 1417 ((Braswell) Means, 1993. p. 12).

Reference: *eVK* 1993.

30. f 80^{r}: Devotional Note

On the calendar of the year, written on top of the leaf in black ink (Horner, 1987, p. 41).

31. f 80^{r}: Two recipes

for training birds and fishes, written at the bottom of the leaf in black ink by same hand as item [28] above (Horner, 1987, pp. 41-2).

Reference: eVK 5803.

32. f 82^{v}: To Find Easter

Mnemonic verse, three couplets explaining how to determine when Easter will fall according to the new moon (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3619, 3771-2). This item added in an early sixteenth-century hand ((Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 622).

Edition: Mooney, 1981a, p. 385.

---, 1981b, p. 395.

References: (Braswell) Means, 1992a, pp. 611, 622.

eVK 2817.

NIMEV 1502.

Mooney, 1983, p. 391.

---, 1979, p. 302.

33. f 88^{v}: Extract from Walter of Henley's *Boke of Husbandry*

Prose treatise on farming and estate management. Though attributed to Robert Grossteste in the table of chapters, the treatise is a late medieval modification of the thirteenth-century work on estate management attributed to Walter of Henley, a Dominican prior (ca. 1286) (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3689, 3902).

Edition: Mooney, 1981a, p. 422 (partial edition, this MS).

References: eVK 3585.

Horner, 1987, p. 42.

IPMEP 665.

Oschinsky, 1971, p.40.

34. f 88^{v}: Measurement for a Mile

Written as if part of the preceding item, but it is not part of Walter of Henley's treatise (Horner, 1987, pp. 42-3).

Reference: eVK 650.

35. ff 89^{r} - 91^{r}: *Zodiac and Twelve Months*

Twelve quatrains which explain how the time of birth will determine the life of the newborn (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3616, 3768). This MS is the only extant.

Edition: Mooney, 1981a, p. 281.

References: NIMEV 1253.

eVK 2425.

Robbins, 1970, p. 398.

Schuler, 1979, no. 279.

Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 44 n. 10.

36. f. 97^{v}: Occupations of the Months

Six couplets, describing occupations appropriate to the months, accompanied by illustrations (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3618, 3770). The folio is "crudely illustrated by red-and-brown scribal drawings of implements only (except for January, which shows a figure warming hands beside a fire)" ((Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 617).

Editions: (Braswell) Means, 1992a, p. 617.

Robbins, 1952, p. 62 (this MS).

References: eVK 1360.

Förster, 1912, pp. 285-308.

Gray, 1985, pp. 131, 444.

NIMEV 579.

Luria & Hoffman, 1974, p. 109.

Schuler, 1979, no. 94.

XXIX Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 73 (Bs)

Catalogue: SC 3461.

General References: (Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 22; Mooney, 1981a, p. 459; Furnivall & Furnivall, 1888, p. 244; Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 44, 82, 138-9, 183, 190.

Brief Description: MS s. xv; paper; ff ii+136+ii; 210 x 155 mm; now foliated 1-135, including double f 112, four flyleaves and two additional new blank flyleaves, each at beginning and end. Five MSS bound together; rubricated throughout part one; owned by Radulphus Holond, recipe author (f 25^{r}); Denys (margin, f 26^{r}), possibly John Denys, member of Barber Surgeons in 1537 (Mooney, 1981a, p. 459). Writing in various forms of anglicana/secretary ((Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 22).

Contents:

1. ff 3^{r} – 11^{v}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Reference: eVK 974, 2231.

2. ff 11^{v} – 18^{v}: *The Book of Destinary*

Reference: *eVK* 1094.

3. ff 19^{r} – 21^{v}: *Book of Ypocras of Deth and of Lyf*

A prose tract, unedited, with instructions for determining the course of an illness by using information concerning the time when it began (Keiser, 1998, pp. 2623, 2779). This version is incomplete. Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B, B2 and C3.

References: Braswell-Means, 1992b, p. 382

Eldredge, 1992, p. 56.

eVK 297.

IPMEP 629 (not identical to present text).

Kibre, 1945, p. 399.

Thorndike, 1977, pp. 282, 295.

Voigts, 1990, p. 26.

4. ff 21^{v} – 22^{r}: Six Medical Recipes

Reference: eVK 5008.

5. ff 22^{v} – 23^{v}: Herbal

Treats of approximately sixteen plants (*eVK* 7082).

6. ff 23^{v} – 25^{r}: Medical Recipes

eVK 6430.

7. ff 25^{r} – 26^{r}: Verses on Thirty-Two Bloodletting Sites

"Veynes þer beth XXXti and two…"; couplets, generally between eighty-nine to ninety-two lines, which describe sites for letting blood and the diseases to be treated by bleeding at each (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3659, 3848). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B4 and C6. This version has a four-line prologue.

Edition: Mooney, 1981a, p. 135.

Robbins, 1952, pp. 77-80 (this MS).

References: *eVK* 3550, 7860.

NIMEV 3848.

Hunt, 1996, pp. 314, 316.

Schuler, 1979, no. 568.

8. ff 27^{r-v}: "þe vij dayes of þe weke and þe vij planettes"

A discourse on the correspondence of the seven days of the week with the seven planets. Partial copy here (Eldredge, 1992, p. 5).

Reference: eVK 1079.

9. f 28^{r}: Signs of Zodiac

Reference: eVK 1074.

10. ff 28^{v} – 31^{r}; 30^{r} – 36^{r}: Medical Recipes

Over twenty-five in total (*eVK* 2331, 4290, 6430).

11. ff 37^{r} – 75^{r}: Medical Recipes

A collection of approximately 314 (*eVK* 5460).

12. ff 75^{v} – 82^{r}: The Middle English *Macer Floridus*

Prose; each of the seventy-seven chapters of this treatise describes, briefly, the medical qualities of herbs, and explains the diseases that will be cured by the medicinal recipes provided. This translation of a Latin verse treatise attributed to "Macer Floridus," which was probably the work of a Frenchman who lived near Meung (1070 – 1112) and which was one of the best-known and most influential late medieval herbals (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3642-3, 3823).

Edition: Frisk, 1949, pp 9, 13, 17, 56.

References: eVK 3632.

IPMEP 459.

13. ff 82^{v} – 83^{r}: Six Medical Recipes

Reference: *eVK* 3575.

14. ff 85^{r} – 98^{r}: *Synonyma*: Lists of Plants

Such lists of English, Latin, and French plant-names or glosses of Latin herbals are frequently found in medical miscellanies, particularly those with collections of Latin writings (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3645, 3827). Similar items are found in *Wise Book* MSS C3 and H.

Reference: Stannard, 1964, p. 353.

15. ff 103^{r-v}: Five Medical Recipes

Five recipes (*eVK* 6038).

16. ff 104^{r} – 106^{v}: Alchemical Recipes

Eleven in total (*eVK* 4340).

17. ff 107^{r} – 122^{r}: *Discretio Urinarum*

On the properties of urine (*eVK* 2880, 3698); includes, at f 111^{v}, *Ad Cognoscendum Pregnantes* (*eVK* 993). A similar text occurs in *Wise Book* MS H.

Reference: Thorndike & Kibre, 1963, col. 1004.

18. ff 112^{r} – 115^{v}: Medical & Herbal Recipes

Approximately eight, some incomplete (*eVK* 6380, 6527).

19. ff 116^{r} – 122^{v}: *The Vertues Off Herbes*

A prose text that treats of thirty-two herbs describing the medical qualities, the portion of the plant to be used for medicinal purposes, and recipes for internal and external use (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3643, 3823). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B4, S3, R2 and Y.

Edition: Grymonprez, 1981, pp. 11, 15, 27.

References: eVK 4066.

Rohde, 1922, p. 199.

20. ff 123^{r} – 129^{v}: Medical Recipes

A collection of approximately ninety, some incomplete (*eVK* 5222).

21. ff 131^{r-v}: Five Medical Recipes

Incomplete (*eVK* 6289).

22. ff 132^{v}: Ten Medical Recipes

Reference: *eVK* 4198.

XXX Oxford, Bodleian Library, Radcliffe Trust MS e.30 (Br)

Catalogue: Clapinson & Rogers, 1991, II, p. 1089; Hanna, 1997, pp. 26-7.

Brief Description: MS fourth quarter of s. xv, about 1475; parchment, in two parts; two hands – one contemporary, one later. Transferred from Radcliffe Science Library, 1935 (Hanna, 1997, p. 27).

Contents:

1. ff 1^{v} – 39^{v}: "This tretees that ys called gouernayle of helth"

Allegedly translated from John Bordeaux, preceded (f 1^{r-v}) by a tabula for the thirty chapters. Some marginal English and Latin notes early on; f 40 was originally blank, but the recto now contains Latin alphabetical prognostications and English verse, while the verso has a volvelle with Latin text.

References: eVK 3079, 3250.

Keiser, 1998, pp. 3652, 3836 (this MS unrecorded).

Robbins, 1970, p. 409.

2. ff 39^{r-v}: Thunders Through the Year

Based on thunder over the twelve days of Christmas (Acker, 2005, pp. 264-5, n. 4).

Reference: *eVK* 7565.

3. f 40^{r-v}: Prognostications

Hanna notes that "[this folio] was originally blank, but the recto now contains Latin alphabetical prognostications and (written top to bottom along the leading edge and nearly illegible even under ultraviolet light), English verse; the verso, a volvelle with Latin text (1997, p. 26).

4. ff 41^{r} – 53^{v}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

Incomplete; text breaks off six lines down a folio, with the remainder blank (Hanna, 1997, pp. 26-7).

Reference: *eVK* 944, 2275.

5. f 54^{r}: Explanation of Eclipses

References: eVK 6676.

Hanna, 1997, p. 27.

6. ff 54^{r} – 55^{v}: Influence of the Macrocosm on Human Health

References: *eVK* 3924.

Hanna, 1997, p. 27.

7. ff 55^{v} – 56^{v}: The Planetary Hours

This item in a different contemporary hand (Hanna, 1997, p. 27).

Reference: *eVK* 2942.

XXXI San Marino, Huntington Library MS HM 64 (*olim* Phillips 6883) (H)

Catalogues: De Ricci & Wilson, 1935, I, p. 48; Dutschke, 1989, pp. 130 – 39; Hanna, 1984a, pp. 2 – 10; Stannard, 1964, pp. 353-67; Wilson, 1939, pp. 408-18.

General References: Dutschke, 1989, p. 138; Mooney, 1981a, p. 524; Taavitsainen, 1988, p. 68; Wilson, 1939, pp. 408-18 (facsimile, f 17).

Brief Description: MS third quarter s.xv; paper, ff i + 197 + i; 310 x 230 mm (Mooney, 1981a, p. 524); text space is in two columns, and ruled in lead, in a mixed secretary script, with rubrics in a textura formata; in Latin and English, with some French (Dutschke, 1989, p. 138); hand is same throughout (Hanna, 1984a, p. 2); illustrated with a vein man (f 8^{v}) and two zodiac men (ff 12^{v}, 14^{r}), and some uroscopy flasks f 39^{r} – 47^{v}) (McKinney, 1965, p. 174), along with tables and a map of the universe (17^{r}). Computistic cycles in the calendar are dated 1480 and 1520; some of the feasts in the liturgical calendar were instituted in 1480 (Visitation, Frideswide, Etheldreda); the feast of the Transfiguration was instituted in England in 1487. On f 72^{r} is a mention of Henry VII, showing that part of the text to be written in 1485 or later. Signed "Iohn Bosgrove" at ff 74^{r}, 76^{v}, 81^{r}, 106^{v}, (on f 81^{r} "Iohn Bosgrove ys a mytte man and man of the lerneing wythall"); said to have belonged to John Dee (1527-1605) but there is no evidence of this, nor does it appear in Roberts & Watson (1990) (Dutschke, 1989, p. 138).

Contents:

1. f 1^{r-v}: Explanation of the tables which follow on ff 2^{r} – 17^{r}; Latin

2. ff 2 - 7^{v}: Calendar

Full calendar in red and black, in English, with extensive computistic columns in cycles from 1480 to 1520 (Dutschke, 1989, p. 130).

3. f 8^{r-v}: Tables

English indictions, beginning in 1460; also a table of moveable feasts and the ascendancy of planets.

Reference: Braswell (Means), 1986, p. 151.

4. ff 8^{v} – 10^{v}: Vein Man Illustration

With text advising the suitable veins to let blood from according to symptom (*eVK* 1297, 7068).

Reference: Dutschke, 1989, p. 130.

Hanna, 1984a, p. 2.

5. ff 10^{v} – 11^{r}: *Canon Signorum*

In Latin: "Tabula luna ad sciendum eius Signum et gradum omni die in quo luna est…" Has a table of the reigning zodiac sign for each month and a table of solar lunar degrees (Dutschke, 1989, p. 130).

6. ff 11^{v} – 12^{r}: *Figura Eclipsis*

The eclipses and their influence in English; tables ruled, but left blank on f12^{r} (Dutschke, 1989, p. 131).

Reference: *eVK* 3214.

Hanna, 1984a, p. 2.

7. f 12^{v}: *Homo Signorum*: Aries

Latin, with Zodiac Man (Dutschke, 1989, p. 131).

References: Hanna, 1984a, p.2.

Talbot, 1961, pp. 219-21.

8. f 13^{r}: The Sun and the Zodiac

English; a table to determine when the Sun enters a sign of the zodiac, with columns for the sign, month, day, hour, minute, planet, and part of the body affected (this last given in French) (Dutschke, 1989, p. 131).

9. f 13^{v} – 14^{r}: Bloodletting and the Zodiac

In Latin and English; fourteen lines of couplets, Cautioning against cutting the veins of particular parts of the body when the zodiacal sign governing that part is in the ascendant (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3660, 3850). On f 14^{r} is a Zodiac Man, marked for bloodletting under specific planets (Dutschke, 1989, p. 131). This MS is the only extant.

Edition: Hanna, 1980, p. 240.

References: eVK 1287.

Hanna, 1984a, pp. 2-3.

Schuler, 1979, no. 60.

10. ff 15^{v} – 16^{v}: The Golden Table (Shorter Version)

Also known as *The Victorious and the Vanquished*. A prose text attributed to Pythagoras, which advises divination by calculation based on numerical equivalents assigned to days and names. The prognostications concern sickness, victory in battle, the outcome of a journey, the length of life of spouses, and the outcome of illness. The text exists in two forms, and Burnett suggests that the

close correspondence of the numerical equivalents in both points to a common origin, perhaps the *Secretum Secretorum* (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3625, 3786). This version is in English and Latin. Also found in *Wise Book* MS B1.

Editions: Burnett, 1988, pp. 159-163.

Voigts, 1994, pp. 123, 131.

References: Braekman, 1988, pp. 83, 105.

Eldredge, 1992, p. 5.

eVK 7444

Voigts, 1989a, p. 360.

---, 1986, pp. 291, 297, 302.

12. ff 16^{v} – 17^{r}: "To knowe the pulse…"

English and Latin text on the analysis of the pulse (Dutschke, 1989, p. 131).

References: *eVK* 3329.

Hanna, 1984a, p.3.

13. f 17^{r}: Diagram of the Universe

In concentric circles from hell to the "Sedes dei", with diagrams of solar and lunar eclipses (Dutschke, 1989, p. 131).

13. f 17^{v}: Excerpts from *Secreta secretorum*

In English and Latin, explaining the zodiac and its effect on human constitutions (Dutschke, 1989, p. 132; Hanna, 1984a, p. 3.).

References: eVK 3085.

Thorndike & Kibre, 1963, col. 42.

14. ff 17^{v}, 21^{v}, 34^{r}, 51^{r}: Charms

In English and Latin; numbered 1-5, consisting of variously formed crosses within inscribed circles (Dutschke, 1989, p. 132).

15. ff 18^{r} – 21^{v}: *Regimen Sanitatis* of Galen

In Latin (Dutschke, 1989, p. 132).

Reference: Thorndike & Kibre, 1963, cols. 1011, 1614.

16: ff 22^{r} – 25^{v}: *How a Sicke Man Schal Dyate Him*

A collection around forty of individual medical recipes and dietary recommendations, in English and Latin. Includes on f 22^{v} the verse text "A diet for a man that is brusid or bete", seven recipes for pigments, and an incantation to staunch blood (Dutschke, 1989, p. 132).

References: eVK 837, 6411, 7416, 7419, 8118.

NIMEV 4094.5.

Hanna, 1984a, p. 3.

---, 1980, p. 255.

Keiser, 1998, pp. 3658, 3846.

Schuler, 1979, no. 280.

17. ff 26^{r} – 28^{v}: Excerpts from the work of Johannes Jacobi

In Latin (Dutschke, 1989, p. 132).

Edition: Sudhoff, 1925, pp. 16-32.

Reference: Thorndike & Kibre, 1963, cols. 698, 1709.

18. ff 28^{v} – 34^{r}: *Trotula minor*

Latin; portions of two treatises commonly called *Trotula minor*; thirty-three chapters from the end of *Ut de curis mulierum* (Dutschke, 1989, p. 132).

Reference: Thorndike & Kibre, 1963, cols. 284, 1612.

19. ff 34^{v} – 38^{v}: Medical Notes and Recipes

Mainly in Latin, and in both verse and prose, with one recipe in French on f 35^{r}. There are also verses on factors in prescribing medicines, on the four humours, and on medicines applied externally, along with verses on good health, a happy life and diet (Dutschke, 1989, p. 133).

20. ff 38^{v} – 50^{r}: *The Dome of Vryne*

Text in English with Latin prologue; appears to be a collection of shorter tracts and recipes. Missing one leaf after f 38^{r} with loss of text (Dutschke, 1989, p. 133); has full-page drawings of vials (ff 39-47) (Hanna, 1984a, p. 3). Similar text occurs in *Wise Book* MS Bs.

References: eVK 2879 (6156, 6803, 6707, 7820).

Hanna, 1984a, pp. 3-4.

Thorndike & Kibre, 1963, col. 1004.

21. ff 50^{r} – 51^{r}: "Here begynnythe the Tokenys that Ipocrace the good leche wrote…"

Tokens of illness or disease; followed by a charm (Dutschke, 1989, p. 133; *eVK* 2259).

Reference: Hanna, 1984a, p. 4.

22. f 51^{r-v}: "For to make a white entret…"

A recipe in verse (twenty lines, couplets), with ten other recipes in English and Latin, including indices of pregnancy and of the sex of the foetus (Dutschke, 1989, p. 133).

Edition: Hanna, 1980, p. 255.

References: eVK 6539.

Gray, 1974, p. 63.

Hanna, 1984a, p. 4.

Hunt, 1990, p. 81.

Keiser, 1998, pp. 3671, 3867.

NIMEV 4146.55.

Schuler, 1979, no. 600.

23. ff 52^{r} – 61^{v}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

References: Dutschke, 1989, p. 133.

eVK 974.

Hanna, 1984a, pp. 4-5.

24. ff 61^{v} – 62^{r}: The Book of Ypocras

Text on the four humours (Dutschke, 1989, p. 133).

References: Hanna, 1984a, p. 5.

Robbins, 1970, p. 409, n. 47.

25. ff 62^{r} – 63^{r}: Text on Prescription

On the effects of laxatives at different times of the year (Hanna, 1984a, p. 5).

Reference: *eVK* 3258l, 8141.

26. ff 63^{r} – 72^{r}: *The Book of Destinary*

References: Dutschke, 1989, p. 134.

eVK 3752.

Hanna, 1984a, pp. 5-6.

27. f 72^{r}: Notes on Use of Roman/Arabic Numerals

And a brief chronology (Latin) (Dutschke, 1989, p. 134).

28. ff 72^{v} – 79^{r}: *A Cosmology from the South English Legendary*

A collection of pseudo-scientific material, including an account of creation, the structure of the universe, the planets, and their movements, the four elements,

seasons and the weather, creation, conception, and embryology; this is an excerpt in verse (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3611, 3762).

Edition: D'Evelyn & Mill, 1956-1959.

References: Dutschke, 1989, p. 134.

eVK 6999.

Görlach, 1974, p. 121.

Horstmann, 1887, p. 299.

NIMEV 3453.

Wright, 1841, p. 132.

29. f 79^{r}: Medical Recipe

For "a stynkynge brethe" (Hanna, 1894a, p. 6).

30. f 79^{v}: "Off the Thonderes"

This prose version, closely related to an Old English text, had a remarkably long life. It also includes prognostication by New Year's Day (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3634, 3783-4). Also found in *Wise Book* MS B1.

Editions: Förster, 1912, p. 288.

Mooney, 1981a, p. 366.

References: eVK 2610.

Eldredge, 1992, p. 6.

IPMEP 334, 414, 475, 510.

31. f 79^{v} – 81^{r}: Dietary of Galen

A prose regimen explaining, month by month, appropriate diet and proper days for bloodletting, and for finding when Easter falls (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3659, 3849). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B4, C6, S and S3.

Editions: Henslow, 1898, p. 63.

Mooney, 1994, p. 253.

---, 1981a, p. 161.

References: Dutschke, 1989, p. 134.

eVK 2384, 3003.

Hanna, 1984a, p. 6.

32. f 81^{r}: Medical Recipes

Seven, all in English (Dutschke, 1989, p. 134).

References: *eVK* 6114.

Hanna, 1984a, p. 6.

Heinrich, 1896, pp. 102, 212.

33. ff 81^{v} – 83^{r}: Text on Perilous Days

In particular birth of children, eating goose, and bloodletting; also six medical recipes in English (Dutschke, 1989, p. 134).

References: eVK 899, 900, 901, 1013, 1299, 2310, 2043, 3500, 3756, 6415.

Hanna, 1984a, p. 6.

34. ff 83^{r-v}: Medical Recipes

Prescriptions for various ailments (Hanna, 1984a, p. 7).

35. ff 83^{v} – 93^{v}: *Storia Lune /The Thrytty Dayes of the Mone*

These couplets cover thirty days, each associated with a biblical character or event, and treats nativities, bloodletting, dreaming and various other enterprises (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3620, 3773). Also found in *Wise Book* B1 and Bd.

Edition: Braswell (Means), 1978, p. 190.

References: (Braswell) Means, 1993, p. 37.

---, 1992b, p. 385.

eVK 2056, 6733.

NIMEV 970.

Schuler, 1979, nos. 354, 356, 499.

Taavitsainen, 1988, pp. 65, 164, 167.

---, 1987, p. 22.

36. f 93^{v}: Medical Recipes

Four in English (Dutschke, 1989, p. 135).

References: eVK 5961.

Hanna, 1984a, p. 7.

37. ff 94^{r} – 95^{r}: Christmas Day Couplets.

Based on the days of the week on which both Christmas and New Year's fall, these prophesies foretell weather and expectations for agriculture and husbandry in the coming year. More elaborate versions contain additional prophecies – the general fate of those who are born or fall ill on that day, political events – such as are found in lunar treatises. These works are generally known as Esdras (Ezra) or Ezekiel prophecies. In the sixteenth-century, when

they were frequently printed, they came to be known as "Erra Pater" prophecies (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3624, 3781). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS Bl, Bd and Wl.

Editions: Denham, 1965, pp. 69-70.

Robbins, 1952, pp. 63-7.

---, 1939, p. 330.

References: (Braswell) Means, 1992b, p. 369.

Dutschke, 1989, p. 135.

eVK 1220, 3374.

NIMEV 1905.

Förster, 1903, p. 349.

Schuler, 1979, nos. 337, 344

Talbert, 1942, p. 6.

38. ff 95^{v} – 103^{r}: Recipes: *Tractatus mirabilis aquarum*

In English, Latin and one in French (f 101^{v}), including recipes to make and extinguish Greek fire, to make *aqua vite*, to dye cloth, to colour gold, lead, and tin, to staunch blood, to write on a knife/sword (Latin); attributed to Petrus Hispanensis (Dutschke, 1989, p. 135).

References: *eVK* 4991, 5961, 6249, 6517.

Hanna, 1984a, pp. 7, 63.

39. ff 103^{r} – 104^{r}: *Liber de oculo*

English translation of a portion of Petrus Hispanus' text, of which the Latin is at f 95^{v} (Dutschke, 1989, p. 135).

References: *eVK* 2301, 5919.

Hanna, 1984a, pp. 7-8.

40. ff 104^{r} – 113^{r}: Recipes

Around 140, mostly English, including a Longinus charm to staunch blood, incantations to cure epilepsy, recipe for palsy proved by "Master Swan", and several to dye cloth (Dutschke, 1989, p. 135).

References: *eVK* 6041.

Hanna, 1984a, p. 8.

41. ff 113^{v} – 147^{r}: Stockholm Verse Recipes

Couplets with prose material, in English and Latin, conflated; late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century. The collection begins with recipes for diseases of the

head but does not sustain the downward arrangement; it contains a substantial group of recipes (eighty-eight lines) on dropsy, hot and cold. This set of verse recipes continued to receive attention and appeared in two editions within sixty years of Stephen's 1944 one. Sometimes found alongside *A Tretis of Diverse Herbis*. Keiser advises that Miller's 1978 dissertation has been regularly cited without reference to her edition of an acephelous text of the *Stockholm Verse Recipes*, which has been conflated with a number of other works (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3654, 3837). Also found in *Wise Book* MS C6.

Editions: Garrett, 1911, p. 183.

Holthausen, 1896, p. 292.

Stephens, 1844, pp. 349, 393.

References: Dutschke, 1989, p. 136.

eVK 1332, 2277, 2790, 5015, 6371.

Hanna, 1984a, pp 8-9, 63.

NIMEV 1408.

Miller, 1978, pp. xii-xvi.

Mooney, 1995, p. 50.

42. ff 125^{r} – 135^{r}: Synonyma

Included in item [38] above; such lists of English, Latin, and French plant-names or glosses of Latin herbals are frequently found in medical miscellanies, particularly those with collections of Latin writings (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3645, 3827). Similar items are found in *Wise Book* MSS Bs and C3.

Reference: Stannard, 1964, p. 353.

43. ff 135^{v} – 138^{r}: Passages in Latin

Included in item [41] above. Latin; some are recipes, the others descriptions of illnesses. Also included are incantations and prayers (Dutschke, 1989, p. 136).

44. ff 138^{r} – 143^{r}: Recipes & Charms

Approximately sixty, included in item [38] above. Includes "The Charm of St Susan" (prose), which draws upon the uncorrupted wounds of Christ motif, and claims to be efficacious for ailments other than wounds. Also found here are charms for fevers, to dissolve spots in one's eyes, and for a speedy delivery in childbirth (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3673, 3872). Also found in *Wise Book* MS B4.

Editions: Sheldon, 1978, p. 159, 163-66.

Heinrich, 1896, p. 163.

References: *eVK* 1332.

Hanna, 1984a, p. 9.

45. f 143^{r-v}: *Tractatus de virtutibus corei serpentis…*

English & Latin; a version is also found in *Wise Book* MS B.

References: Dutschke, 1989, p. 137.

eVK 7966.

Hanna, 1984a, p. 9.

Johnson, 1913, pp. 257-68.

Thorndike & Kibre, 1963, cols. 295, 525, 782.

46. ff 143^{v} – 176^{r}: Charms and Medical Recipes

Around 450 medical recipes and charms, mainly in English, but with one in French, along with some Latin phrases and fragments (Dutschke, 1989, p. 137).

References: *eVK* 5038, 5788.

Hanna, 1984a, p. 9.

47. f 145^{r}: The Saint Peter on the Stone Charm

Included in item [43] above; twelve lines in couplets. An English representative of a charm that was widespread in medieval Europe. In its narrative Christ tells the suffering Peter that arising from the stone on which he sits and following Christ will cause the ache to abate (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3671, 3867). This MS is the only extant.

Edition: Hanna, 1980, pp. 239-40.

References: *eVK* 1240.

Gray, 1974, p. 63.

Hunt, 1990, p. 81.

NIMEV 484.88.

48. f 145^{r}: "For armes or legges that are myswreyght…"

Included in item [43] above; a charm in irregular verse (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3676, 3881).

Edition: Hanna, 1980, pp. 249-50.

References: eVK 3975.

NIMEV 2723.33.

Schuler, 1979, no. 412.

49. f 158^{v}: *Flum Jordan* Charm

Included in item [43] above. Well established in England by the early years of the fourteenth century, this may be the most widespread of all Middle English charms. Verse and prose versions of it repeatedly occur in well over one hundred MSS from all regions (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3670-1, 3864-5). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B4 and S.

Edition: Hanna, 1980, p. 241.

References: Briggs, 1954, p. 454.

eVK 3270.

Forbes, 1971, p. 300.

Gray, 1974, p. 62.

IMEVS 624, 627.5.

Robbins, 1970, p. 405.

Schuler, 1979, nos. 126, 128.

50. ff 162^{v} – 163^{r}: Five Wounds of Christ Charm

Included in item [43] above. Couplets, partly in prose in some versions, the charm centres on the belief the wounds of Christ were not subject to corruption (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3672, 3871). Also found in *Wise Book* MS B4.

Edition: Hanna, 1980, p. 242.

References: eVK 2474.

Forbes, 1971, p. 313.

IMEV 1293.

Schuler, 1979, no. 288.

Sheldon, 1978, pp. 165, 250.

51. f 163^{r-v}: *Sator-Formula* for Childbirth

Included in item [43] above. This is a five-word palindrome (five Latin words, one of unknown origin), embedded in an English explanation that it should be written in butter or cheese and eaten by the pregnant woman (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3673, 3873). Also found in *Wise Book* MS C6 (f 25^{v}).

References: Forbes, 1971, pp. 298, 302.

---, 1966, p. 85.

Gray, 1974, p. 63.

52. f 168^{r}: Sage-Leaf Charm

Included in item [43] above. This prose charm directs that the victim of fever eat, on three consecutive days, items on which have been written sacred words – Hebrew, Latin and Greek – often in corrupted forms. Though the incantations are not in the vernacular, almost all appear with English instructions of varying length and interest (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3672, 3869).

Editions: Hanna, 1980, p. 241.

Sheldon, 1978, pp. 221, 224.

References: Forbes, 1971, p. 296.

53. ff 176^{v} – 183^{v}: *Agnus Castus*

A prose translation of a late fourteenth-century Latin compilation. The entries are arranged alphabetically according to the first letter of the Latin name of the herb, beginning at A and usually ending at S; there are seventy-nine plants covered here. Generally, the entries contain the Latin, English, and French names of the herbs; a description of the leaves; sometimes, descriptions of the flowers, stalk, root, and seed, and information about where and how the herb grows, along with the medicinal properties and uses of the herb (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3642, 3822).

Edition: Brodin, 1950, pp. 11, 15, 109 (this MS not included).

References: Dutschke, 1989, p. 137.

eVK 1172.

Hanna, 1984a, pp. 9-10.

Stannard, 1964, p. 353.

54. ff 184^{r} – 190^{v}: Synonyma: *Aloes lignum sunt autem tri genera*

A glossary of plants, minerals, and animal products used as drugs; 309 entries in Latin, with the English translation provided (Stannard, 1964, pp. 353-67).

Reference: Dutschke, 1989, pp. 137-8.

55. ff 191^{r} – 196^{v}: Recipes

Approximately 180, in Latin, from head downwards, with some charms against illnesses (one in French) (Dutschke, 1989, p. 138).

56. ff 176^{r}, 183^{v}, 186 $^{r-v}$, 187^{r}, 188^{v}, 190^{r}: Recipes in English

Added s. xv and xvi; the one on f 187^{r} is an ointment, "quod Iohn harris pottycary" (Dutschke, 1989, p. 138).

References: *eVK* 5216.

Hanna, 1984a, p. 10.

XXXII Tokyo, Takamiya MS 39 (*olim* Honeyman MS Astron. 10 (MS 58)) (T)

Catalogue: Faye & Bond, 1962, p. 22, no. 21; Sotheby, Parke & Bernet, 1979, no. 1111.

General References: Linenthal, 2004, pp. 15-31.

Brief Description: MS s.xv, paper, ff 30, 194 x 143mm; written in brown ink in an English cursive book hand, with headings and some capitals in red. Four pages with diagrams. Added at the front is a seventeenth-century folding astrological chart written in an italic hand and dated from 1646 to 1664. Said to have belonged to Nicholas Ferrar (1592-1637), theologian and bookbinder; it is signed by John Onion on flyleaf. MS is an anthology of Middle English astrological information (Sotheby, Parke & Bernet, 1979, no. 1111).

Contents:

1. ff 1^{r} - 12^{v}: *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

This version has interpolated additional information, such as a table, "for to know what is aclocke nyght or day", and times for planting seeds. The *Wise Book* is accompanied by planetary tables in Latin and French (Sotheby, Parke & Bernet, 1979, no. 1111).

Reference: *eVK* 974.

2. ff 13^{r} - 30^{v}: *The Book of Destinary*

A tract "listing activities appropriate for each sign...followed by futher observations on the characteristics of those born under planets" (Sotheby, Parke & Bernet, 1979, no. 1111).

XXXIII Woking, Surrey History Service MS LM 1327/2 (S)

Brief Description: MS is part of the family and personal papers of the More Molyneux family, owners of Loseley Park, Guildford, and is a book containing manuscript notes on grammar, Latin vocabulary, philosophy and astronomy, medical prescriptions, copy of the will of William Bradwall of Horton (1523), formulary of deeds and other legal documents. Also contains a printed poem, "The Parlyament of Devylles", (early sixteenth-century) (Keen, 2002). The MS is unrecorded in the published catalogue (Kempe, 1836), which is concerned only with MSS dating from the Tudor period onwards, and which, in any case, catalogues only 214 of the 2,240 MSS (*Hist. MSS*, I, p. 597).

Contents:

1. f 31^{r}: Text on the Elements & Humours

Detailing the parts of the world ruled by each (*eVK* 2936, 7043).

2. f 31^{r}: *Flum Jordan* Charm

Well established in England by the early years of the fourteenth century, this may be the most widespread of all Middle English charms. Verse and prose versions of it repeatedly occur in well over one hundred MSS from all regions. Version in this MS is verse. Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B4 and H.

Edition: Hanna, 1980, p. 241.

References: Briggs, 1954, p. 454.

eVK 6586.

Forbes, 1971, p. 300.

Gray, 1974, p. 62.

IMEVS 624, 627.5.

Keiser, 1998, pp. 3670-1, 3864-5 (this MS not noted).

Robbins, 1970, p. 405.

Schuler, 1979, nos. 126, 128.

3. f 31^{v}: The Moon and the Calendar

Reference: *eVK* 2831.

4. ff 32^{r} – 37^{r}: *Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

References: *eVK* 970, 2307.

Kempe, 1843, pp. 473-77.

5. ff 44^{v} – 45^{r}: Medical Recipes

Nine medical recipes, in English (*eVK* 5265).

6. ff 45^{v} – 46^{r}, 48^{v} – 49^{r}: Lunary

Prognostications by the days of the moon on births, the sex of the child, and the outcome (*eVK* 2904).

7. ff 46^{v} – 47^{r}: Recipes & Charms

Nine, in English (*eVK* 4750).

8. ff 47^{r-v}: "How Thou Shall Know Urine"

Reference: *eVK* 7843.

9. ff 49^{r}-^{v}: Bloodletting and Auspicious Days

Reference: *eVK* 937.

10. ff 49^{v} – 50^{v}: Medical Recipes

Seven in all (*eVK* 5004).

11. ff 50^{v} – 51^{v}: Dietary of Galen

A prose regimen explaining, month by month, appropriate diet and proper days for bloodletting, and for finding when Easter falls (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3659, 3849). Also found in *Wise Book* MSS B4, C6, H and S3.

Editions: Henslow, 1898, p. 63.

Mooney, 1994, p. 253.

---, 1981, p. 161.

Reference: *eVK* 2995.

12. ff 51^{v} – 53^{r}: Medical Recipes & Charms

Sixteen recipes and charms, including a prose charm, To Know a Thief, which depends on the use of names of suspects in conjunction with actions that induce a revelatory dream or a painful response from the guilty party (Keiser, 1998, pp. 3674, 3875). Also found in *Wise Book* MS C6.

Edition: Miller, 1978, pp. 62-3.

Reference: *eVK* 5053.

Section 4: Edition of the *Wise Book* from New York, Columbia U, MS Plimpton 260

i. Editorial Principles

The Text

The text of the *Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy* transcribed from the version found in New York, Columbia University, MS Plimpton 260 (P), with variant readings from London, University College, MS Anglia 6 (A). The readings from P have not been reconstructed, or amended in any significant way, and marginalia and extra-textual details are recorded in the *Handlist* or in the footnotes. Words which are uncommon, or the use of which is ambiguous, are explained throughout in the footnotes.

Modern punctuation has been substituted for that in the MS without indication of where paraphs, periods and so on occur. To facilitate reading of longer sections of the text, paragraph division has been introduced throughout. The beginning of a new folio in the text is indicated by a line | in the text, with the folio number given at the end of the line. Word division has been modernised, for example, "with out" in the MS is given run together as "without". Latin terms and phrases from the text are shown in italics, with the translation/explanation given in footnotes where necessary. Numerals have in most cases been given in full modern English, with italics used to denote where a number has been abbreviated in the original. Otherwise, too, abbreviations are expanded in italics, and capital letters given to proper nouns ("Kynge David", "Rede See"), to names of months and days, signs of the zodiac, and to the beginning of sentences, and also to some phrases such as "Holy Scripture". The Middle English character *yogh* is indicated by the use of "ȝ", and "Þ/þ" is indicated where used in the MS.

The Variants

The variants are recorded from A, and they seek to distinguish substantial variation, insofar as is possible, from the base MS. In order to reduce the volume of this section, some details are left unrecorded; the use of "þ" for "th", and *vice versa*, has not been noted, nor have variant spellings of common words and conjunctions ("and", "this/these", "or", "if"), unless the spellings are substantially

different, or the word is dialectally unusual; minor differences, for example, "beth/buth", "vndirstonde/vnderstonde", and occurrences of letters that are interchangeable ("y" and "i") have been omitted. Variants of final "e" (as in "lech(e)") have also been omitted from this section. Abbreviations, where the expansion of them leads to the same spelling in the base MS, have also not been signified.

The following conventions have been used in the critical apparatus:

] separates lemma from variant

abbr. abbreviated

om. omitted

rev. order of two words reversed

‘ ’ insertion to text above line or in margin

The MSS

The base text for the sample edition of *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy* is taken from New York, Columbia University, MS Plimpton 260 (P), dating from ca. 1420 (Keiser, 1998, p. 3767), with variants from London, University College, MS Anglia 6 (A), from the third quarter of the fifteenth century (Keiser, 1998, p. 3766). The MSS are described as "closely related", and as preserving "an extraordinarily rich repository of Middle English popular scientific texts" (Acker & Amino, 1994, p. 141). P, it is noted, contains all of the items that are found in A, albeit in a slightly different order, and excepting the table of (un)lucky days found at the end of P but missing from A, which is wanting leaves at the end (Acker & Amino, 1994, p. 141 n. 1).

Since what is being presented here is a sample edition, arguably any version of the *Wise Book* might have been used in its compilation. However, since P and A are so closely related, and given that A was, in all likelihood, copied from P, they provide an interesting context not only for the *Wise Book* but also for its companion texts.[1] Contextually, they appear to be, if not 'twin' MSS, very closely related, and they provide the only MSS witnesses for *The Book of Palmistry*, which is the focus of Acker and Amino's study. Consequently, and more important to the matter at hand, these MSS represent a unique context for the *Wise Book* -

[1] Acker and Amino reckon that P provides "an earlier…witness for the palmistry [A], if not for all the texts" (1994, p. 141 n. 1).

nowhere else do we find it occurring in a compilation of this kind, one which was of sufficient interest and function to be copied in its entirety almost thirty years after P was put together.

Ultimately, these MSS were chosen because they preserve the *Wise Book* in books which are similar in content, but whose material appearance is very different. As Acker and Amino put it:

> [S]ome early fifteenth-century English reader thought enough of these texts to have them collected in the elegantly written, decorated, and handy format represented by P; a later medieval reader thought the whole collection merited copying, albeit in the more pedestrian format and cursive script of [A] (1994, p. 142).

Thus the materiality and form of the codices preserving the *Wise Book* conceivably could have altered the ways in which the text might have been interpreted and read by a contemporary audience. P, as we can see from Plate I, is of a higher quality than A (Plate II), which is of a poorer standard in terms of production. The scribe-compiler of A, however, used his exemplar less than faithfully, seeing fit to amend, contract, and omit, certain words and phrases; hence the variants display an interpretation on the part of the scribe-compiler of his source material, despite his involvement in the production of a materially-inferior copy. Such variations in form and style point to the influence and the perceived perceptions of patrons, scribes and compilers, but the exemplar provided by P is indicative, too, of a successful, profitable book, which might have been mimicked for those reasons. Ultimately, the survival of the text in twin MSS, which may be indicative of a particular and specific scientific context, and one which may have spawned many exemplars, each with their own peculiar quirks, styles and formats.

iii. Text of the *Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*

[f 59r] Here begynneth the wise boke of philosophie *and* astronamye, contryued[1] and made of the wisest philosophre *and* astronomyer þ*at* euer was sethe the worlde was begunne, that is forto saie of the londe of Greece. For in that londe was an Englische man, ful wise and wel vnderstondinge of philosophie and astronomie, studied and compiled this boke oute of Grewe graciously[2] into Englisch.

First this boke telleth how many heuenes ther buth[3], and afterwarde he p*ro*nouncith[4] and declareth of the cours and the gouernayle of the planetis, afterwarde of the signes and sterris of the firmament, | afterwarde of the [f 59v] elementis and complexiou*n*s and the maners of man; withoute whiche sciens and knowynge no man may come to p*er*fit wurchinge[5] of astronomye, ne philosophie, ne surgerie, ne of non othir science. For ther is no leche in þ*e* worlde that may treuly wirche his crafte, but if he haue the science and kunny*n*ge[6] of this booke.

And hit is to vndirstonde that ther buth eleven heuenes, and nine orders of angelus, and after the day of dome ther schal be ten orderes, as hit was atte the begynnynge whan God made hem. Ther buth also *seven* planetis, mouynge and worchinge[7] in the *seven* heuenes. And | ther buth *seven* daies the wiche that [f 60r] taken here p*rop*re names of the *seven* planetis, that is to seie: Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurius, Iupiter, Ven*us*, Saturnus. Also ther buth twelve signes in the heiest heuene, whiche buth mouable, that is to seie: Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Cap*ri*cornus, Aquarius, Pissis. And these twelve signes buth not propre bestis as it schewith here, but bi weye of philosophie thei ben lickned to suche bestis.

And thei buth nomore to seie in Englisch but twelve p*ar*ties of the firmament, of the whiche eche p*ar*te hathe a certeyne nou*m*bre of sterres

[1] *contruyed*: "to invent or compose", *MED* contreven *v*.1.
[2] *compiled*: "to collect and present information from authentic sources, as in an encyclopedia or a comprehensive treatise", *MED* compilen *v*.2.(a); *studied*: reflected upon, contemplate, ponder, *MED* studien *v*.3.(a); *graciously*: "by God's grace", or "beautifully...attractively", *MED* graciousli *adv*.(a&d).
[3] *buth*: sg. 3 and pl. of ben, to exist, *MED* *v*.1.(a).
[4] *pronouncith*: "utter, recite, articulate", *MED* pronouncen *v*.(a).
[5] *wurchinge*: performance, action (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 5).
[6] *kunnynge*: "the fact of knowing, awareness...the act of learning, finding out", *MED* knouing(e *ger*.1.(a); *kunnynge*: "possessing a skill in a profession, art or craft; skilled", *MED* conning *ppl*.1.(a).
[7] *worchinge*: operating (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 5).

assigned to hym, and these twelve signes buth clepud the | propre houses [f 60^{v}] of the *seven* planetis in whiche thei reste and abide a certeyne tyme as the constellacio*u*n fully declareth. And a planet is to seie a sterre whiche is discordant fram othir sterris, for he is gretter and more of pouer than othir that ben lesse. Also ther buth twelve monthes acording to the twelve signes, in the wiche þe signes regnen and wurchen, that is forto saie: Marche, Apr*i*l, May, Iun, Iuly, August, Septemb*e*r, October, Nouember, December, Ianuar, Feuerer. And the twelve signes trauelyn and wurchen togedur in eche monþ, but on of hem p*r*incipali regneþ and hathe his d*omi*nacio*u*n in his p*rop*re monthe, *and* is lorde therof.

[f 61^{r}] The firste signe is Aries and he regneth in the monthe of Marche, for in that signe God made the worlde. And this signe Aries is clepud the signe of a ram. For as muche as Abraham made his offringe to God of a ram for his sone Ysaac, whoso is bore in this signe schal be dredeful,[8] and he schal haue grete grace.

The secounde signe is Taurus and he regneth in Aprile, and is the signe of a bole, for as muche as Iacob the sone of Ysaac wrastlid and strof with the angel in Bedleem as a bole, whoso is bore in that signe schal haue grace in al bestis. [9]

The third signe is Gemini and | he regneth in May and is clepud the [f61^{v}] signe of man and of woman. For as muche as Adam and Eue were made and formed of on kynde, who so is bore in this signe pore and feble he schal be, and he schal lyue in pouerte and weilinge and in desese.

The *fourth* signe is Cancer and he regneth in Iun, and that is clepud the signe of the crabbe, or elles of a canker,[10] that is a worme; for as muche as Iob was lepre and ful of cankris[11] bi the honde of God, who so ys borne in this sygne schal be feble but he schal haue grace in p*ar*adis.

[8] *dredeful*: "respectful, God-fearing, devout" *MED* dredeful *adj.* 1.(a).
[9] Gen. 32: 14, 24-32. "Bedleem" (or Bethlehem), however, is not referred to here; Jacob named the place "Penuel (Peniel)" (Gen. 32:31) (*The Holy Bible: Amplified Version*, 1987).
[10] *canker*: "the Zodiacal sign Cancer", *MED* Canker *n.*2; also "a cankerworm", *MED* canker *n*(1).2.
[11] *cankris*: apostemes or open ulcers, *MED* canker *n*(1).1(b).

The *fifth* signe is Leo and he regneth in Iuly, and is clepud the signe of a lyon. For as mu | che as Daniel the p*ro*phite was iput into the depe putte [f 62r] amonge lyou*n*s, whoso is borne in this signe schal be a bolde theef and hardy.[12]

The sixth signe is Virgo and he regneth in August, and hit is clepud the sign of a maide. For as muche as Oure Ladie Seint Marie in the burthe, and before the burthe, and after the burthe of oure Saueour was clene maide, whoso is borne in this signe schal be a wise man, and with su*m* gile or cause he schal be blamed.[13]

The *seventh* signe is Libra and he regneth in Septembre, and hit is clepud þe signe of a balaunce.[14] For as muche as Iudas Scariot made | his consel[15] [f 62v] with the Jewes and graunted[16] hem that they schulde take Godis sone of heuene, whoso is borne in this signe schal be a wickid man *and* a traitour, and on an euel dethe schal deie.

The eighth signe is Scorpio and he regneth in October, and is clepud the signe of a scorpioun. For as muche as the children of Israel passeden thorughout the Rede See, whoso is bore in þis sygne schal haue many angres and tribulaciou*n*s.

The ninth signe is Sagittari*us* and he regneth in Nouembre, and it is clepud the sign of an archer. For as muche as Kynge Dauid the p*ro*phete faught with Golias, whoso is borne i*n* | this signe schal be hardi and lecherus. [f 63r]

The tenth signe is Cap*ri*corn*us* and he regneth in Decembre, *and* it is clepud the signe of a goot. For as muche Jewes leften the blessinge of Criste, whoso is borne in this signe schal be riche and louynge.

The eleventh signe is Aquarius and he regneth in Ianuer, *and* it is clepud the signe of a ma*n* heldinge out water of a potte. For as muche as Seint Iohn Baptest baptized Ih*es*u oure Saueour in Flom Iordan, whoso is bore in this signe schal be neccligent and lese his þinges.

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[12] *hardy* copied so that it is at the end of the following line in the MS.
[13] The "med" of *blamed* has been written on the line below; this is perhaps indicative that the MS was prepared with decorative capitals and paraphs prior to the copying of the text, and that the copyist occasionally ran out of space.
[14] *balaunce*: " a set of scales", *MED* balaunce *n.*1.(a).
[15] *consel*: "meeting, conference, council", *MED* counseil *n.*1.(a).
[16] *graunted*: "permit, allow", *MED* graunten *v.*1.(a).

The twelfth signe is Pisces and he regneth in Feuerer, *and* it | is [f 63v] clepud the signe of a fische. For as muche as Ionas the p*ro*phete was caste into the see, and three daies and three ny3tes lay in the whombe of a whale, whoso is bore in this signe schal be gracius and happy.

Here buth the *seven* planetis as is rehersed[17] before, *and* hit is to vnderstonde that what man is bore in eny oure of þe daie, in the whiche regneth eny of the *seven* planetis, he schal be apte and disposid to good or to euel after the influence and constellacio*un* of the planet in the whiche he is borne in. But neuer the latter, hit is to knowe that non of hem constreyneth[18] a man to good | [f 64r] or to euyl, ffor whi bi a mannes owne good wille and the grace of God comynge before, and bi his owne good lyuynge, he may do good though he were disposid to do euel after the nature and the influence of his planete. On the same maner, euen contrarie bi a manys owne fre wil, and bi the couetynge of a manys herte and his ey3en, he maye do euel although he were disposed bi his planet to do good. Uppon þis argument a philosophre disputed with another *and* axed wheþer a mannes p*re*destinacio*un* myght sonest be the preef of this argument, and he proued that it myght stonde sothe bi | these wordis: Poule [f 64v] rehersith in Holy Scripture that ther buth euyl daies, and bi this hit semeth that ther buth manye of hem; and in the kalender also hit is declared that ther buth many dismales,[19] that is to sey euel dayes and vngracious, *and* that is sothe. Hit maye be wel p*ro*ued by the philosophres of the olde lawe, ffor whan men wente to bataile, 3if thei were spedde *and* hadde the wictorie, than louede thei and thonked God *and* worschepden that daie. And if thei were scomfited,[20] than maden þei that daie dismal in here kalenders. And than answered the tother philosofre and saide þus: that God made al thinges good | in here kynde [f 65r] withoute faute or lak, as the planetis and þe sterris *and* the elementis, the monthis and the daies, man and beste, and al other thingis benethe hem; *and* bi this skile[21] he argued that ther was no daie ne non other thinge euel.

[17] *rehersed*: "report, tell, describe", *MED* rehersen *v.*1.(a).
[18] *neuer the latter*: "nevertheless; yet; however" *MED* never-later, never-the-later *adv.*; *constreyneth*: "to compel or force...oblige or induce", *MED* constreinen *v.*1.(a).
[19] *dismales*: unlucky days, *MED* dismal, *n&adj.*
[20] *scomfited*: deafeated, conquered, *MED* scomfiten *v.*1.(a).
[21] *skile*: "a reason for an observed fact, a condition", *MED* skil *n.*4.(a).

Than that other philosofre answered a3en and saide that whan that God hadde made i*n* the begynnynge eleven heuenes and ten orders of angeles forto gouerne hem, and the planetis, signes and the elementis, *and* the *seven* daies, and man after his owne schap *and* likenesse; and afterwarde in the mene tyme that he satte vppon the waters and deuyded *and* made fisches *and* | foules to [f 65^{v}] mannes fode. The tenth ordre and the heiste of the ten heuenes, of the whiche ordre Lucifer was chef nexte God, þoru3 his pride fel doun with many legiou*n*s of his felowes that helden with hym into the deppist part of helle; and eche of hem after that thei hadde synned fellen, su*m*me heigher and su*m*me lower, where thorugh the sterres the planetis and the elementis beth infecte[22] and corruptid. And bi this cause sum*m*e buth good and sum*m*e beth euel, after the influence and the multitude of the spirit*us* that fellen at that tyme doun oute of the tenth heuene. And bi this argument the forseide | philosfre p*ro*ued and [f 66^{r}] concluded that mannys p*re*destinacioun is sothe, if it be wel det*er*mined bi weie of philosophie. For eche man lyuynge is made of three thinges in general, that is to saie, of *seven* planetis and twelve signes, and *four* elementis, bi the whiche he hathe his fortune and his infortune, his bonchef and his mischef, his maneris and his complecciou*n*s.

Forto knowe al the sercles of the firmament and þe sterris: hit is forto wete that heuene is rounde in the maner of a rerid[23] spere, in the middes of whiche hongeth the Erthe of a [*sic*] centre of al the worlde. Heuene is deuided in twelve[24] speris that ma | kith eleven heuenes as hit is toforeseide. Of the [f 66^{v}] whiche the firste *and* heiest is clepud in Latyn þus: *Celum empireum fixu*m et *motu*m.[25] In the whiche is the trone of our Saueour, and it is the place of God and of holy seintis. The tenth heuene is clepud in Latyn þus: *Celum medium int*er *cristallu*m *et empireum*.[26] The ninth heuene is clepud in Latyn: *Cristallu*m *vel applanes*;[27] that is vnmouable. The eighth spere is clepud in Latyn: *Celu*m *signoru*m

[22] *infecte*: "imperfect", *MED* infecte *adj*.
[23] *rerid*: "upright" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 9).
[24] This reads "21" in MS, but twelve clearly is intended.
[25] "Heaven of the emperyean" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 9).
[26] "Heaven midway between the crystalline (10th sphere) and the earth" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 9).
[27] "Crystalline and unmoving" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 9).

et siderum;[28] in the whiche buth sette the twelve signes with alle the sterris; and that spere is meuable. And it is clepud also in Latyn: *Primum mobile*,[29] of the whiche philosofres finden in here bokis to werk þerwith many | craftes. The *seventh* spere is clepud *in* Latyn: *Celum saturnum*; in the whiche Saturnus [f 67r] dwelleth and good[30] aboute at onys in thirty[31] winter. And Saturnus is a planet malicious *and* wickid, hote and drie, and therfor he is sette heighest of al his felawis. For if he stod lowest as the Mone dothe, he schulde distroie man and beste, and al that were formed growinge vppon Erthe to the whiche buthe ordeyned of kynde þese five thinges: that is to saie malencolie, elde, heruest, *and* colde wyndes *and* drye as northerne wyndes buth in Erthe. The sixth spere is clepud in Latyn: *Celum iouis*; in whiche regneth Iupiter and he sercleth it onys *in* twelve 3ere | and it is a planet welwillid and good, hote and moiste [f 67v] mesurable he is; to whom is ordeyned blood, veer,[32] drynk and ayr. The *fifth* cercle or spere is clepud: *Celum martis*; in whiche Mars regneth, and sercleth hit ones in twelve 3ere; and this planet is hot and drie, to whom is ordeyned coler, drynk and fire. The *fourth* spere or cercle is clepud: *Celum solis*;[33] and to this spere of philosofres in diuerse places beth diuerse names: sum cleputh hit in Latyn *Zodiacus*; sum cleputh it *Circulus animalum*;[34] *and* sum *Circulus generacionis* et *corupconis*,[35] and sum *Circulus obliquus*. In the middis of þis *Zodiacus* goth the sonne euer | more in suche a lyne, whiche is clepud in Latyn *Ecliptica*.[36] For whan [f 68r] the Mone is in the lyne hit is clepud *Ecliptica* in the hede or in the taile of draconus. And the Sonne be euen for a3ens[37] it of that other side, þan falleth the eclips of the Mone thorughoute the worlde. Wherefor it schewith that the clips

[28] "Heaven of stars and signs" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 9).
[29] "First mover, ninth sphere of the Ptolemaic system" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 9).
[30] This is most likely a scribal error, and should read "goth" or "goes".
[31] Krochalis & Peters (1975, p. 9) have the reading "3e winter"; "30" could easily be misread as "3e".
[32] *veer*: "springtime" (Shipley, 1968, p. 703).
[33] *Celum solis*: "heaven of the sun" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 10).
[34] *Circulus animalum*: "circle of animals" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 10).
[35] *Circulus generactionis et corupcionis*: "circle of generation and corruption"; *Circulus obliquus*: "slanting circle" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 10).
[36] *Ecliptica*: "ecliptic" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 10).
[37] *euen for a3ens*: "directly opposite", *MED* even foryeines *adv*.16.(f); *falleth*: "of conditions, actions or events: to come into being...to issue or arise; to happen as a result", *MED* fallen *v*.22.(a).

of the Mone is nat elles but an interposicioun[38] of the erthe is [*sic*] betwixe the Sonne and the Mone.

The third spere is clepud *Celum veneris*, in the whiche alwey gooth Venus, and gooth about at onys in 346[39] daies; and he is a planet colde and moiste in mesure, to whom buth ordeyned flewme, wynde, water *and* childhode. | [f 68^{v}] The secunde spere is clepud *Celum mercurii*, in the whiche this planete Mercurii dwelleth, and sercleþ it ones aboute in 330[40] daies; and Mercurie is a planet colde with colde, and hote with hote; and so to eche complexioun he may be likened. The laste of alle *and* nexte the erthe of these *seven* planetis is the spere of the Mone, and this spere is clepud in Latyn: *Celum lune*; and this planet goth aboute the signe twelve tymes in the 3ere, and this is the cause and the makynge of the twelve monthis in the 3ere. To whiche planet is ordeyned by kynde[41] flewme, childhode and water.

Now it is to knowe and to wete that ther buth *four* | elementis, [f 69^{r}] that is to seie fire, eyre, water and erthe. And first, the spere of the fire is heieste *and* in kynde it is hote and drie, and maketh rede blode, coler and thynne, *and* engendreth sikenes of feuer tercian,[42] and the agu in somer tyme aboute the mydde ouer none.[43] The secunde is þe spere of the eyre, whiche is hote and moiste in kynde, and 3eldeth rede blode, sangwyne and thikke, *and* engendreth of kynde eueles in man whiche buth clepid in Latyn *Sinocum Sinocam*, that is to say of þe filthe and the coroupcioun of the blode.[44] The third is the spere of þe water, whiche is colde and moiste, and makeþ of kynde pale blode, flewmatik *and* watrie a | boue. The *fourth* is the spere of þe Erthe, whiche is in kynde colde *and* [f 69^{v}] drie, and 3eldeth blak blode, malancolye and a partie watrie; *and* this is the laste element and lowist. This is hangynge and mouynge in the myddil of þe rounde

[38] *interposicioun*: "a passing between (as in an eclipse of the sun or moon)", *MED* interposicioun *n.*(a).
[39] The edition of the text in C2 reads 345 here (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 10).
[40] There is a blank space, possibly an erasure, here in the MS.
[41] *kynde*: "the aggregate of essential qualities or properties of persons, animals, plants, elements..", *MED* kinde *n.*1.(a).
[42] *feuer tercian*: "fever characterised by paroxysms every third day" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 11).
[43] *none*: ninth (the canonical hour) (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p, 11).
[44] Krochalis & Peters (1975, p. 11) read: "...in Latyn *Sinocum*. Sins cam of the þe ffilthe and corrupcioune of þe bloode" (C2), but the reading *sinocum sinocam* agrees in both A and P.

spere of the firmament, as a centre that is sette in þe myddis of a sercle; and this element Erthe is rounde as an appel, as al oþer buth, in þe myddis of whiche Erþe is þe pit of helle ryght as the blak kyrnel lith in þe myddes of an appel. And as Holy Writte declareth, after the daie of dome alle thinges schal be rounde, and this forseide Erthe element þa*n* schal be a 1000 tymes brighter | þan eny [f 70ʳ] cristal or p*re*cious ston; so ferforth that[45] they that buth in bitter peynes of helle schul se euermore, thorugh the bri3tnes of this element Erthe, alle the blisful ioyes of heuenes, and þ*at* syght schal be more peyne vnto hem than alle þe peynes of helle.

Now hit is to vndirstonde that euery man lyuynge here in Erthe hath *four* complexiou*n*s whiche buth in hym, that is to seie: Colre, Sanguyn, Fflewme and Malancolie, withoute whiche he may not lyue. Neuer the latter, if euery man hathe alle these *four*, 3it hath he but on complexiou*n* that hath his d*omi*naciou*n* and maistry ouer hym, bi the whiche eche man is reulid and gouer | ned in [f 70ᵛ] kynde; as su*m*me men haue moste of Colre, and they ben in complexiou*n* colryk men, and for thei haue so muche of Colre here blood is rede and thynne. Sanguyn men han moste of blode, and they ben in complexiou*n* Sanguyn, and here blood is right thyk and reed. Sum men also han moste of Flewme, and thei ben in complexiou*n* Flewmatik, and here blood is pale *and* watrie, *and* a partie thinne. Sum men han moste of Malancolie, and they ben in complexiou*n* Malancolie, and here blode is blak and thikke in kynde.

And þese *four* complexiou*n*s in al thinges be acordynge in kynde to the *four* elementis; that is to seie þe | furste complexiou*n* is Colre, and it is in [f 71ʳ] kynde hote and drie, acordynge to the element of fire; *and* he that is of this complexiou*n* because of hete him luste myche, and because of drienesse he may litil. The second complexiou*n* is Sanguyn, and hit is in kynde hote and moiste acordynge to the element of the eyre; whoso is of this complexiou*n* bi cause of hete him lust muche, and by cause of moistnes he may muche in kynde. The third complexiou*n* is Flewme, and hit is in kynde colde and moiste acordynge to the element of watir; whoso is of this complexiou*n* bi cause of coldnesse him lust

[45] *so ferforth that:* "to such an extent that", *MED* fer-forth *adv.*3.

litil, *and* bi cause of moistnesse he may muche. | The *fourth* complexiou*n* is [f 71^{v}] Malancolye, and it is in kynde colde and drie acordynge to the element of the Erthe; whoso is of this complexiou*n* bi cause of coldnes him luste litil, and be cause of drinesse he may but litil in kynde.

Now Y schal declare and determyne of the sercles, *and* of the regnaciou*n*[46] of the *seven* planetis. And first it is to know that the day natural begynneþ in the morwnynge of þe day, and lasteþ to þe morwnynge of the day next sewynge, and he hathe twenty-*four* houres. And eche planet regneth three houres *and* a poynt[47] of the day and of the nyght, *and* that maketh twenty-*four* houres. And it is to wete that the | planet regneth bi estimaciou*n* as longe tyme as a good reder [f 72^{r}] and a deuout schulde rede twies the *seven* psalmis with the letanye. And therfor I say as bi rewle that it falleth nat by estymaciou*n*; and for as muche as eche man may not haue the astrolabe, therfor it is chosen a mesure and poynte[48] that men may lightly knowe þe houres of þe planetis. Ffirst begynneth the Sonne to regne in his owen day, that is to seie the Soneday, in the morwnynge of þe day, *and* regneth as longe tyme as it is toforseide. Afterward regneth Venus as longe. Than Mercurie as longe. Than the Mone as longe. Than Satu*r*nus | as longe. Than [f 72^{v}] Iupiter as longe. Than Mars as longe. Which þat ben *seven* houres, with here *seven* poyntis that maketh an houre.

Also the Sonne regneth in his owen day eftesones[49] the eighth houre, þan Venus, þanne Mercurius, þan Luna, þan Saturnus, þan Iupit*er*, þan Mars. And so now they haue regned fourteen houres with here poyntis, the whiche maken sixteen houres. Also the Sonne regneth eftesones in his day the seventeenth houre, þan Venus, þa*n* Mercurius, Luna, Saturnus, Iupiter, Mars; and so *seven* houre*s* ben fulfillid with here *seven* poyntis, which maken an houre. And so whan al these ben gadred to gederis, þan is ther twenty-*four* houres | in the [f 73^{r}] natural day. Also afterwarde regneþ the Mone on þe Moneday on þe first houre, as it dide on þe Sonneday. A*nd* after the Mone, Saturnus, þanne Iupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercurius; and fulfilled in twenty-*four* houres with here poyntis, and

[46] *regnaciou*n: "predominancy, reign" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 12).
[47] *poynt*: "the position of a star in the rete of an astrolabe" *MED* pointe *n.*12.(a).
[48] *poynte*: "an activity, action", *MED* pointe *n.*9.(a).
[49] *eftesones*: "again" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 12).

buth the *seven* planetis regnande[50] *seven* daies, eche in here natural day, houres and poyntis whiche maken twenty-*four* houres.[51] And it is to vndirstonde that ther buth two maner of daies: þe day natural, and the day artificial. The artifical day lasteþ fro þe Sonne rise til the Sonne sette. The natural day lasteth twenty-*four* houres, þat is to say al þe nyght and alle þe day. Hit is | to wete also [f 73v] that if the planet regne nat retrogard[52] as hit is toforseide, þan myght þei neuer be made euene[53] as by here cours.[54]

Now it is to declare of þe *seven* planetis and the houres of hem, whiche buth good and whiche ben euel, and in whiche it is good to begynne or make eny werke, crafte or eny other science or kunnynge that longeth[55] to philosofie, wheþer hit be good or euel. Wherfor hit is to be knowe that þe Soneday is coneuable[56], p*ro*fitable and holsum al maner of thyngis to begynne that longeth to goodnesse, to loue, or to grett werke. And it is p*ro*fitable to begynne | a [f 74r] werke, or to go on pilg*ri*mage or eny longe wey; that is for to sey the first houre on the Soneday. The secounde houre on the same day is the houre of the planet Venus, whiche is in nede[57] ioyned with Mercurie, and that is euel and p*er*ilous. The third houre is Mercurie *and* also euel. The *fourth* houre is Luna and is good. The *fifth* is Saturne and is good, the whiche is joyned with Iupiter. The sixth houre is Iupiter and is good. The *seventh* houre is Mars and is euel. The eighth houre is Sol a3en and is good as the first. The ninth is Venus. The tenth Mercurie. The eleventh Luna. The twelfth Saturne. The first houre of the nyght folwynge is the | houre of Iupiter, þe second Mars, þe third Sol þe *fourth* [f 74v] Venus, þe *fifth* Mercurius, the sixth Luna, the *seventh* Saturn*us*, the eighth Iupiter. the ninth Mars, þe tenth Sol, the eleventh Venus, the twelfth Mercurius. The first houre on the Moneday is Luna and is good. The secunde Saturnus *and* is

[50] *regnande*: "of a planet, to exercise a special or predominant influence", *MED* regnen *v*.3.(b).
[51] In the right hand margin is written "ij man*er* of days".
[52] *retrogard*: "of a planet: appearing to move in a direction contrary to the order of the zodiacal signs, retrograde", *MED* retrograde *adj*.(a).
[53] *euene*: "horizontal, perpendicular", *MED* even *adj*.1.(b).
[54] Copied in the line below, preceded by a paraph, in the MS.
[55] *longeth*: "to be logically or symbolically associated...be relevant...be properly applied to", *MED* longen *v*(3).5.(a).
[56] *coneuable*: "appropriate or suitable" of things or to an action, *MED* convenable *adj*.1.(a); *holsum*: "of benefit to the soul, spiritually beneficial", *MED* holsom *adj*.1.(b).
[57] *in nede*: "necessarily; inevitably", *MED* ned(e *adv*.(a).

euel. The third is Iupiter and is good. The *fourth* Mars and is euel. The *fifth* is Sol and is good. The sixth is Venus and is good. The *seventh* is Mercurius *and* is euel. The eighth is Luna and is good. The ninth is Saturne *and* is euel. The tenth is Iupiter and is good. The eleventh is Mars and is euel. The twelfth is Sol and is good.

The first houre of the nyght sewynge is Venus. The secunde[58] | Mercurie, the third Luna, the *fourth* Satur*n*us, the *fifth* Iupiter, the sixth Mars, the *seventh* Sol, the eighth Venus, the ninth Mercurius, the tenth Luna, the eleventh Saturnus, the twelfth Iupiter. The first houre on the Twesday is Mars *and* þat is euel. The second sol *and* is good; the third Venus *and* is good; the *fourth* is Mercurius *and* is euel; the *fifth* Luna and is good; the sixth Saturne and is euel; the *seventh* is Iupiter and is good; the eighth Mars and is euel; the ninth Sol and is good; the tenth Venus and is good; the eleventh Mercurie and is euel; the twelfth Luna and is good. The first houre of the nyght sewynge is Saturnus, *and* so forthe be order of al the daies in the weke; and so thou maiste knowe the planetis how thei | regnen in here houres, whiche ben good and whiche ben euel, as thei [f 75v] gon be ordir aboute.

[f 75r]

Now hit is to declare of þe *seven* daies in the weke, the whiche taken here names of the *seven* planetis, as it is toforsaide, and this is the cause; for eche planet regneth on the first houre on his owen day, as the Sonne that is clepud Sol on the Sonneday, and Luna on the Moneday, and so of al othir. And hit is to wete that what man is borne in eny oure of the day in þe whiche on of the *seven* planetis haþ lordschep,[59] he schal be the lyghter to turne to good or to euel after the influence of the same planet that he is borne in.

Now 3e | schul knowe wel that the Sonne is the eye of the worlde, [f 76r] the fayrenes of the firmament, the lyghter of þe Mone and of alle othir planetis, of whom þe day taketh his beynge, for the day is non othir thynge but the spredynge of the Sonne vpon the Erþe. For the philosofre seith that men may not come forthe ne be norsched withoute vertu of the Sonne. For a man gendreth a man wiþ the Sonne. Undir whiche constellacion a man that is borne he is

[58] At the bottom right margin of this folio is a scroll containing the word "mercurie", which would have functioned as a catchword.
[59] *lordschep*: "power, rule over, control", *MED* lordschip(e *n.*8.(a).

benynge;[60] faire spechid *and* meke; swifte; a sotil lerner *and* hy3e of witte, and wel durynge;[61] a faire softe speker; muche good gadrynge and with glad chere dispendynge[62] withoute boost; | abel muche to be loued; wise, saue he [f 76^{v}] loueþ muche wo*m*men; and al oþir thingis doynge wiþ grete discrecio*un*.[63] The tokenes of þe Sonne in a mannys body ben þese: a clere face and a rody,[64] a mene mouth, lippis rede and sumdel bollynge,[65] and al þe bodie wel schapen.

Luna. The Mone is like to the Sonne, ylyghtned wiþ þe Sonne bemes, a gladner of weyfarynge men, of vexed men a releuer.[66] Undir the whiche constellacio*un* a man that is borne is vnstedefast; muche wakynge; muche thenkynge in hymself; spekynge withoute sutilte and lightly wexinge seke w*ith* colde; of lyght causes makynge grete, | and lightliche leuynge wronge; not [f 77^{r}] gladliche partynge his good; muche gadrynge of seluer and nou3t expendynge; not sittynge ne restynge with his owen good wille, and beholdynge vnstable in euery side. The tokenes of the Mone ben þese: a pale face, that is to sey to whitnes lowynge,[67] a litil mouthe, a blont nose, sone wexinge hoor, and studynge in erthly þingis wiþout mesure.

Mars a bittir and malicious planet hit is. Under þe constellacio*u*n of whom batellus[68] kynges be borne; cursynge a ma*n* schal be that is born vndir hi*m*, and mysledynge and slye. For þei wol gladly deceyue, *and* þei be couetouse of praysynge, and bostynge | of here owne werkys *and* preysinge, and [f 77^{v}] deprauynge of oþer men werkis or defylinge. And holde þis for verrey trewth, þat what man that is bore vndir þe planet of Mars, wheþer he be kynge or pore man, he schal be hasty and batellous; his hondis schal be a3ens al men, and al men a3ens hym. The tokenes of Mars in a mannes bodie ben þese: a blak face and a

[60] *benynge*: "of persons: gracious, kind, generous, merciful; showing good will", *MED* benigne *adj.*1.(a).Krochalis & Peters (1975, p. 14) read "levynge" here.
[61] *durynge*: "persisting, having endurance", *MED* during *ppl. as adj*, from duren *v.*
[62] *dispendynge*: distribution of wealth, dispense in charity to the poor, *MED* dispenden *v.*2.
[63] *discrecio*un: "the ability to distinguish between right and wrong, moral discernment and judgement", *MED* discrecioun *n.*1.(a).
[64] *rody*: "rosy hue, redness", *MED* rod(e *n.*1.(a).
[65] *bollynge*: "curving" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 14).
[66] *releuer*: "one who alleviates an unfortunate condition", *MED* relever *n.*
[67] *lowynge*: "tending" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 15).
[68] *batellus*: "excelling in combat, martial", *MED* bataillous *adj.*(a).

lene, a muche mouthe, and ofte open to stryues[69] and to bakbytingis, a longe nose and knobbid in þe myddil; and holde þis for verrey treuth, pat what man þat haþ a longe nose and lifte vp in þe myddil like an eren or a kyte, he is naturalliche fals.

Mercurie is a good planete | and with oþer good planetis he [f 78r] acordith. Undir the constellaction of whiche planet al couetouse men of liberal science ben borne, and also lewde men of othir craftis ben ry3t wise. Mercurie makeþ men that be bore vndir hym prout; faire spekers; goode of witte; and good of mynde; *and* lightliche meuynge into diuerse regions, *and* goynge[70] pilg*ri*mage; desiringe alwey to lerne newe thinges, *and* not þingis iherde afore. Mercurie makiþ men trowynge to here owen conseil, dispisinge oþer mennys conseilis; hit makeþ men grete geteris, *and* gladlich spendynge. The tokenes of Mercurie in a mannes bodie be þese: a faire face *and* a | clere, and lightly wexynge rede, [f 78v] grete lippis and swellynge, euen teth, blak eyen, a streyght nose, not knobbid, *and* a grete louyer of wommen.

Iubiter is a good planet and a clere, to al maner temp*er*aunce of merthe and of helþe. Undir the whiche constellacio*un* þe man þat is borne schal gladliche of [*sic*] religious *and* a holy man, of what condicio*un* that he be. Iubiter makiþ men large; glad chered *and* hardy; gretly to be loued, *and* also gracious, *and* knytte wiþ þe knotte of Venus; naturalliche desyringe, but cleuynge[71] to wilful chastite spiritualliche; naþeles vnneþe comynge to age. The signe of Iubiter in a mannes bodie ben | þese: citryne eyen, vneuen teth and þynne sette, a [f 79r] streight nose, not knobbid, in goynge[72] with temp*er*ance and mekenes.

Venus is a bright sterre, and in þe lower þingis g*ra*cious, temp*er*alliche colde *and* moiste. Undir þe whiche constellacioun þe man þat is borne he is faire but he is right lecherous; ful of pley and joyenge; desyrynge diu*er*se kyndes of instrumentis, þat is to saye, organs, harpis *and* trumpis; þat man schal be a delicious[73] man *and* noble, louynge gestis[74], and he schal desire veyne preysyngis;

[69] *stryues*: "strifes" (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 15).
[70] *goynge*: ""travelling...journeying", *MED* going(e *ger*.2.(a).
[71] *cleuynge*: "sticking, adhesion", *MED* cleving(e *ger*.1.(a).
[72] *goynge*: "mode of conduct", *MED* going(e *ger*.6.(a).
[73] *delicious*: "of persons, loving luxury, sensual, voluptuous", *MED* delicious *adj*.2.(a).

he schal be right angry, and sone for3euynge; he schal leue more his owne conseill þan oþ*er* me*n*nys, and if he be a riche man he schal | 3eue muche[f 79^{v}] good to pore men, and if he be a pore man, þat he may nat do he schal fulfille wiþ mercy *and* good wille *and* compassiou*n*. Also he schal be ryght large, *and* þat more to pore men þan to riche, and he schal be of good witte; *and* þat þat he lerneþ he schal ly3tly sone for3ete. The signes of Venus ben þese: a mene forhede *and* smale browis, laughynge eyen, a white nose *and* scharpe, a large mouþ*e and* rede lippis, a semblant[75] changeable, *and* þey loueth whit cloþinge.

Saturne is a planet derke *and* malicious, colde *and* drie. Undir þe constellaciou*n* of whiche þ*e* man þat is bore is bore dredful *and* a nygard;[76] a þinge he haþe in þ*e* herte, anoþer in þe mouthe; þat | man schal be enviouse[f 80^{r}] *and* soruful; a traitur *and* solitarie; fewe wordis; malicious in spekynge, when hit semeþ þ*at* he spekiþ good, he draweth by sutilte into euel, þe whiche is worste of al þinge; *and* lyghtly he wol be offendid, and euel to be plesid, *and* vnneþis he wol be plesid; vnnethe he wil conseyue[77] eny science, but whan he haþe conseyued he wol not lyghtly lese it. The tokenes of Saturne ben þese: a lowryng chere ofte tymes, grete browis *and* hangynge, 3olow eyen, a þynne berde, a grete nose, stable eyen, slowe in goynge[78], his chere is al wey to þe Erthe. He þenkeþ most on erthely þyngis; blak cloþynge he loueþ most.

[74] *gestis*: poems or songs about heroic deeds; chivalric romances, *MED* gest(e *n.*1.(a).
[75] *semblant*: demeanour (Krochalis & Peters, 1975, p. 16).
[76] *nygard*: "stingy, parsimonious", *MED* nigard *adj.*(a).
[77] *conseyue*: "of the mind...to comprehend or understand...to conceive of or understand", *MED* conceiven *v.*6.(a&b).
[78] *goynge*: "act of walking", *MED* going(e *ger.*1.(a).

iii.Variants from UCL Anglia 6

1 astronamye] of astranomye contryued] co*n*teynyng **2** wisest] whysseste **4** was an] was in an wel vnderstondinge] well understondyng **7** telleth how] telleth us howe heuenes ther buth] euyns þ*er* be **8** p*ro*nouncith] p*ro*nyseth gouernayle of the planetis] gouer*n*a*u*ns of þ*e* planetts **10** complexiou*n*s] compleccon*s* withoute whiche sciens] withou3t wych scien*s*e **11** p*er*fit wurchinge] p*er*fytt wyrchynge **12** non othir science] no other scyens **13** treuly wirche] trewlye worch science and kunny*n*ge] scyens*e* *and* knowynge **17** worchinge] wirchyng seven[2]] *om.* **18** here] þer **23** lickned] lykenede **24** thei] *om.* p*ar*ties] p*ar*t*s* **26** assigned] assygnede **27** in whiche] in þ*e* wych abide] by **28** to seie] *om.* **30** to] vnto **31** þe] *om.* regnen] reygne wurchen] worchend that is forto saie] *abbr.* **33** the] þes trauelyn] t*ra*uelyng in] *om.* monþ] moneth but] *om.* **34** p*ri*ncipali] pryncipally regneþ] reygneth his[1]] þe **41** secounde] 2 Aprile] Apprill and is] and þis is **42** wrastlid] wrastlede strof] stroffe **43** Bedleem] Bedlam grace] grett g*ra*ce **46** kynde] kend **47** weilinge] weylyþ desese] disesse **48** Iun] Jiuin **50** cankris] cankers **53** Daniel] Danyell p*ro*phite] p*ro*phette iput] ipute putte] peytte **54** theef] man hardy] a hardy **56** Oure Ladie Seint Marie] Our Lady Seynt Marye burthe] berth **57** burthe] berthe burthe[2]] berth maide] mayd*e* **58** gile] gyll **59** clepud] clepede **60** Scariot] Scariote consel] concell **62** on] ou*er* **65** children] chelder*ne* Israel] Isrll passeden] passede thorughout] thorough ou3t **70** Golias] Golyas **72** goot] gote as muche Jewes] as moche as þ*e* Iewes lefte*n*] lefted **73** riche and louynge] ry3te loueyng **74** it] he **75** heldinge out water of a potte] hyldyng ou3te water ou3te of a pote **76** Baptest] Baptyse baptize*d*] baptysede **77** lese] loos þinges] thyngs **78** Pisces] Pysses Feuerer] Feu*er*ell **80** whale] whaell **82** buth] begynneth hit] ys **83** eny oure of þe daie] any oure of þ*e* daye or of þ*e* ny3te **84** disposid] dysposyde **86** hit] yt **88** though] thought disposid] dysposed **89** On the same] Vnto same **90** manys] man*n*es **91** disposed] dysposede **92** philosophre disputed] phelosopher dysputede **93** p*re*destinaciou*n*] p*re*destynacou*n* sonest] sou*n*este the preef] proofe **94** proued] prouyde **95** rehersith] rehersede Holy Scripture] Holye Scrypto*ur* hit] yt **97** dismales…dayes] dysmales dayes *and* euyll dayes Hit] Here **98**

p*r*oued] preuyde **99** bataile] batayll wictorie] vyctory louede] lowited **100** worschepden] worchype scomfited] scomfyede **101** maden] made dismal] dysmale **102** that God] Gode **103** withoute] withou3t **105** he argued that ther] þat þer **107** begynnynge eleven] begynny*n*g a eleven **108** the elementis] fyrmame*n*tt **109** likenesse] lykenes **110-11** to mannes fode] *om.* **111** ordre] orders heuenes] hevenn*s* **112** nexte] nexede þoru3] thorugh legiou*n*s] legyons **113** felowes] felaws deppist] deppeste **114** su*m*me heigher and su*m*me lower] sum heyer *and* some lawer **116** this] þ*e*s sum*m*e buth] some beth **117** spirit*u*s] sperytts doun oute] down*e* ou3t **118** argument] argme*n*tt forseide philosfre] forseyd phelosopher **119** det*er*mined bi weie] det*er*mede by wey **120** lyuynge] levyng*e* **120-21** that is to saie] *abbr.* **122** infortune] fortune bonchef] goode cheffe mischef] myscheffe **124** sercles] cercules firmament] fyrmame*n*tt **125-26** of whiche] of þ*e* whiche **126** deuided] deuydede **127** makith eleven] maketh a eleven **128** heiest] hyeste **128-29** *empireum … motu*m] *emp*eri*u*m *su*perium *motu*m **129** Saueour] Sauyour **131** *empireum*] *emp*eri*u*m in Latyn] in Latyn þ*us* **131-32** *vel applanes*] *vel applures* **132** in Latyn] in Latyn þ*us* **136** i*n* Latyn] in Latyn þ*us* **136-37** in the whiche Saturnus dwelleth] in þ*er* dwellethe **137** good] gothe wint*er*] wyntter **138** hote] colde **139** felawis] felows **140** buthe] be **141** five] *four* that is to saie] *abbr.* **142** in Erthe] in þ*e* Erth **143** in Latyn] in Laten þ*us* in whiche] in þ*e* whyche **143** Iupit*er*] Iubit*er* it] *om.* **144** welwillid] well wylled **145** veer] were **146** cercle] sercule in whiche] in the whyche **147** coler] coloure **148** or cercle] *om.* **149** cleputh] clepe Latyn] Laten **153** Latyn] Laten **154** hit] yt **154-5** taile of draconus] tayll of dracon*u*s **156** nat] note interposicio*u*n] int*er*posycyou*n* **158** *veneris*] *vener*e*s* **159** at] *om.* **160** buth] hath wynde, water] wynde *and* water childhode] chyldhed **162** sercleþ it ones aboute] goth abou3te onys **163** to] of **164** planetis] planett*s* **165** clepud] clepte planet] planette **166** the signe] þ*e* twelve sygnes **167** ordeyned] ordeynyde by kynde] be kende **169** and to wete] *om.* **170** the spere] *om.* heieste] hyeste **172** sikenes] syknes **172-3** aboute the mydde] abougte þ*e* myde **174** thikke] thyke **175** buth] *om.* *that is to say*] *om.* **177** flewmatik] flewme **179** malancolye] malecolye **180** myddil] myddell **182** appel] appull buth] bethe of whiche] of þ*e* whyche **183**

pit] pytte **185** Erthe element] *rev.* brighter þan eny cristal] bry3ghter þe any crystall **186** buth in bitter peynes] bethe in bytter peynys **187** blisful] blyssede full **188** peyne] payn **191** that is to seie] *abbr.* **193** 3it] 3yte **199** Flewmatik] Flewmatyke watrie] waterrye thinne] þyn*ne* **200** men] *om.* han] hathe Malancolie] Malancoly **203** furste] *om.* **204** to] unto **209** hit] yt **215** sercles] serclesse **217** morwnynge] morny*n*g to] unto next] nexste **220** wete] wytte estimacio*un*] estymacou*n* **221** a deuout] deuoute psalmis] spalmes letanye] lateny **222** as bi rewle] as rewle nat] no3te **223** astrolabe] ast*r*olaby **224** lightly] ly3tlye Sonne] Soun **225** Soneday] Sounday morwnynge] mornyg*e* of þe day] of þ*e* daye at þ*e* soun ry3ste **226** tyme] *om.* toforseide] aforseyd **227** the Mone] Luna **228** þat ben] þer beth **229** poyntis] poynnt*s* **231** Mercurius] Mercurii **232** now they haue] þer is nowe hath poyntis] poyntt*s* whiche maken] wich maketh **234** Mercurius] Mercurii Luna … Mars] þen Luna þen Sat*ur*nus þen Iubit*er* þen Mars **235** fulfillid] fulfyllede **236** ben gadred to gederis] be gederde togedd*er* **237** on] vpon on[2]] ou*er* **238** on] vppon **239** and fulfilled in] ande so fulfyllyng þ*e* poyntis] poyntt*s* **240** buth] be þ*e* **241** poyntis] poyntt*s* **242** artificial] artyfyciall **243** rise til] ryste vnto **244** þat is to say] *abbr.* **249** kunnynge] con*n*yng to philosofie] unto philosophye **252** to goodnesse] unto gudenesse grett werke] grete werks **253** on[2]] in **255** Mercurie] **256** Mercurie] Mercurii is good] also gude **257** is Saturne] ho*ur* is Sat*ur*ne is good] ys gude with] *om.* **258** houre[2]] *om.* euel] euyll **259** houre] *om.* **259-60** tenth Mercurie] tenth is Mercuri*us* **263** Mercurius] Mercurii **264** on] of Saturnus] Sat*ur*ne **266** and is good] it is gud Mercurius] Mercurii **270** sewynge] folowyng **272** Mercurius] Mercurii **273** on] of Mars] Marse **274** *and*[2]] *om.* is[2]] *om.* **276** is[1]] *om.* and[2]] *om.* **278** nyght] ny3gthe sewynge] sewing **279** order of al the daies] other dayes **281** gon be ordir aboute] gone by order abouen **282** in the weke] *om.* **284** on[1]] in **285** on[1]] ou*er* on[2]] uppon wete] wytte **286** on] any **287** the] *om.* to[2]] vnto **290** fayrenes] feyrenesse firmament] fyrmame*n*te of alle othir planetis] of other planett*s* **293** be] *om.* **294** Undir] vnder þ*e* **295** benynge] leuyng spechid] spechede *and*[1]] *om.* sotil] sotell **297** dispendynge withoute boost] dysspendyng wi*th*ow3te boste **298** discrecio*un*] dyscrecion **299** a mene] and a mene **300** mouth] mowthe

schapen] schappen **301** Luna] *om.* to] vnto ylyghtned] ly3ghtned Sonne bemes] soun*n*ebemys **302** weyfarynge] wheyfaryng releuer] reueler **303** muche[1]] moch **304** sutilte] sotylte lightly wexinge] ly3ghtlye wexsyng **305** lyght] ly3ghte lightliche] ly3ghtlyche **306** good] gud*s* nou3t] most **307** not sittynge] no3te syteyng **308** euery side] eu*e*ry þyng syd that is to sey] *abbr.* **309** to whitnes] vnto why3tnesse litil mouthe] lytell mowthe wexinge hoor] wexyng hore **309-10** studynge in] stodyng **311** malicious planet] malycyous planette **313** mysledynge] medlyng **315** deprauynge] deprawyng men] manse or defylinge] *and* defylyng þis for] hym selfe for] *om.* verrey trewth] very trowthe **316** of Mars] Marse **317** al men] all man*er* men **319** ofte] ofte*n* stryues] ster stryues bakbytingis] bakbytyngs **320** verrey treuth] verreye trowthe **321** myddil] myddell kyte] kyete **322** naturalliche fals] nat*ur*allych fallse **323** planetis] *om.* **324** acordith] acordythe liberal] lyberall **325** also] *om.* **327** lightliche] ly3ghtlyche diuerse regions] dyu*er*s regyouns pilg*ri*mage] pilgermage **328** desiringe] deseryng þingis iherde] thyngs iharde **329** trowynge] trwyng conseil] councell dispisinge oþer] dyspysyng othere conseilis] consells **330** geteris] getterse **331** lightly] ly3ghtlye **333** louyer] lover **334** merthe] myrth **336** religious] relegyou*n*s condiciou*n*] condycou*n* **337** makiþ] makethe **338** desyringe] desyrng **339** chastite spiritualliche] chastyte sperytuallyche naþeles vnneþe] nayles vnneth **340** citryne] cytryne **341** mekenes] meke **342** þingis] thyngs **344** joyenge] ioyyng diu*er*se] *om.* **345** instrumentis] instermentt*s* þat is to saye] that trumpis] trompys **346** gestis] gests **347** leue] loue **349** to] vnto **351** to] vnto men] *om.* **352** ly3tly] ly3ghtly **354** whit cloþinge] why3te clothyng*e* **355** malicious] malycous **356** of whiche] *om.* **357** envious] envyous **358** soruful] sorowfull traitur *and* solitarie] t*ra*toure *and* solytary malicious] malycyous **359** semeþ] semythe spekiþ good] spekethe by sutilte] be sottell **360** lyghtly] liyghtlye **362** wol not] wolde no3te it] hyte ofte] of **363** þynne] thene **364** þenkeþ] thyngeth

Section 5: Conclusion

It is undoubted that *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*, albeit having been overlooked, or commented upon only in the context of other, similar works, was contemporaneously extremely influential, and was considered important enough to be widely copied, read, used, consulted and shared in many contexts and, in the pre-national and "pre-canonical" climate of the later Middle Ages, by "multiple publics and…audiences variously limited" (Hanna, 1996a, p. 5). The cultural importance of the *Wise Book* cannot be underestimated, therefore, nor can its impressive record of circulation merely be suggestive of a 'popular' tradition in which it was encountered. The MSS in which the text is preserved are not only indicative of the types of audience, readers and communities throughout which the text was transmitted, but they are also crucial in determining the ways in which the *Wise Book* was read, used, and encountered – in effect, they directed the reading of the book in a manner which is alien to twenty-first century consumers of the printed book (Hanna, 1996a, p. 9).

Additionally, the theories of authorship evidenced by the text itself must have a role to play in recovering, or imagining, the nature of contemporary encounters with and responses to the text. In order to appeal to as wide a public as possible, the text has a duality which Brown (1994, p. 3) notes is also characteristic of the text of *The Seven Planets*. His explanation of this "doubleness" cannot but remind us of the *Wise Book*: "…it expresses in simple and straightforward terms a belief in the influence of the planets on human existence. But in so doing it reveals deep-seated patterns of thought, explanation, and belief which shaped the outlook of…author and readership" (1994, p. 3). As with many medieval, vernacular texts the issue of authorship is less important than that of authority; however, and mirroring the duality in terms of appeal, the *Wise Book* adheres both to classical and Christian learning, whilst ensuring that the text is located in the tradition of *Secreta* texts – at once associated with privileged knowledge, and the sense that each reader will find something of use or interest in the text. Ultimately, the authority that the words "wise book" brought to the work is one which most probably had some effect on contemporary copyists and compilers, and one at which modern critics can only guess.

The question, then, is not whether the *Wise Book* is deserving of attention beyond this thesis; rather, I believe that the real issue should concern what form further work on the text might take. I began this study with the intention of producing a full critical edition of the *Wise Book*; as my research progressed, however, I realised that my attention was being drawn to the cultural position of the text in later medieval England, and to what extent the MSS of the text shaped the audience and readers – and the reading – of the text. I decided, primarily for practical reasons, not to attempt a full critical edition of the text; however, much of my research activity was focused at this stage on the many and varied ways in which the *Wise Book* reached its public, and the decision to examine the text in terms of instruction and context has, necessarily, produced a thesis which, whilst not overly concerned with the linguistic and textual variants between exemplars, focuses rather on the scope of the material and social contexts associated with the *Wise Book*. I would hope that further work will incorporate aspects of both the textual tradition and the cultural locating of the text, and that our understanding of not only medieval reading practices, but of book production and literary theory, will only be enhanced and textured by access to and awareness of this and similar texts.

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