



University  
of Stavanger

**The Faculty of Arts and Education**

**MASTERS THESIS**

Study programme: Literacy Studies

Spring term, 2020

Open/~~Confidential~~

Author: Jet van den Haak

.....

(signatur author)

Supervisor: Merja Stenroos

Title of thesis: 'Take three spoonfuls of the juice of *hkmklkk*: an edition of fifteenth-century medical texts in Sloane 3160'

Keywords: lesevitenskap, literacy studies, edition, Medieval medicine, remedybooks, recipes, Middle English, MEG-C, medieval manuscripts

Pages: 86.....

+ attachment/other: 114.....

Stavanger, 11/05/2020

date/year

## *Abstract*

---

This thesis is an edition of medical texts in London, British Library Sloane 3160, f. 151r-v and ff. 166r-170v, copied by a single scribe here referred to as Scribe M. The manuscript has been dated to the second half of the fifteenth century and consists of religious and medical texts. The medical texts produced by scribe M are of a practical kind (mainly recipes, diagnostics and charms), and they are written in a very distinctive Northwest Midland dialect. No study has thus far been published of these interesting texts, which contain language written in letter-substitution codes in both English and Latin, as well as a range of charm formulae. They present a linguistically complex and layered text that provides insight into the literacy skills of the medical practitioners that will have used the recipes in this manuscript. They also raise questions about the ways in which the manuscript might have functioned both within and outside of the medical community for which it was intended.

The thesis is divided into two parts corresponding to its two main aims. The first aim has been to study and contextualise the work of the Scribe M. The manuscript context as well as the physical, visual and linguistic characteristics of the text have been studied, as well as the various coding and marking systems used in the text. Based on a contextualising discussion of the medical tradition and practice in Late Medieval English society, an attempt is made to identify the sort of role this manuscript might have played and the kind of discourse communities that might have produced and used it.

The second aim of this thesis has been to present a diplomatic edition of the contribution of Scribe M. The edition is provided with extensive footnotes to aid an interpretation of the physical manuscript reality and followed by endnotes providing some clarification of or context to the contents of the texts. A translation of the text into Modern English has also been included, as well as a list of the ingredients included in the recipes.

# *Table of Contents*

## **PART I**

<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter 2: The Historical Context of Middle English Medical Manuscripts</b> .....	<b>5</b>
2.1. The Medieval Medical Profession .....	5
2.1.1. Practitioners in Medieval England .....	5
2.1.2. Medieval Medicine: Science, Pseudoscience and Magic .....	7
2.2 The Vernacularisation in England .....	12
2.2.1 The Languages of Medieval England.....	12
2.2.2 Translating Medical Texts into the Vernacular .....	14
2.2.3 The Users of English Medieval Medical Texts as a Discourse Community .....	15
2.3 Middle English Medical Texts.....	18
2.3.1. The Sources of Middle English Medical Texts .....	18
2.3.2. Medical Recipes, Remedybooks and Herbals .....	21
2.4 The Study of Middle English Medical Texts.....	25
<b>Chapter 3: The Manuscript</b> .....	<b>27</b>
3.1 Codicology of Sloane 3160.....	27
3.2 The Scribes and Contents of Sloane 3160 .....	29
<b>Chapter 4: The Contribution of Scribe M: Handwriting and Dialect</b> .....	<b>34</b>
4.1 The Medieval Scribe as ‘Maker of Books’ .....	34
4.2 The Handwriting of Scribe M .....	36
4.3 The Language of Scribe M .....	39
4.3.1 Introduction .....	39
4.3.2 Orthography and Phonology.....	41
4.3.3 Morphology: Pronouns and Verbs.....	45
<b>Chapter 5: Situating Scribe M and Sloane 3160</b> .....	<b>51</b>
5.1 Sir Hans Sloane and the Sloane Collection .....	51
5.2 The Historical Context of Sloane 3160.....	52
5.3 The Content of Scribe M’s Work .....	53
5.4 Making the Text Accessible: Pointers and Marginalia.....	57
5.5 Controlling Access: Code and Language Choice .....	59
5.6 Concluding Notes .....	63

## PART II

<b>The Edition</b> .....	<b>66</b>
Conventions .....	66
The Text .....	69
Endnotes.....	82
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	<b>87</b>
<b>Appendices</b> .....	<b>93</b>
Appendix 1: Translation .....	93
Appendix 2: List of Ingredients .....	104

# 1. Introduction

This thesis is an edition of medical texts in London, British Library Sloane 3160, f. 151r-v and ff. 166r-170v, copied by a single scribe here referred to as Scribe M. The manuscript has been dated to the second half of the fifteenth century and seems to consist of two originally separate parts, containing religious and medical texts respectively. The second part, which makes up ff. 87r-173v, contains a range of medical texts of a practical kind (mainly recipes, diagnostics and charms) and is mainly written in English, with some Latin as well as coded language and nonsensical formulae.

In the medical part of the manuscript, work by at least 18 different scribes can be identified, not including marginal scribbles and minor additions. Most of the scribal texts were analysed for the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (henceforth LALME). All the texts that were considered localizable were placed in the Northwest Midland area, suggesting strongly that the entire medical manuscript originated in this area.

Of the numerous scribal contributions to Sloane 3160, the one produced by the scribe here termed Scribe M is particularly interesting. It is written in a very distinctive Northwest Midland dialect, which was held by the LALME compiles to represent two different dialects, belonging to Staffordshire and North Derbyshire respectively; the latter was mapped as LP 314. The text copied by Scribe M contains language written in letter-substitution codes in both English and Latin, as well as seemingly nonsensical charm formulae. This results in a linguistically complex and layered text that provides insight into the literacy skills of the medical practitioners that will have used the recipes in this manuscript. It also raises interesting questions about the ways in which it might have functioned both within and outside of the medical community for which it was intended. Despite the remarkable and versatile contents of Scribe M's work, no further study of his scribal texts on f. 151r-v and ff. 166r-170v has been published.

The thesis is divided into two parts corresponding to its two main aims. The first aim has been to study and contextualise the work of the Scribe M. The-manuscript context as well as the physical, visual and linguistic characteristics of the text have been studied in detail in order to build up a better understanding of the text and the scribe. In addition, the various coding and marking systems used in the text have been discussed and related to the possible

functions and context of the text. Based on a contextualising discussion of the medical tradition and practice in Late Medieval English society, an attempt is made to identify the sort of role this manuscript might have played and the kind of discourse communities that might have produced and used it.

The second aim of this thesis has been to produce a diplomatic edition of the scribal texts on f. 151r-v and ff. 166r-170v, as well as a translation. A part of the text, consisting of the English text on 166r.21-170r, had already been transcribed for the Middle English Grammar Corpus (MEG-C), but the transcription was based on a poor-quality reproduction and contains many inaccuracies; it has been fully checked against the manuscript and corrected for this edition. The remainder of the English text produced by Scribe M in this part of the manuscript has been transcribed by the present writer for the purpose of this edition: this consists of f. 151r-v, lines 1-20 on f. 166r and f. 170v, as well as parts of the charms and Latin portions.

As the physical copies available of this manuscript in the MEST archive at the University of Stavanger were partial, outdated and lacking in quality (and thus legibility), and as this manuscript has not been digitised by the British Library, it was visited, photographed and examined anew by the present writer in December 2019. As a result, corrections could be made to the previously transcribed text in the MEG-C corpus, and it was possible to produce an edition of the entire contribution of Scribe M. In addition, the examination of the manuscript has led to several corrections of earlier descriptions in existing catalogues, both with regard to the various discernible scribal hands and the contents of the manuscript.

Part I of the thesis provides a contextualisation and study of MS Sloane 3160 and in particular the contribution of Scribe M. Chapter 2 gives an introductory overview of the medieval world of pre-modern medicine, in which the lines between science and pseudoscience, religion and magic, and superstition and rationality were often blurred, a melting pot of beliefs and traditions that seemed to be mirrored in the languages and contents of medical manuscripts that were produced at the time. Even though Latin had been the language of science in Europe for centuries (Carroll 2004:175), from the fourteenth century onwards the production of different kinds of texts in the English language (which was spoken by the majority of the population) began to surge. By the fifteenth century this process had expanded substantially. Scientific texts, and medical ones in particular, had been pioneers in this process of vernacularisation (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004: 12). Different strands of

medical writing traditions and the different types of medical texts that were common will be described, and an attempt is made to situate Sloane 3160 herein. The development of modern-day tools and the ground-laying work done by various scholars that have been crucial to the study of Middle English medical texts, and to which this study is deeply indebted, will also be noted in this chapter.

Chapter 3 provides a codicological description of the manuscript, showing that it consists of two parts that are quite different in nature from one another, and that probably lived separate lives prior to a rebinding of the codex at a later point in time. This chapter also contains a revised list of the manuscript's numerous scribes and diverse contents, building on the descriptions provided by the *British Library Catalogue*, the *Manuscripts of the West Midlands* (henceforth MWM) Catalogue and LALME, but including various corrections, as it has been established that these descriptions were in most cases incomplete, and in some cases also inaccurate.

Chapter 4 provides a detailed palaeographical and linguistic description of the contribution of Scribe M. It briefly discusses the role of the scribe in medieval times, as it is important to note that the scribes did not necessarily have the duties, motivations or status either of a modern writer or a typesetter. The handwriting of Scribe M is then described, showing that the two passages here included (f. 151r-v and 166r-170r) are without doubt produced by the same scribe. A study of selected dialectal features is then carried out, dealing with orthographic, phonological and morphological features respectively, and focusing in particular on a comparison of the three stints of consecutive copying that comprise the scribe's contribution to the manuscript and considering any significant differences between them.

Chapter 5, finally, deals with the functions and readership of the medical part of Sloane 3160, and Scribe M's texts in particular. In the first section, the manuscript history of Sloane 3160 is briefly discussed, placing it in its context as part of the collection of Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), on the principle that the fact that this manuscript became a part of his collection will have had consequences for the type of readership it might have had.

The remainder of the chapter considers aspects of the content, compilation and visual marking of the text that may provide clues about its possible 'discourse community', that is, the group of people who made up the readership and users of this and similar texts, and so might have these texts in common (Barton 1994: 57; Jones 2004: 24). In particular, the many

indicators of extensive use of this manuscript are described and discussed, as is the use of different types of coded language and the way this may have been connected to an attempt to deny access to certain knowledge in these pages that might have proved disastrous in the hands of those without the proper know-how.

Part two of this thesis presents a diplomatic edition of the contribution of Scribe M. The edition is provided with extensive footnotes to aid an interpretation of the physical manuscript reality and followed by endnotes providing some clarification of or context to the contents of the texts. Two appendices have been included. The first is a list of the medical ingredients mentioned in the work of Scribe M, ordered alphabetically and provided with translations and definitions in Modern English wherever possible. The second is a full Modern English translation of the edited text. While the intention has been to produce a fully readable modern text, this has been balanced with a wish to avoid too many changes that might distort the meaning and lose the flavour of the original. Accordingly, the Middle English writing structures and conventions have been prioritised over a desire to create a modern piece of literature, and so minimal liberties have been taken in translating.

Now both legible and digitally accessible, this text, which has been neglected by modern scholars, has been made available for study – with the exception of several Latin passages – and will hopefully prove useful to especially scholars of philology and linguistics. The translation of the text into Modern English is not merely to gain a fuller understanding of the contents of the scribe's work, which ties in to the first focus of this thesis, but also to make this Middle English text available for scholars of history or medicine, or any reader keen on exploring the sort of prose, medical recipes or charms that were widely read and used in the late English Middle Ages.



## 2. The Historical Context of Middle English Medical Manuscripts

### 2.1 The Medieval Medical Profession

#### 2.1.1 Practitioners in Medieval England

Medical care today centres around the labour to avoid or remedy disease, pain or other lack of physical or psychological well-being. The duties of a physician are ‘just’, to put it crudely, to cure the patient. This was not always the case. Getz (1998: 4) notes that ‘[i]n an age before scientific medicine, a medical practitioner was almost never simply a practitioner. Instead, he or she could perform a number of different functions, not all of which we associate with medical practice’. In medieval times, then, it would not be uncommon for a medical professional to simultaneously act as spiritual guide, friend, or trusty advisor. The wide array of those who were understood to be medical practitioners stands out, too. ‘The most distinctive feature of medieval English medicine,’ Getz (1998: 5) argues,

is indeed the variety of people who practiced it. Unlike other medieval professions that survive today—the ministry, legal and notarial arts, and teaching—medieval medical practise embraced men and women, serfs and free people, Christians and non-Christians, academics and tradespeople, the wealthy and the poor, the educated and those ignorant of formal learning. Such a wide diversity among healers suggests that the term “profession” cannot be applied to medieval English medical practice in any meaningful way.

(Getz 1998: 5)

Moreover, there was a lack of social consensus about standards of conduct and an overall domination, particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of the medical profession by those who practiced part-time, that made it difficult to speak of a medical profession that was in any way cohesive in character (Getz 1998: 5). Pahta and Taavitsainen (2010: 558) note that this heterogeneous group of practitioners can only in generalised terms be said to belong to either the clerical and elite practitioners or to those who were ‘ordinary’ practitioners.

Those practising medicine included ‘university-educated physicians and surgeons, barber-surgeons, barbers, midwives, itinerant specialists like bonesetters and oculists, herbalists, apothecaries, wisewomen and other mixed groups’ (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2010: 558; see also Taavitsainen 1988; Pahta 1998). Before the rise of medicine in the universities took place, it was already widely practiced within monasteries, where monks studied and transmitted medical knowledge from antiquity and treated the poor, travellers and pilgrims at their infirmaries with ‘whatever medical learning they had acquired’; which often gave rise to hospitals devoted to the care of these lay patients (Kieckhefer 1990: 57; see also Talbot 1967; Rubin 1974).

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries guilds were established and monopolized public medical discussion, meaning that ‘no doctor outside the guild could express a medical opinion’ (Thengs 2008: 29). These guilds also regulated the number of registered physicians in England (French 2003: 69-70; Thengs 2008: 29). Systematic medical training was increasingly offered in the emerging universities on the European continent, as opposed to in England, where the study of medicine had a low status and remained a minor subject until the Black Death ravaged the country (Thengs 2008: 28-29, Talbot 1967: 69, French 2003: 93). These study opportunities, although expensive, persuaded students to travel far to receive a distinguished education which would bring them wealth and status in the end (French 2003). A four-year study would lead to the title of Bachelor, and if he added another five years of specialisation, he begot the title of Licentiate (Kieckhefer 1989: 61; Thengs 2008: 29; French 2003). The highest class was that of the university schooled Doctour of Phisik (Taavitsainen 2001b: 389). The small size and exclusivity of these groups, guilds and corporations, as well as the amount of time and wealth it required of someone to become a registered physician, ultimately resulted in a rapid growth in the numbers of informally trained, unlicensed medical practitioners, operating independently outside this elitist realm and offering their services as an alternative to their fellow Englishmen (Thengs 2008: 29-30).

It is important to note that ‘most medicine must have been practiced by the family or the neighbours, whose lives and methods remain hidden. The historical sources for the lives of all medical people in medieval England are of course found in written documents and are as a consequence biased toward the famous or the notorious’ (Getz 1998: 6). Information on normal practitioners and the things they busied themselves with is therefore incomplete, ‘especially with regard to women, who could enter into the records of the law, university, and church only rarely, and yet by their patronage showed themselves to be both knowledgeable

about and interested in medicine' (Getz 1998: 6). Whether clearly visible in writings extant in Middle English or not, there is every reason to assume that people in all groups and layers of society practised medicine during this time. Evidence for such assumptions is found in different material, such as the recorded legal attempts of university schooled physicians to put those without formal training out of business. Kieckhefer (1990: 61) notes that 'English physicians tried in the 1420s to secure an Act of Parliament prohibiting the practise of medicine without a university education, and specifically excluding women from all medical practice, though these efforts were in vain'. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, elitist academic institutions like the London College of Physicians were a very influential economic force on the market, but despite their power they were not an invincible professional or legal authority (Getz 1998: 5).

### 2.1.2 Medieval Medicine: Science, Pseudoscience and Magic

In the Middle Ages, the lines between science, magic and religion (from our point of view) were blurred. There were several elements of medicine that were profoundly unscientific by modern standards. At the foundation of medieval theories concerning disease 'was the idea that every person has a characteristic complexion or temperament, determined by the balance of the four elements and their corresponding qualities (hot, cold, wet, dry) in the person's body' (Lindberg 2007: 336). Such a balance was idiosyncratic, that is, particular to each person. Related to this view on complexion was the notion, dating all way back to the Hippocratics, that 'the body contains four principal, physiologically significant fluids or humors [sic]' which, when balanced, were associated with good health (Lindberg 2007: 336): these humours were blood, yellow bile, black bile and phlegm. Conversely, it was understood that illness was related to an imbalance of these humours, while a milder imbalance would show in a temperament that was sanguine (blood), choleric (yellow bile), melancholic (black bile), or phlegmatic (phlegm). It was Galen who, heavily influenced by Hippocrates, proposed this theory of the four bodily humours, and his convictions dominated medical theory until the seventeenth century. This theory included connections between the humours, temperaments, organs, and general qualities (see: Table 1). These were also all connected to the four natural elements according to Empedocles: earth, fire, water and air. Curing practises championed by healers in all layers of society found their roots in this concept, which today would be understood as pseudoscientific.

<i>Humour/temperament</i>	<i>Qualities</i>	<i>Organs</i>	<i>Element</i>
Blood/sanguine	Hot and moist	Liver	Air
Yellow bile/choleric	Hot and dry	Gall(bladder)	Fire
Black bile/melancholic	Cold and dry	Spleen	Earth
Phlegm/phlegmatic	Cold and moist	Brain and lungs	Water

Table 1: The humours and their corresponding qualities, organs and elements.

Astronomy, too, was an important part of medical education, which during the Middle Ages was not distinct from what we today call astrology. Students had to master astral knowledge to understand the ways in which positions of the skies informed right and wrong times for operating, as well as the foreordained outcome for any disease (Taavitsainen 2001b: 389). In the Middle English Medical Texts corpus, Taavitsainen, Pahta and Mäkinen (1995) comment on the differences between what would nowadays be understood as pertaining to science, and that which we dismiss as pseudoscience or quackery:

Prognostications and practical advice about appropriate times and diagnoses according to the motions of the heavens occur in all traditions, from learned academic texts to remedy books, but it is also true that scientific doctrines in one form or another are found in all layers of writing. Several texts, such as lapidaries, border on the occult and magic, and charms had ritual uses.

(Taavitsainen, Pahta and Mäkinen 1995)

Magic in particular seems to have denoted ‘a point of intersection between religion and science’ (Kieckhefer 1990: 1). Medieval England knew a tradition of lay healers that were commonly known as ‘leeches’, which commonly resorted to magic for their healing practices. These leeches did not have a full education in the medical thought from antiquity, although they may have had some amount of a training, perhaps in the shape of apprenticeships (Kieckhefer 1990: 58). It is assumed, therefore, that they turned to folk medicine more than other healers, and that the practices they engaged in would be more easily recognised or labelled as magical. There was yet another a group that was even more wrapped up in the

thick of magical healing, which were the folk practitioners in medieval society that had no formal training whatsoever, and were recognised only by those around them – not by any ‘certifying authorities’ – as healers, diviners, fortune-tellers (Kieckhefer 1990: 58-59).

Magic in medieval Europe was not, however, reserved to untrained or partially trained practitioners: more educated communities also based their teachings in such traditions. Kieckhefer (1990: 56) writes that ‘[t]here is every indication that monks learned about medicinal and magic herbs from laypeople as well as from classical authors, that lay practitioners learned healing charms from monks and priests, and that before medicine became a university subject there was little to distinguish physicians from lay healers’:

To the extent that classical medicine entailed magical elements, or that the monks picked up new forms of medical magic from the culture around them, they would be practicing magical cures. Or rather, they would be using what later authors called magic. The early medieval monks would not have thought of themselves as dabbling in the magical arts. Without scruples, however, they would use mandrake for its mysterious curative powers, and they might also use charms to drive away the ‘elves’ that were causing sickness.

(Kieckhefer 1990: 58)

Defining what was regarded as magic rather than charms, adjurations, religion or, for example, necromancy during medieval times is not an easy feat. Kieckhefer (1990: 9) notes that most medieval Europeans might not have busied themselves all too much with the distinctions between these practises: ‘Only the theologically and philosophically sophisticated elite’, he notes, ‘bothered greatly about questions of definition’. In a general sense, two types of magic were acknowledged in medieval Europe. The first is natural magic, which was intertwined with (or even a part of) scientific thought. Then there was the notion of demonic magic, which was related to religion but, as Kieckhefer (1990: 9) emphasises, was regarded to be a ‘perversion’ of religious practice rather than part of it. As the name suggests, this demonic magic invoked the help of demons for influencing matters in the realm of humans. While the first of these two kinds of magic was acknowledged by many, other scholars held that only the second type existed, that is, that all magic was demonic in nature per se. In other

words, a recipe in a book might appear as if it would call for natural magic, but this knowledge would have been imparted by demons (Kieckhefer 1990: 9-10). Theologians were wary of magic and would commonly argue that ‘demons began it and were always involved in it’ (Kieckhefer 1990: 10).

During the thirteenth century, the idea of a different, ‘natural’ kind of magic, devoid of devilish assistance, started to spread. Several authorial voices on magic, religion and science started formulating natural magic as being decidedly distinct from demonic magic, and furthermore identified it as a valid healing practise (Kieckhefer 1990: 12). Among these voices were for example Albertus Magnus and William of Auvergne.<sup>1</sup> This use of the term magic was not, however, accepted by all, and many persisted in the view of all magic as devious, using the word to describe fraudulent, dangerous and often heretic practises. These new ideas about natural magic would not be firmly established in Europe until the fourteenth, or even the fifteenth century (Kieckhefer 1990: 12).

The healing properties of objects that could not be explained in terms of their internal physical structure but required referring to external sources, such as stars and planets, were understood to be examples of natural magic. Often the understanding of the powers of these objects was related to an assessment of the symbolic meaning of their features, or of their animistic properties – that is, the ‘spirits’ they were believed to host. Often there would be a likeness between the characteristics of the object used as medicine and the cure it was supposed to provide, a feat which James G. Frazer (1913: 54) named ‘sympathetic magic’.<sup>2</sup> A present-day example is the technique used by a Dyak medicine-man who has been fetched to cure someone dying.<sup>3</sup> The medicine-man:

[...] will lie down and pretend to be dead. He is accordingly treated like a corpse, is bound up in mats, taken out of the house, and deposited on the ground. After about an

---

<sup>1</sup> Albertus Magnus, or Albert the Great (c. 1200-1280) was a German friar and bishop and one of the most well-known thinkers of the Middle Ages. William of Auvergne (c. 1180-1249) was a bishop and theologian. Both of these figures were respected authorities and their commentary on and contributions to thirteenth century writings on natural science (amongst many other topics) were influential.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer (1913: 12) argued that two branches of magic, the homoeopathic one, which is ‘founded on the association of ideas by similarity’, and the ‘contagious’ one, which is ‘founded on the association of ideas by contiguity’ could together be filed ‘under the under the general name of Sympathetic Magic’. This was based on the premise that ‘both assume that things act on each other at a distance through a secret sympathy, the impulse being transmitted from one to the other by means of what we may conceive as a kind of invisible ether, not unlike that which is postulated by modern science for a precisely similar purpose, namely, to explain how things can physically affect each other through a space which appears to be empty’ (Frazer 1913: 12).

<sup>3</sup> Dyak (also Dayak or Dayuh) is an umbrella-term to describe the different ethnic subgroups making up the native people of Borneo. Many have a long history of practising animistic religion.

hour the other medicine-men loose [sic] the pretended dead man and bring him to life; and as he recovers, the sick person is supposed to recover too.

(Frazer 1913: 16-17)

The opposite approach, what Frazer (1913: 54) referred to as ‘antipathic magic’, was also common: here the opposition between the nature of the ailment and the nature of the medicine were supposed to assure the patient of a quick recovery. This idea of applying sympathies and antipathies that were presumed to exist between animate and inanimate objects to medicine was already discussed in the first century AD by Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History*. He suggested, for example, that the antipathy between goats and snakes could ‘be exploited to cure a wound inflicted by a venomous [sic] serpent’ (Deming 1954: 78).<sup>4</sup> As Kieckhefer (1990: 13) notes, however: ‘For most writers of antiquity and the Middle Ages, sympathy and antipathy were principles of ordinary science, not magic, but writers in the later Middle Ages who worked out the concept of natural magic often included in it phenomena of this sort’.

The rise of the universities meant that the thirteenth century experienced a systematisation of medical training within scholasticism, though Kieckhefer (1990: 61) notes that: ‘It might be pleasant to report that the rise of the medical profession brought about the abolition of magical techniques, but since classical writings were still the foundation of medical education, the distinction between medicine and magic remained no clearer than it had been in antiquity’. Taavitsainen (2001: 379) notes, however, that, as knowledge and perceptions on physiology and anatomy underwent changes – a process that was reeled on by famous scientists such as Andreas Vesalius and William Harvey – medical treatment itself also changed shape, though ‘traces of old beliefs still continue in some areas of popular medicine’.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Pliny (AD 77) cited in Deming (1954: 78), notes that ‘as a general rule, persons who find that they are recovering but slowly from injuries inflicted by a serpent, will find their health more speedily re-established by frequenting the stalls where the goats are kept’.

<sup>5</sup> The influence of Andreas Vesalius (1514–64) and William Harvey (1578–1657) ‘was first felt in the forefront of science, but it disseminated into other layers of writing more gradually’ (Taavitsainen 2001b: 379).

## 2.2 The Vernacularisation of Medical Writing in England

### 2.2.1 The Languages of Medieval England

During the Middle Ages, Latin dominated as the written language in most of Europe (Carroll 2004: 175). Anglo-Saxon England was one of the very few areas where the vernacular was used in writing, beside Latin, from early on. At least 300 Old English scientific manuscripts have been identified, dating from the ninth to the twelfth century and forming the ‘earliest collection of vernacular medical literature in medieval Europe’ (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004: 9; Rubin 1974). After the Norman conquest of 1066, however, English fell largely out of use as a written language. The linguistic situation in England can be described as polyglossia: several languages, each more or less connected to socio-cultural identity, coexisted for the centuries that followed (Clanchy 1993; Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004: 9).

Latin continued to be the language of writing, and for some time was almost unchallenged in this function; it continued to be the main language of official and learned writing for centuries to come. In the first century or two after the Norman Conquest, French was the spoken language of the aristocracy; gradually it also came to be used as a written language in a range of functions, including both literary and administrative texts and, eventually, also scientific writing. The earliest substantial body of vernacular medical texts in England after the Conquest’, Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004: 11) note, ‘is in fact Anglo-Norman French, not English’. While French fell out of use as a spoken language relatively rapidly, it remained in use as a written language in spheres such as the arts, commerce, the judicial system and education, alongside Latin; however, its use became rare after the fourteenth century.

English, then, was first and foremost a language spoken by the majority of the country, in domestic and non-professional domains. From the fourteenth century onwards, written English begins to gain ground, and scientific texts in English begin to appear. Thus, the vernacular tradition emerges from the background of already established conventions of scientific writing in Latin’ (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004: 1). Especially vernacular writing in medicine took off early. The use of English also became more common for ‘legal proceedings, guild records, religious controversy, and instruction’, and was increasingly taught in schools during this century (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004: 10). Throughout the fifteenth century, this trend accelerated and the practise of writing utilitarian and learned texts



on various topics in English became widespread. Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004: 12) note that ‘the first phase of vernacularisation seems to have been largely complete by 1475’: the writing of vernacular scientific and technological texts was now a common practise in most of Europe, and these texts had morphed into a shape that invited a broader readership. Of written medicine’s role as trailblazer in this process, Taavitsainen (2001: 2) writes:

[T]he practical nature of medicine was undoubtedly a major incentive of the social diffusion of academic knowledge in the field, and through the process of vernacularisation, more people gained access to learning and useful knowledge. Practical considerations were probably not the only factors promoting vernacularisation. The process was also advanced by ideas about the vernacular language and was tied to issues of nationalism.

(Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004: 2, cf. Evans *et al.* 1999; Taavitsainen 2001a)

Millward (1989: 123) argues that after the Black Death had hit England, urbanisation took place and the demand for skilled labour increased, the upper classes had no choice but to respect the lower classes and the language they used – which was English – more, as they were dependent on their labour. Furthermore, the plague had resulted in a lack of Latinate teachers, and English-based learning increased both among staff and students in universities (Ziegler 1969: 252-259). Vernacularisation was a slow process, however, and one that spread over the course of several centuries.

The most prestigious language remained Latin; its prevailing importance as a professional and academic language makes it easier to understand and explain the frequent code-switching one encounters in many herbals and medical writings. Bi- or trilingual manuscripts were not uncommon. Linda Voigts, among others, has done fruitful research into multilingualism in scientific codices in England between 1375 and 1500 (Voigts 1989, Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004: 11). There are many instances both of codices containing monolingual texts in several languages and of single texts wherein language switches take place. All in all, Latin remained the main language of science until the nineteenth century, and in England at least until the seventeenth century, medical publications appeared mostly in Latin (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2010: 557).

### 2.2.2 Translating Medical Texts into the Vernacular

By the late medieval period, Latin and English were both used to produce medical texts in England. As Latin was still the sole language of advanced academic learning, it might be expected that the language of a medical text would be a good indicator of the kind of tradition or context to which it belonged. When we study these texts, however, it becomes clear that a classification in terms of language can teach us relatively little about the text. It is a misunderstanding that only medical texts written in Latin represent the medical traditions of the scholastic, clerical elite, and that those written in vernacular English instead contain information on the practice of folk healers without formal education. Texts written in vernacular English were in fact often verbatim translations from Latin texts (Getz 1998: 35). Furthermore, folk practice - Getz (1998: 35) describes it as 'the use of remedies derived from experience alone' - has been documented in both vernacular and Latin. At the same time, there is no doubt that texts written purely in English would potentially be reached by a broader audience than Latin ones, or those where, for example, the text was interspersed with names or instructions in Latin. It could also be the case that manuscripts featuring recipes with very detailed descriptions and measurements were often meant for Latinate, professional physicians, rather than pertaining to household literature (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004: 17).

The vernacularisation of medical texts therefore made possible a much wider dispersal of knowledge. Pahta and Taavitsainen (2010: 555-556) note that:

As a result of the vernacularisation process, the late medieval period is also important in establishing genre conventions in vernacular writing [...] Vernacular texts occupied an intermediate position between the world of learning and the more popular attitudes, between *ars* and *vulgus*...

(Pahta and Taavitsainen 2010: 555-556).

Medieval translation strategies varied from 'word to word', or *ad verbum* - to 'sense to sense', or *ad sensum*, and the distinction between these was debated in medieval academic circles. Pahta (1998: 62-72) defines a continuum of types of translation, ranging from literal *ad*

*verbum* translations that aim to keep lexical and syntactic structures intact (a feat which sometimes made translations unreadable without consulting the original text) to *ad sensum* texts that focused so strongly on meaning rather than on the literal structures of the original, that one could make a case to classify them as original compositions (Pahta 1998: 62-72). Extremes of the first strategy include examples of writers translating not just word for word, but morpheme for morpheme, such as is the case with several texts in Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R 14.52.<sup>6</sup> On the other end of the spectrum one sees translators who would cherry-pick passages and combine them with texts from other sources, and who freely paraphrased and sampled the work of others, functioning in fact as compilers (see: p. 34). Perhaps the most prominent example of a vernacular translator describing such a process is given in the prologue to the Wycliffite Bible.<sup>7</sup> Precise and careful translation as a form of imitation was in general a respected practice; copyright and plagiarism were not recognised concepts as they are today (Pahta and Taavitsainen 14).

As discussed below, the theoretical framework of natural science can, in a general sense, be traced back to these works from Greek antiquity; however, the amount of evolution that the original ideas, concepts and texts would have gone through by the time they were at the fingertips of the Middle Ages' Latin-speaking scholastics must not be understated. Through time, these texts were often partially excerpted, assimilated into or conflated with other texts, and edited for various purposes, and this also happened in the process of translation. Translators might also produce changes at the more detailed level. Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004: 13) point out challenges such as the problem of doing intricacies justice in the articulation of Greek medical philosophy when translating it into a different language. Taavitsainen (2001: 380) notes: 'Translators of scientific writings struggled with many difficulties in both syntax and lexicon to find adequate expressions in English, since scientific writing in the vernacular was new and the conventions had to be created'. For this reason, vernacular medical texts in all languages 'seem to have had a bias toward instruction and practical knowledge', and while theoretical treatises were certainly written as well, they often exhibited 'difficulties in making vernacular languages function in the new prestige register' (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2010: 555-556).

---

<sup>6</sup> These texts, Pahta argues, seem to have been translated by the same person.

<sup>7</sup> John Wycliffe (1320s-1384) was a famous dissident of the Roman Catholic Church and leader of the pre-Protestant Christian Lollard movement. Wycliffe produced a translation of the Bible in English, which was completed in 1382, but banned in England (van Gelderen 2014: 162).

### 2.2.3 The users of English Medieval Medical Texts as a Discourse Community

The process of vernacularisation that took place in the late Middle Ages did not only involve the writing of medical and other scientific texts in English, but it also made it accessible to more potential readers (Grund 2007: 75). Despite this undoubted gain in accessibility, Getz (1998: 36) has argued that all medical works of a written tradition must have been a ‘part of elite intellectual culture’. She points out that some important distinctions must be made when inferring conclusions about the readership of medieval manuscripts. First of all, there cannot be assumed a one-to-one relationship between literacy rates and the accessibility of all kinds of texts, particularly learned ones. Even though literacy rates rose starkly during the century in which Sloane 3160 and many similar manuscripts were written, it would be a mistake to assume that someone’s ability to read was the main requirement for their access to certain texts. Getz (1998: 35) notes that

Medical learning that was written down is bound closely with levels of education: one assumes that the existence of a text at least implied the existence of someone who could read it, or read it to other people. Given the assumption of a reading public, the audience for text-based medicine must have been relatively small; however, the frequent shifts of language encountered in these texts suggest a varied and eager readership.

(Getz 1998: 35)

Claire Jones (2004: 23), on the other hand, argues against assuming a clear divide between Latin and English, literacy and illiteracy, and professionals and amateurs when it comes to describing ‘the complex patterns of producers, users, and disseminators of medieval medical texts’. To this end, she advocates the use of the concept of ‘discourse community’ rather than speaking only of authors and readers or audience in discussions on the place of text in societies in the Middle Ages. A term like ‘readership’ or ‘audience’, Jones (2004: 23) notes, ‘tends to suggest the passive reception of a text and places the producers at a remove once a text has been disseminated’. As Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004: 15) note, there is a difference between the potential readership of a text, including anyone who could read, and those who

actually belong to the group of people who have read a text. This group again differs in some ways from what could be called the ‘discourse community’ of the text. Jones (2004: 24) employs Barton’s (1994) terminology in defining the discourse community, who defined it as

A group of people who have texts and practices in common, whether it is a group of academics, or the readers of teenage magazines... More generally, discourse communities are defined by having a set of common interests, values and purposes.

(Barton 1994: 57)

Where Getz (1998: 36) argued that all written medical works belonged to an elite culture, Jones (2004: 24) aptly points out that those who might not be able to read or write, could still *listen* (to a public reading, for example, or to a family member that read aloud) and thus be considered part of the discourse community that was connected to a text. In fact, Coleman (1996: xiv) noted that the practise of public reading was also widely practised in literate, elite society, and that there is every evidence of avid engagement on the part of the listeners.<sup>8</sup> Public reading in late medieval England took place in a variety of different settings, for a variety of reasons, and to listeners possessing a variety of literacy skills. In this way, then, we may ‘link texts and their users in a framework which takes account of people’s varying relationships with texts and languages, and which removes the need to force readers into set categories which may both be anachronistic and inaccurate’ (Jones 2004: 35).

This is relevant when taking into account the fact that written medicine was of interest to a wide variety of Englishmen, and that this group need not exclude those who could not read or write themselves. Translation efforts may very well be linked to a conscious effort to disseminate medical knowledge amongst ‘common folk’. Many monastically translated manuscripts are for example explicitly rooted in such motivation: scribes considered it their Christian duty to transfer medical knowledge to the English language, so that both learned and unlearned readers may, to a certain extent, act as their own physician (Jones 2004: 30;

---

<sup>8</sup> In an analysis of Chaucer’s *The Wife of Bath’s Tale*, Coleman describes an instance of the character Alison of Bath who ‘had no trouble determining what was to happen with the leaves of the book she was “passively” hearing, and no shyness about interrupting the prelector’; when she felt dissatisfied with what her husband was reading, she tore ‘three leaves “Out of his book, right as he radde”’ (CT 3:788-90). While Alison of Bath was a fictional character, it is noted that in certain ways this tale is a reflection of social change and women’s roles in the Late Middle Ages, and the character may be seen as exemplary of a new type of ‘educated and private reader[s] of manuscripts whose emergence was well under way during Chaucer’s era’ (Schibanoff 1988: 75-76, quoted in Coleman 1996: 45)

Getz 1990: 9). Jones (2004: 30) argues that this religious ‘charitable impulse did not stop at the monastery walls, and that translation as an act of charity may also have taken place within universities’.

Altogether, the medieval discourse community for medical manuscripts in the vernacular often posits a more intricate puzzle than those of their Latin counterparts, as the latter were university-bound, and the pursuits of their members were often well-attested. Vernacular medicine, however, ‘was primarily a development used outside the universities’, and even though university trained physicians with substantial libraries would often own books in the vernacular, this did not necessarily mean that they were used or taught extensively within their circles (Jones 2004: 26-27). There were other practitioners, too, who had received formal training but did not possess a very high level of learning. Surgeons, barbers and apothecaries received education through their respective guilds and placed a heavier emphasis on evidence-based practice than on written knowledge, arguing that ‘the partes of the membyrs may better be sene with eyne in ded than in letters wretyne onn the boke’ (London, British Library; Harley MS 1736, f. 9r-v, cited in Jones 2004: 27). The status of a practitioner, both professionally and socially, related to the kind of texts they used and thus to the discourse community in which they acted (Jones 2004: 26-27). It might have been precisely those practitioners who occupied a space between the academic communities and the unlettered ‘folk healer’ that would have had use for a manuscript like Sloane 3160; however, as noted in Chapter 5, the contribution of Scribe M suggests a not inconsiderable amount of learning.

## **2.3 Middle English Medical Texts**

### **2.3.1 The Sources of Middle English Medical Texts**

Middle English scientific texts have, on the whole, two main possible sources. The first type of text is one that ultimately derives from Greek sources and has been passed on to a medieval European society via two layers of translation. Islamic scholars diligently translated Hippocratic works. These Arabic translations, then, were again translated into Latin by the scholastic elite, and circulated among academics. The other type of text is one that stemmed from the writings (or often rather the compilations) of educated patriarchs such as Pliny and the Elder Cato, ‘which relied on simple remedies, charms, and traditional wisdom’ (Getz

1998: 36). Their writing tradition is also known as Roman, patriarchal or encyclopaedic medical writing, and it was produced for the aristocracy and the monastic community. It must be noted that this division is a simplified one, and that these two traditions by no means represent a dichotomous divide between two essential text types during the Middle English period.

The works of Hippocrates – it remains the question how much of the works ascribed to him were actually written by the authority himself – are built upon the general assumption that every natural phenomenon has rational causes. In general, Hippocrates is seen as the one who saw diet, drugs, and bodily balance as central measures for good health, rather than prayer or sacrifice to the gods. The Hippocratic works were mostly written between 430 and 330 B.C. The most famous writer who concerned himself with reading Hippocrates was Galen of Pergamon, physician to the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius. Galen himself wrote in Greek, which was still used as a learned philosophical language at the time. When the Roman empire crumbled, those in the Latinised West largely discontinued reading and writing in Greek, while those in the Byzantine Empire continued the Greek tradition. From the twelfth century onwards, new efforts in Western Christendom emerged to recover the lost Greek philosophical medical teachings. These efforts to translate texts into Latin were largely fronted by scholastic academics from Iberia and Italy and showed particular attention to the works of Aristotle (Getz 1998: 38). They were translated not from Greek but from Arabic translations made by Islamic scholars, who had not only interpreted the Greek texts in the context of Islamic culture, but had added their own astrological and alchemical works (Getz 1998: 38).

In England, Arabic scientific learning took hold largely via scholastic connections with Spain and Sicily, where ‘Arabic, Jewish, Greek and Western Christian learning flourished in an atmosphere of relative toleration’ (Getz 1998: 39, paraphrasing Metlitzki 1977: 3-12). One of the most influential Arabic medical works of the Middle Ages was a very large compendium, the *Canon* of Ibn Sina (or Avicenna). England’s earliest major writer on medicine, Gilbertus Anglicus, drew heavily on this source, as well as on other influential Arabic writers such as Ibn Rushd (or Averroës) for his *Compendium Medicinæ*, published around 1240 (Handerson 1918).<sup>9</sup> The consideration of Greek medical learning was, however,

---

<sup>9</sup> Averroës lived from 1126 until 1198 and was a Muslim writer on numerous subjects, as well as a polymath and a jurist. In the West, he was known as *The Commentator* for his observations on Aristotelian works. He disagreed with Avicenna on many issues and accused him (and other Muslim scholars such as Al-Farabi) of wrongfully associating Aristotle’s teachings with those of Plato and thus of advocating Islamic Neoplatonism.

mostly embedded in a more general interest in the Greek philosophy of natural sciences, and in England, in contrast to other Western nations like Italy and French, it was not taught separately in universities until around 1300 (Getz 1998: 39, 42). The most – or perhaps only – noteworthy medical writer emerging from the English universities was John of Gaddesden, who used Gilbertus Anglicus' compendium as the groundworks for his *Rosa Medicinæ* which appeared around 1320, and which, too, contained hundreds of citations to Avicenna, as well as numerous ones to Galen and to French authorities (Cholmeley 1912: 147-184).

Observations of John of Arderne – a surgical specialist most likely not university-educated – describe surgeries using Arabic methods on English patients, including noblemen (Getz 1998: 43).

The second type of scientific text dates back to Anglo-Saxon and remained consistently in use until after the Middle Ages. These texts were based on the writings of Roman patricians such as Pliny and the Elder Cato. They were generally embedded in larger works on different types of learning, books comprised of the 'sort of knowledge the pater-familias ought to have' (Getz 1998: 45). These patricians did not share the Greek focus on the body in general, nor the Greek idolisation of the young athletic male in particular – which they deemed decadent if not degenerate. Rather, the patriarchal writers argued the values of Stoicism, family life under male leadership, absence of excessive material wealth, and the wisdom of the elderly man (Getz 1998: 45-46). The folk remedies presented in the work of the Roman monastic patricians often contained magical elements and were remedy-oriented rather than intricately philosophical.

When the Roman Empire faltered, however, so did this specifically Roman medical tradition. Among the works that survived were those of Pliny and the Elder Cato, and their writings eventually followed the Anglo-Saxons from the European continent to England. The Anglo-Saxons arrived in Britain in the fifth century of the common era and their monastics dutifully copied manuscripts of medicine based on the European models, a practice which was considered part of a Christian mission (Getz 1998: 47). These writers of Anglo-Saxon medical manuscripts, however, blended native cures and nature lore with bits and pieces of this imported knowledge, making collections that were encyclopaedic in layout and structure (Getz 1998: 46). Most of this work was done between the eighth and eleventh century. The Venerable Bede used Pliny's texts, along with works from Isidore, the bishop of Seville, to write the encyclopaedia *De natura rerum* (Getz 1998: 46). The bodies of learning pertaining to the Anglo-Saxon tradition, written in both Old English and Latin, did not, however, truly



take the form of encyclopaedias until after the Norman Conquest of 1066; and when they finally did they included medicinal learning as an extension of natural philosophy, and as part of a grander branch of knowledge that encompassed the other arts (Getz 1998: 48). Many of these manuscripts present a blend of Christian and pagan religious ritual and magic.

Important works in this Roman-inspired Anglo-Saxon tradition include the Old English 'Leechbook of Bald', of which the first part presents a list of diseases and remedies written out in an orderly top-to-toe fashion, and the second a list pertaining digestive diseases and their remedies in particular (Meaney 1989: 236). This work is mainly based on Pliny's *Historia naturalis* (Adams and Deegan 1992: 87-114). Other works of note include *De proprietatibus rerum* by the Franciscan Bartholomaeus Anglicus, which is dated at 1240 and was largely based in texts from the tenth century such as the *Pantegni* by al-Majusi, even though Bartholomaeus used as his source the translations and edited versions that had been produced by Constantine the African (Getz 1992: 376). Around the end of the fourteenth century, John of Mirfield produced the *Breviarium Bartholomei*, an encyclopaedia seemingly targeted at hospital use and presenting 'a work of astonishing erudition, calling on every medical authority of the day' (Getz 1998: 49). The *Secretum secretorum* was produced by an unidentified Islamic writer, though at the time it was largely believed to be an Aristotelian work. It provided daily regimes and advice on living well, and its contents were championed by the Franciscan Roger Bacon, who was keen 'to find a place for medicine in a program of Christian education' (Getz 1998: 54; see also Weisheipl 1984: 435-69). Bacon's most influential works were his *Opus Majus* and *De erroribus medicorum*, which include alchemical texts amongst a variety of others. Inspired by the *Secretum secretorum*, Bacon argued that the proper concern of medical learning was that of a strict regulation of the 'nonnaturals' with the help of regiment. These nonnaturals, Lindberg (2007: 336) relates, were certain conditions thought to influence health: 'the air breathed, food and drink, sleep and wakefulness, activity and rest, retention and elimination (of nutrient), and state of mind'. These have been arranged in one's life at birth and, thus Bacon argues, their corruption leads to a shorter, less healthy life (Getz 1998: 54).

### 2.3.2 Medical Recipes, Remedybooks and Herbals

There are various ways of categorising medieval medical texts. While Getz (1998) classifies medieval English medical texts according to their sources, Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004: 15)

propose a way to differentiate between three types of medieval medical writings on the basis of their function and content. They distinguish between ‘specialised treatises’, ‘surgical treatises’ and ‘remedybooks and *materia medica*’. The first category includes learned texts on a variety of topics including bloodletting, urinoscopy, gynaecology, ophthalmology, embryology, various diseases including the plague, and ‘encyclopaedic treatises rooted in the academic tradition’ (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004: 15). The second category, ‘surgical treatises’, also contains learned texts intended for university use, but includes a broader spectrum of text types including work by lay persons. This category consists of texts on anatomy and manuals on surgical procedure. The third category comprises herbals, texts with all kinds of recipes, lapidaries, charms, prognostications and health guides on a variety of ways to eat or exercise (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004: 15). This category of remedybooks and *materia medica* is wherein we may categorise Sloane 3160. The discourse features and genre characteristics of this category will therefore be discussed in what follows.

What may be defined as a Middle English recipe is a complex question, as these were not only texts that provide instructions on preparing medicine, food or household products, but they could also be magical recipes, guides on creating items from scratch, directions on how do to things oneself, or advice on how to make certain things happen (Carroll 2004: 174-196; Taavitsainen 2001b: 86; Stannard 1982: 59; Hargreaves 1981:91). Mäkinen (2004: 145) argues that Middle English medical writing contains three types of recipes when it comes to ‘textual tradition and internal conventions’: *receptaria*, *antidotaria*, and *experimenta*.

*Receptaria* are short recipes and often appear in collections. They contain not much more than a disclaimer of the purpose of the recipe, the ingredients needed and a brief description of procedure (Mäkinen 2004: 147). *Antidotaria* are more elaborate and often contain many ingredients as well as very detailed instructions on preparing the medicine and elucidation on not just the purpose but the effect of the medicine. Sometimes they would even include a justification testifying the medication’s potency or give other additional information (Mäkinen 2004: 246). *Experimenta*, finally, are found in commonplace books and written *ad usum proprium* (for one’s own use). These were word-of-mouth type recipes, where the writer might have received advice from a colleague who had tested the remedy and proved its potency (Mäkinen 2004: 147).<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Hans Sloane, the collector and owner of Sloane 3160, has himself appeared in such *experimenta* recipes. Smith (2015: The Recipes Project - ‘Recording Dr. Sloane’s Medical Advice’) noted that: ‘The Arscott Family’s book of “Physical Receipts”, c. 1730-1776 (Wellcome Library, London, MS 981) ... contains three recipes attributed to Sloane’. The most detailed of

One could also distinguish between simples and *composita* recipes, denoting the content and level of complexity the recipes contain (Mäkinen 2004: 145). Simples contain just one ingredient (or *materium medicum*), whereas *composita* recipes list several ingredients.

Yet another type of distinction could also be made, insofar that medieval recipes can, broadly speaking, be categorised either as those found in remedybooks or those found in scientific treatises (Taavitsainen 2001b; Voigts 1984; Carroll 2004). The extent to which the former have been (and are) regarded as being scientific in nature varies. The prototypical remedybook was often not attributed to a single or even to any authoritative source. It contained concise recipes and was, as opposed to some other text-types, not interspersed with discursive writing.

Herbals, which were used by medical practitioners of all sorts, described the properties of herbs and informed the reader of their strengths and particular qualities. Well-known treatises which enjoyed a broad readership were *Macer floridus* and *Agnus castus* (Taavitsainen 2001b: 390). The texts of herbals, which belong to the medieval medical register, were not strictly speaking recipes; however, Mäkinen (2006: iii) has noted that the herbal is a genre ‘characterised by passages that are almost like recipes’ and differ sometimes only from them insofar that they are ‘closer to the argumentative text type than to the instructive’. There is a fine line between all these categories, however, as is shown by the concept of the herbal recipe. Based on his study of this text type, Mäkinen (2004: 146-148) proposed a fourth category of recipes (that is, apart from *receptaria*, *antidotaria* and *experimenta*): the *recipe paraphrase*. This recipe type displays a more covert, indirect type of instruction than the common recipe, as well as inanimate subjects and conditional clauses (Mäkinen 2004: 146-148). In the medical texts stemming from the Anglo-Saxon medical tradition, the herbal recipe is more frequently found than any other text-type (Voigts 1979).

Recipes often co-occur with charms, as they do in Sloane 3160. The two text types may be distinguished by the more frequent occurrence of code switching in texts of the latter kind. The effectiveness and power of charms are in their words, and so they were often left untouched, whereas in recipes, translation and adaptation would be less problematic (Taavitsainen 2001b: 92; Carroll 2004: 181).

---

those, which includes not only measurements and instructions, but also a testament to the success of Sloane’s methods and advice, is Sr Hans Sloane’s Direction for my Aunt Walroud in ye Year 1730—when she perceiv’d a Cataract growing in one of her Eyes’, which appears on ff.79r-80r. It was noted that the treatment advised by Sloane (which included bloodletting and a recipe containing ground human skull) caused Aunt Walroud to retain relatively good eyesight even in old age. For more, see: <https://recipes.hypotheses.org/5980>

In terms of the lexical characteristic of Middle English recipes, Carroll (2004: 188) as well as Eggins and Martin (1997) warn against simplified distinctions. Certain texts will contain vocabulary commonly used in recipes, yet do not qualify as a recipe when seen in their larger context, while other texts might display little to none of such prototypical vocabulary, yet share many other characteristics with recipes, such as their shape and syntactic-structure.<sup>11</sup>

Carroll (1999; 2004) has commented on the breadth of the Middle English recipe genre: it contains both culinary and medicinal recipes – and of the latter type, both human and veterinary recipes. Nonetheless, there are several characteristics of the Middle English recipe formula that may to a certain extent be generalised, for example the fact that nearly all of these recipes follow the same basic structure. They have commands in the form of imperative clauses – a feat considered ordinary in our time, but often absent in medieval recipe text-types in common in other nations<sup>12</sup> - and they are all paratactic (Carroll 1999).<sup>13</sup> This heavy use of imperative has also been crucial in distinguishing herbals from recipes (Mäkinen 2002; Carroll 2004: 180). The beginning of an instruction with the use of *take* or alternatives such as *nim*, *do*, *make* or *recipe* is particularly illustrative (Taavitsainen 2001b: 95; Carroll 2004: 181). Examples of this are:

- (1) For to make a visage quit & saft **take** fresche suynes grese & hen grece...
- (2) For þe brest **Recipe** ysop maydinshor'...
- (3) For to do hor' a-way **make** ley of hauer...

These examples also show how the heading, which sometimes lacks in academic scientific treatises of the time but almost never in the remedybook recipe, is more often than not built up of a *to*-infinitive or a noun phrase (Carroll 2004: 181).

---

<sup>11</sup> Eggins and Martin (1997) advise the use of the concept of a 'field' which takes into account the larger 'register' of a text-type. Carroll (2004: 188) notes that 'when considering the range of Middle English recipes as a whole, it is preferable to link vocabulary not with text-type but with subject matter'.

<sup>12</sup> Carroll (2004:180) lists Spanish and Catalan recipes as examples, pointing out that rather than merely relying on imperative verbs, the instructional language in these recipes often include future tense and indicative mood.

<sup>13</sup> Parataxis is a literary technique favouring brief and simple sentences. It is often compared to the way children speak, putting their ideas into words as they get them, without necessarily connecting them together in a larger cohesive structure of meaning.

Another linguistic indicator of a Middle English recipe is the use of possessive pronouns<sup>14</sup>, which are uncommon in modern English recipes:

(4) quen' **þi** vinegr' is cold do þer-in **þi** mustard & **þi** hony...

The discursual context can be another marker for recipe texts: they were often assembled with other texts (that may or may not include other recipes) to form compilations or anthological works, although it must be added that it is also very common for recipes to occur in complete isolation, in the margins of works which form a whole they do not seem to be a part of (Carroll 2004: 183). In academic treatises, one can find recipes starting suddenly in the middle of other texts, unannounced (Taavitsainen 2001b: 95). Carroll (2004: 183) in an analysis of the medical learned treatise *Horse Leechyne* notes that the recipes in the manuscript 'were not isolated in paragraphs in the way charms were, unlike charms were not named, and were not standardised in their relationship of form to function'.

In remedybooks, however, there is much more continuity to be found: linguistically, the structures of recipes are alike, but they are also often presented in the same way: as a collection where they follow one another in succession, having the same function and importance, and where their meaning is not determined by their placement in the text; a feature described by Hoey (2001: 72-92) and Carroll (2004: 184) that defines these manuscripts as 'discourse colonies'. The recipes in these books often do not, however, appear very thematically organised, in contrast to many academic treatises.

## 2.4 The Study of Middle English Medical Texts

Important groundworks that must be considered in philological studies of medieval English medicine are Voigts and Kurtz' *Scientific and Medical Writings in Old and Middle English: An Electronic Reference* (2001) (eVK), George Keiser's 1998 *Works of Science and Education: A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500*. Written work that has

---

<sup>14</sup> These possessive pronouns, although characteristic for the Middle English recipe, do by no means outnumber definite and indefinite articles as noun phrase determiners.

been consulted extensively for the purpose of this thesis includes Irma Taavitsainen and Päivi Pahta's 2004 book *Medical and Scientific Writing in Late Medieval English* (as well as many other relevant works they have produced in this field), Faye Getz' *Medicine in the English Middle Ages* (1998) and Richard Kieckhefer's *Magic in the Middle Ages* (1989).

In the course of the last twenty years, interest in the study of Middle English medical manuscripts has seen an upward trend. Not only has the number of editions and studies of these medieval manuscripts increased; the tools available for linguistic, comparative, and quantitative computerised studies have also seen improvement. Important work particularly on the medical recipe, herbals, and remedybooks, has been done by Marti Mäkinen, who compiled a *Corpus of Herbals in English* (ACHE). Taavitsainen, Pahta and Mäkinen compiled an electronic corpus of medical texts from 1375-1500<sup>15</sup>: *Middle English Medical Texts* (MEMT). Together with two other diachronic subcorpora, *Early Modern English Medical Texts* (EMEMT) covering the period of 1500-1700 and *Late Modern English Medical Texts* (LMEMT) covering the eighteenth century, these form the *Corpus of Early English Medical Writing* (CEEM), an invaluable resource for historical linguists and those studying the history of medicine. The corpora contain texts and editions of medical science and philosophy. Compilation for MEMT started in 1995 and was completed in 2005. The corpus contains 86 texts, most of them editions of medical treatises. These digital and encompassing resources have been invaluable for the study of medical writing in the English Middle Ages and have been consulted for the writing of this thesis.

---

<sup>15</sup> Though the Middle English period began around 1150, MEMT does not include texts earlier than those dated at 1375, with the exception of an appendix of texts written around 1330.

### 3. The Manuscript

#### 3.1 Codicology of Sloane 3160

Sloane 3160 is a relatively small manuscript, comprising work and scribbles by a large number of scribes. It has been dated in MEG-C to the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>16</sup> Its extent is about 20 x 17.5 cm. The cover is of sturdy brown leather; with the corners and the spine separately covered in a reddish-brown leather. The spine has five bands across it. It has a small, white library sticker with '101' at the top of the spine and one at the bottom with 'B.4', and a golden Sloane stamp on both the front and the back. Two flyleaves of heavy paper sit between the leather front cover and the manuscript, the second of which has a notice stuck to it with references to the MS. The only item on the list reads: 'ff. 99, 101. Gösta Brodin, *Agnus Castus* (Upsala [sic] 1950), p. 92 etc'. These have been added at a later time, probably at the rebinding of the codex. The first page of the actual original manuscript is (like the rest of the pages) of a thinner paper quality, and the recto side is empty apart from identity and shelf marks. On the verso side the index begins. At the back there are two more heavy flyleaves between the cover and the last page of the original manuscript, which is also empty apart from a pencil note.

The manuscript is of paper and contains 173 folios, averaging 19 x 13 to 14 cm. The original collation cannot be determined, as all folios have been remounted separately unto the spine and there are no discernible clues such as catchwords. With the inclusion of the rebounding tape that has reconnected the original pages to the spine, page measurements are circa 19 x 15.5 cm. On all folios of the manuscript apart from the first three, numbering suggesting a different prior collation have been crossed out and replaced by numbering in pencil corresponding with the current composition. Both the former and current numbering is Arabic and appears in the top right corner of the recto side of the folios.

The current numbering starts with '1' on the first folio included in the collation. This folio contains no text other than an identification of the manuscript that reads: 'M.S. B. 3160'. Originally the number read '1254', but this has been crossed out and replaced with '3160' in

---

<sup>16</sup> The dating from MEG-C is also given in eLALME. Other catalogues simply date the manuscript to the fifteenth century.

ink. A larger hand has added XXIVB in pencil right underneath the number; this hand looks to be the same hand that renumbered all folios of the manuscript in pencil.

A prior pagination system starts with 'i' on what in the current numbering is f. 4r; it is the first text after the table of contents and begins the *Treatise of the seven deadly sins*. This numbering continues through the first 86 folios, ending with page 172. Another numbering system, this time foliation, begins on the current f. 87r, and is written in a light red ink, in what seems to have been a different hand. This numbering is consistent throughout the remainder of the manuscript, i.e. the prior number '1' in red corresponds to current f. '87', what was previously f. '2' corresponds to f. '88' and so forth, right up until the last folio which has the prior number '87' and the current number '173', showing an unbroken succession. Accordingly, it seems that the latter part of the manuscript existed as a separate unit before it was combined with the earlier part. As this codicological division also corresponds to a major difference in content (religious vs medical) it is highly likely that the two parts originally formed separate manuscripts.

The paper of the codex is, like the binding, in good condition and most folios have suffered minimal damage from water, tearing or smudging. There is no pricking found. Frame ruling can be clearly discerned on ff. 4-24v, more or less clearly on nearly every folio from ff. 25r-90r, not on ff. 90v-96v. It is possibly present on ff 97r-101v, though it is difficult to make out. There is a clear ruling on ff.102r-127v, and it can be identified with varying clarity from ff. 128r-173v. Overall it might be assumed that every page has been ruled originally, with very few exceptions.

The texts in Sloane 3160 have been produced by a large number of different scribes and present a substantial variety of dialects, as well as numerous differences in the use of ink, headings, notae or marginalia and punctuation marks. Vastly different numbers of lines appear on the different folios. With regard to ordinatio or mise-en-page, there is little unity found in this codex. Generally, the majority of the folios contain single columns of writing, but there are plenty of instances in which there appear lists or full text written in two or more columns, such as on ff. 97r-100v. The codex does not contain illumination and no watermarks have been identified. Some of the texts of the first part of the manuscript contain large initials in red ink, such as the first text of the manuscript (the *Treatise of Seven Deadly Sins*), starting on f. 4r. The second part of the manuscript, in which the texts here edited appear, contains no red ink or other decorations. However, empty spaces for initials appear in many of the texts.



Large portions of text have been smudged out with ink on 136v, and 137r has been crossed out more or less entirely.

### 3.2 The Scribes and Contents of Sloane 3160

As might be expected of a highly composite manuscript that was produced by a large number of scribes, the contents of Sloane 3160 are both miscellaneous and multilingual. The first two large texts in the manuscript, comprising its first part, are religious (*Treatise on the seven deadly sins* and a cycle of homilies). The second part of the manuscript consists almost entirely of English medical texts, including recipes, treatises, herbals and charms, although short poems and prayers appear throughout the manuscript as scribbles and page fillers. Several of the texts are to some extent bilingual with English and Latin, but English is altogether the dominant language.

The information listed in the *British Library Catalogue* (henceforth BLC) is incomplete, describing the contents only as far as f. 152r. More recently, the manuscript has been catalogued and encoded by Rebecca Farnham for the *Manuscripts of the West Midlands Catalogue* (MWM).<sup>17</sup> The *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (LALME) identifies sixteen scribal texts in the manuscript, four of which were mapped as Linguistic Profiles (LPs 314, 718, 729 and 8320). The information given in these sources has been checked and minor corrections have been made by the present writer upon examination of the manuscript at the British Library in London in December 2019; most importantly, these corrections include the addition of five scribes contributing to the final few folios.

In the present count, at least 21 scribes have contributed to Sloane 3160, excluding minor scribbles. The MWM description lists 16 of these (numbered 1-16). LALME also identifies 16 scribes, and refers to them as Hands A–P. Ff. 1v-2v contain a table of contents covering the first 86 folios, written by a later hand, perhaps that of Sloane's amanuensis, not included in either description as it is post-medieval. Both descriptions also omit minor hands in various parts of the manuscript. It is of some interest that none of the three descriptions (BLC, MWM and LALME) contain a correct description of the final part of the manuscript: while BLC and

---

<sup>17</sup> On the website, MWM is described as 'a catalogue of vernacular manuscript books of the English West Midlands, c. 1300-1475'. See: <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/mwm/>

LALME leave parts undescribed, MWM has incorrect information about scribes and folio numbers (see: below).

The following list is based on a new examination of the manuscript and includes the previously omitted scribes of the final three folios:

- Scribe 1: LALME: Hand A, Suffolk ('Language of Lavenham').
  - 4r–21r.4. Treatise of the Seven Deadly Sins.
- Scribe 2: LALME: Hand B, dialect unlocalised.
  - 21r.5-23r. cont. Treatise of the Seven Deadly Sins.<sup>18</sup>
- Scribe 3: LALME: Hand C, North central Midlands.
  - 25r-25v. cont. Treatise of the Seven Deadly Sins.
  - 26r-86v. Homilies for saints.
- Scribe 4: LALME: Hand D, stated to be 'of no dialectal interest'.<sup>19</sup>
  - 87r-90r. Table of Urines.
- Scribe 5: LALME: Hand E, Derbyshire or Cheshire.
  - 91r-96v. Treatise on Urines.
  - 152r.1-10<sup>20</sup>. Hymns
- Scribe 6: LALME: Hand F, North Staffordshire.
  - 97r-98v. 'An Herball'/Latin and English catalogue of herbs.
  - 99r.a. Medical recipes for headaches and other pains.<sup>21</sup>
  - 99r.b-100r.a Treatise on herbs: Agnus Castus (IPMEP 38).<sup>22</sup>
- Scribe 7: LALME: Hand not included, dialect not analysed.
  - 100r.b-100v: Recipe.
- Scribe 8: LALME: Hand G, dialect described as 'mixed language'.
  - 101r. Scribbles.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> LALME reports that Hand B takes over on line 5 from the second word onwards. It also includes f. 23v in the work of Hand B, but this folio contains merely ruling and thus has been excluded by the present writer (see the notes following the itemised list).

<sup>19</sup> LALME describes no content for the work of scribe D. As his work is reported to be 'of no dialectal interest', it is possible that they in fact consider the work of scribe D to only comprise of the 'table of urines' (which consists of illustrations of Jordans accompanied by text) appearing on ff. 89r-90r, and that ff. 87r-88v have been attributed to this same scribe by mistake - these may have in fact been the work of 'Hand C' (or 'Scribe 3') instead.

<sup>20</sup> LALME reports this scribe is responsible for the text on 152v until line 10, 'but the language is slightly different'.

<sup>21</sup> 'r.a' and 'r.b' are here used to indicate the two columns that appear on folio 99r from left to right, respectively.

<sup>22</sup> 100r.a and 100r.b (see 'Scribe 7') here are used to the different columns on folio 100r. 100r.a. refers to column 1 and column 2 up until line 25. 100r.b. contains the remaining lines in column 2, that is, lines 26-32. These distinctions between the two columns and the hands responsible for them have not been made in LALME. The text on 99r.b-100r.a is not identified by LALME as the Agnus Castus; it is described as a 'treatise on herbs'.

<sup>23</sup> Of folio 101r, Ramos (2019: 167) notes that it contains 'recipes with some scribble at the end, and the phrase "probatum est", an efficacy (sic) phrase, very commonly used in recipes'. It is argued that a this folio had not been included in the content descriptions for Sloane 3160 in both BLC and MWM because 'it does not bear significant material' and that it is

- 101v. Herbal.
- Scribe 9 and 10: LALME: Hands H and I, ‘belonging to NW Warwicks or NE Worcs’<sup>24</sup>:
  - 102r-108v. Virtues of Herbs.
  - 109r-125v. Recipes for medicines.<sup>25</sup>
  - 126r. BLC: Tractatulus de regimine sanitates.
  - 126v-127v. Liber de regimine sanitatis.<sup>26</sup>
  - 127v-141v. Medical recipes and surgical recipes, charms, etc.
- Scribe 10: LALME: Hand J, Language ‘of extreme NW Derbys or over into Cheshire’:
  - 142r-146r Medical recipes, surgical recipes and charms.
  - 146v-147v.1-10 Medical recipes, surgical recipes and charms.<sup>27</sup>
- Scribe 11: LALME: Hand K, ‘NW Midland language’.
  - 147v.11-19. Medical recipes, surgical recipes and charms.
- Scribe 12: LALME: Hand L, ‘NW Midland language’.
  - 148r-150v. BLC: Claudius Galenus: De minutione sanguinis per duodecim anni menses / the dieting of meat by the months.
- Scribe 13: LALME: Hand M, North Staffordshire dialect.
  - 151r-v. Treatise on the best times during all the months of the year for bloodletting and certain foods.
  - 166r-170v. Medical recipes and charms.<sup>28</sup> Derbyshire dialect (mapped as LP 314).
- Scribe 14: LALME: Hand N, dialect unlocalised.
  - 152r.11 - 152v. Hymns.<sup>29</sup>
  - 152v. Foot: poem.
- Scribe 15: LALME: Hand O, Staffordshire dialect (mapped as LP 718).

---

likely to have been ‘a later addition’ (Esteve Ramos 2019: 167). However, it does in fact appear in LALME in the content list as the work of Hand G, although it has been described, along with 101v, as a ‘treatise on herbs’.

<sup>24</sup> In LALME it is specified that the writing of these folios has been done by one main hand and another taking over regularly ‘for short stretches’. The language of these two hands is noted to be similar.

<sup>25</sup> In MWM it is noted that underneath the first recipe (for a migraine), the words ‘for Mr Whittenton’ are added in a later script.

<sup>26</sup> Of ff. 126r-127v Ramos (2019: 167) notes that this may very well be ‘a copy of the Regimine Sanitatis by the famous doctor Arnau de Vilanova, a canonical text that would suit the volume, as it is a compendium of advices on how to keep healthy’. The BLC dates the original at 1281.

<sup>27</sup> It is noted in LALME that the language ‘changes slightly at the top of 146v’. and the writings of hand J conclude on line 10 of 147v.

<sup>28</sup> LALME excludes f. 170v from the work of Hand M. However, it is clearly the work of the same scribe.

<sup>29</sup> The BLC dates the composition of the hymns here to the fourteenth century.

- 153r-160r.18. Medical recipes, surgical recipes and charms.
- Scribe 16: LALME: Hand P, Staffordshire dialect (mapped as LP 729).
  - 160r.19 -165v. Medical recipes, surgical recipes and charms.
- Scribe 17: LALME: hand not included. Proposed: Hand Q, dialect not analysed.
  - 171r-v.19. Medical recipes, surgical recipes and charms.
- Scribe 18: LALME: hand not included. Proposed: Hand R, dialect not analysed.
  - 171v.20 – 172r.14. Medical recipes, surgical recipes and charms.
- Scribe 19: LALME: hand not included. Proposed: Hand S, dialect not analysed.
  - 172r.15–18. Medical recipes, surgical recipes and charms.
- Scribe 20: LALME: hand not included. Proposed: Hand T, dialect not analysed.
  - 172v-173r.10. Medical recipes, surgical recipes and charms.
- Scribe 21: LALME: hand not included. Proposed: Hand U, dialect not analysed.
  - 173r.11–end. Medical recipes, surgical recipes and charms.
  - 173v. Scribbles and a verse: promise to repay in time. (‘When I had nought I did give...’)

Following the first item, *A treatise of seven deadly sins*, ff. 23v-24r have been ruled but are otherwise left blank, while f. 24v contains a pen trial in verse (‘All wyth a throwe and a lowe and lully’) and an alphabet by a scribe not included in the MWM and LALME descriptions. It is likely that the first 24 folios of the manuscript have originally formed a separate unit. F. 90v contains scribbles; the text is neither significant nor substantial and so no effort has been made to identify the scribe and include it in the list above. Lines 20-32 on f. 147v have not been attributed to any scribe in either MWM or LALME.

The portion with which the present study is concerned is described differently by the two resources. In LALME (I: 116), it is suggested that the text on f. 151r-v was written in the ‘same hand as ff. 166r-170r’, although their dialect is considered different. By what appears to be a mistake, the two portions have been ascribed to different scribes in MWM: scribe 12 is listed to have produced f. 151r-v and is followed on the list by Scribe 13 who again is attributed these folios, in addition to ff. 166r-179r. This is clearly incorrect, as the manuscript counts no more than 173 folios, and the folios following f. 170v are written by different scribes. For some reason, the last folios of the manuscript (ff. 170v-173v) are not mentioned in LALME; as LALME also claims that ‘there is no f. 24’, they may have been working from an imperfect reproduction of the manuscript.

In the present list, f. 151r-v and ff. 166r-170v are listed as being the work of a single scribe, scribe 13 or Hand M. It is these folios that have been edited here.<sup>30</sup> The remainder of the manuscript, that is, ff. 171r-173v, is the work of five different scribes, none of which are listed in LALME or MWM. Some of these hands, all of which contribute relatively short texts – mainly recipes and diagnostics – appear somewhat later than most of the other texts and may have been added over time.

Several verses, poems, charms and prayers appear throughout the codex. Short lines and verse appear on f. 24v<sup>31</sup>, f. 153r<sup>32</sup> and f. 173v.<sup>33</sup> On f. 71v some lines appear that are part of Reginald Pecock's *Sensus miratur que ratio dicere nescit*.<sup>34</sup> On 137v (see: 'Item 12' on the list above) there is a charm, written in ten-line stanzas and titled 'To the Holy Ghost my goods I bequeath'.<sup>35</sup> The longest poem in the manuscript appears on ff. 149r-150r and elaborates on the phlebotomy or bloodletting; the poem is comprised of 90 lines in total.<sup>36</sup> On f. 152 there has been written a Christian morning prayer in seven stanzas of six lines each.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> There is also paragraph on f. 147v that appears similar to the hand of these folios. Further examination could be done to determine whether this paragraph, and perhaps even the text leading up to it from f. 144r onwards, could be attributed to the same scribe.

<sup>31</sup> Two lines (followed by a pen trial writing of the alphabet) read: 'All wyth a throw and a low and a lullaby / I haue Ioly a pryn for þe mastry' (DIMEV 405). For an edition, see Robbins (1965: 35-47).

<sup>32</sup> Six lines of verse, starting with the incipit 'Ipocras made thys bok / ho so wylle ther inne loke'. In Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud misc. 685 (SC 817) it appears with two additional lines (DIMEV 2687). For an edition, see Keiser (2003).

<sup>33</sup> This six-line, irregular poem concludes the manuscript. It begins 'When i hade nowght i did geve' and the poem formulates 'a promise to repay in time' No edition has been identified by the present writer. (DIMEV 6326).

<sup>34</sup> This is a two-couplet verse about the Virgin Mary and the birth of Christ (DIMEV 6709). It is most often ascribed to Reginald Pecock, and its incipit starts with 'With hath wonder that reason ne tell can'. This poem appears in no less than 16 other manuscripts, including one from the Sloane collection: Sloane 3534. It has been edited several times but none of the editions are based on Sloane 3160. For an edition of the poem in Sloane 3534, see: Gray (1962: 185-8).

<sup>35</sup> This charm has seventeen lines and serves to protect against thieves.

<sup>36</sup> The incipit reads 'The maystris þat uson blode lettynge' and the poem is written in couplets that often feature six-line introductions.

<sup>37</sup> The incipit reads 'Ihesu crist i the beseche' and the prayer concerns amongst others God, Christ, the Virgin Mary and St. Michael.

## 4. The Contribution of Scribe M: Handwriting and Dialect

### 4.1 The Medieval Scribe as ‘Maker of Books’

Medieval manuscripts seldom provide information about their provenance and historical context. The clues we have mainly consist of the physical features – both of the manuscript itself and the handwriting – and the language of a text. In the case of Middle English, the extreme variation in written language may provide important information about the text. However, one must take heed when drawing conclusions about both the scribe and the (geographical) dialect based on the language found in a manuscript.

Benskin and Laing (1981: 55), in their essay on translations and *Mischsprachen* in Middle English manuscripts, note that since the manuscripts we study today are most often copies of copies (of copies), made over time by multiple scribes, that the original text will have undoubtedly looked different. Current studies of the language of Middle English texts therefore generally focus on the actual available language – that of the latest scribal contribution – rather than attempting to reconstruct originals. Regarding copyists working with exemplars that were written in a different dialect than their own, McIntosh (1973: 61) had noted that scribes would employ different gradations of editing, ranging from a transcription-style transferral, where the language (including spelling) remains (mostly) untouched – so-called *literatim* scribes – to a complete conversion of the text into the scribe’s ‘own kind of language, making innumerable modifications to the orthography, the morphology, and the vocabulary’ (Benskin and Laing 1981: 56). The LALME compilers held that the latter of these two strategies – what they referred to as translation – was more common than the former, as were hybrid forms residing in-between these two distinct approaches, or so-called *Mischsprachen*.

A scribe’s engagement with the text could go beyond mere copying, with or without dialectal translation. The Franciscan St Bonaventure, in a thirteenth-century text on bookmaking, distinguishes between four grades of ‘meddling’ when one writes a text. A *scribe* (scriptor) merely copies another man’s words and makes no adjustments; a *compiler* (compiler) assembles different passages that are not his own into one place; a *commentator* (commentator) adds his own words to another man’s text, but ‘only for purposes of

clarification' and finally, the man that places his own words at the centre of the text and merely adds those of others to reinforce his own, should be regarded as an *author* (auctor) (Burrow 1982: 31). Burrow (1982: 31) points out that a description of the translator is excluded from the summation. He also makes a striking point concerning the medieval concept of a writer and a thinking 'eminently typical of the whole age before printing and radically unlike our own':

Men 'make books' by writing. Some do no more than copy an existing text, or else combine existing texts into new compilations; others add words of their own, either 'for purposes of clarification' or else 'in prime place'. But all are writers. Scribes, compilers, commentators, and authors are all, in different ways, doing the same thing: making books

(Burrow 1982: 31).

The scribe did not have as straightforward a task as Bonaventure's description might imply. Burrow notes that, in contrast to a modern compositor, the scribe would not only implement accidental changes into a text, but would in fact make a conscious effort to aid the text's readability by for example rewriting 'obscure expressions' and consciously omitting or rearranging passages, or even writing his own. 'Thus a *scriptor*', Burrow (1982: 32) concludes, 'may also at times perform the functions of *compiler*, *commentator*, *translator*, and *auctor*'. A scribe's work, then, often involved interpreting, editing and some degree of translating, whether from one language to another or from a different dialect to a type of language they might have written in themselves. In addition, the scribe was, of course, responsible for the visual characteristics of the text, unlike the authors, compilers or translators of the print era.

The scribal text is therefore something to be studied in its own right, rather than just as evidence for a lost original. Identifying and describing a scribal text is, however, challenging because of the variability both of the linguistic and visual form. Not all scribes translated their exemplars fully into their own usage, which is why we often find texts that appear to have been produced by the same scribe, but that do not show the same language. This often indicates that they derive from different exemplars, or from an exemplar that was produced by more than one scribe. The practise of copying an exemplar could also involve copying features of the script, leading to sudden or gradual changes in the same scribe's handwriting. Both these kinds of variation may be found in the work of the scribe with whom the present

study is concerned, Scribe 13 or M (henceforth Scribe M), and will be discussed in what follows.

## 4.2 The Handwriting of Scribe M

The part of the manuscript written by scribe M and edited here consists of f. 151-v, containing a ‘Treatise on the best times during all the months of the year for bloodletting and certain foods’, and ff. 166r-170v, containing medical recipes and charms. The written area on these folios is very large and averages 18 x 13, with the breadth ranging from 12 to almost 14 cm. A clearly visible frame ruling can be discerned on the first of the folios; the others have a fainter, white outline. The colour of the paper is that of a cold ochre; the ink colour is a fog or smoke grey, a little darker on the last folios, in particular on f. 170r. However, it is generally not very dark, especially when compared to some other parts of the codex.

No other ink colours have been used, apart from folio numbering in a light red in the upper right corners, which are from an earlier binding and have been crossed out and replaced with new folio numbers written in pencil (see: p. 30). There are light smudges on ff. 166r-167r; the other folios are virtually clean. The scribe has included illustrations on f. 168v; these are the only detailed illustrations in the codex.<sup>38</sup> The writing appears in a single column. No headings, rubrics or decorative letters are used. There are no highlights or underlining. Some words and phrases appear in the margins on f. 151r, f. 166v, f. 167v, f. 168v and f. 169r; all of these apart from those on 169r have been written in a different hand (for discussion, see: p. 58).

There are slight variations in appearance between and within the texts on folios 151r-v and those on ff. 166r-170v, but the hand and duct of the text are so similar that there is no doubt about their being the work of a single scribe. The LALME Index, too, notes that the hand of f. 151r-v (referred to in LALME as Hand M) seems to be the same as the one which produced ‘ff.166r-179r [sic]’,<sup>39</sup> though ‘the language is more like that of ff. 99r-100r...which belongs to N Staffs’ (LALME I: 116). A short description of the hand, including the minor differences between the texts, is given in what follows.

---

<sup>38</sup> On ff. 89r-90r, simple illustrations of Jordans (urine flasks or containers) appear.

<sup>39</sup> the LALME compilers seemed unaware of f. 179v, see: p. 32.



The hand of the scribe is small, neat, and even, with no calligraphic or otiose features. The letter shapes, size and the spaces between words and lines in the two scribal stints (ff. 151r-v and ff. 166r-170r respectively) are on the whole alike. The pressure of the pen shows variety, even though examples of paragraphs with thicker as well as those with thinner letter shapes can be found on both f. 151r-v and within ff. 166r-170r, and seem to represent a natural alternation for any single scribe. The angle of the pen and the direction of the strokes (or the ‘duct’ in the terminology of Parkes (1969: 16)). show a strong similarity.

The detailed comparison of both individual letters and words that appears in both these texts confirm this similarity. Figures 1 and 2 depict the word *potage* as found on f. 151r and f. 166v, respectively, while Figures 3 and 4 depict the word *wyne* as found on f. 151v and f. 170r. Finally, the ink colour and intensity on f. 151r-v are very similar to those on ff. 166r-170v.

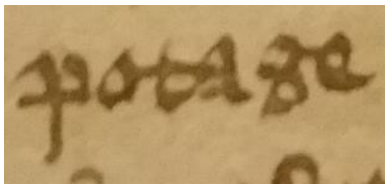


Figure 1: ‘potage’, f. 151r

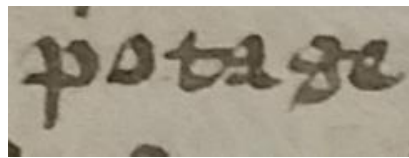


Figure 2 ‘potage’, f. 166v

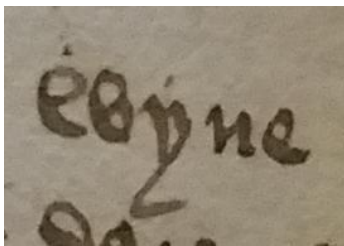


Figure 3: ‘wyne’, f. 151v

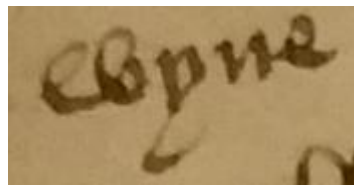


Figure 4: ‘wyne’, f. 170r

The grade of the script is media, at times approaching formata: while minims and the combination **th** are for the most part joined, other letters are almost always formed separately.<sup>40</sup> The hand shows numerous distinct Anglicana features. The two-compartment **a**, for example, is used, as is the characteristic tight figure-8 letter **g**, which in this hand is

<sup>40</sup> Exceptions to this are the minims that make up various combinations of the letters **m**, **n**, **i**, and **u/v**, which are joined up, as well as the letter combination **th**. In some cases, a vowel may be joined up with a preceding or succeeding consonant.

executed with a markedly angular descender loop, combining a straight left stroke with a curved right stroke. Prominent descenders for the letters **r** and long-s extend below the writing lines. The letter **d** has a looped ascender. The **w** is elaborate and often large, although it does not have the tall ascenders found in many Anglicana texts. Final **s** is usually sigma shaped. Finally, the Anglicana-style shapes for lower-case **e**, **d**, **f**, **t** are consistently employed.

However, both texts contributed by Scribe M also display properties of a Secretary script, a hand that was not commonly used before the sixteenth century. Even though the scribe has overwhelmingly made use of the double-compartment **a**, the single-compartment **a** characteristic to the Secretary style is also found 19 times in total on folios 151r-v; it is still vastly outnumbered by the amount of double-compartment **a**'s that can be found on these folios. On folios 166r-170r however, there is a more balanced divide between the use of the two letter shapes, with the single-compartment **a** being used slightly more often than in the earlier text, but the use of the double-compartment **a** being dominant all the same. Other letter shapes employed by the scribe that may be classified as Secretary features include a lower-case square **c** and a looped ascender-type **b**, though a straighter one than the one often found in Secretary hands. However, the most distinctive Secretary features, the 'w-shaped' **w** and horned **g**, do not appear in the texts, with the exception of two isolated instances of the 'w-shaped' **w** in lines 321 and 323 on f. 170v. One might therefore conclude that folios 151r-v and 166r-170r are written in an Anglicana script, with moderate influence of Secretary features.

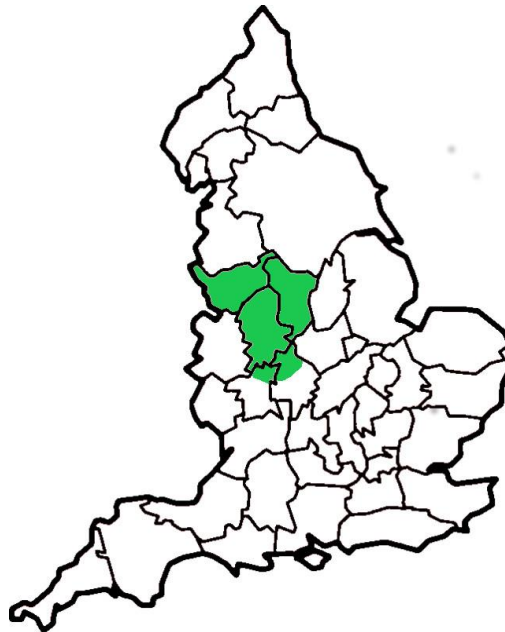
The scribe uses a fairly large amount of abbreviation, in keeping with the small format of the manuscript, including suspension, contraction and superscript. As regards punctuation, only two punctuation marks are used: the virgule and the punctus, both of which appear fairly regularly, often in combination. Punctus elevates, paraps or colons were not used by the scribe. This applies to both f. 151r-v and 166r-170v.

In several places there is a space left blank for *litterae notabiliores* where a new paragraph begins; a small draft of the letter is often written in the space where presumably a larger initial, majuscule and/or decorated, was meant to be added at a later point in time. This task has not been completed in most cases in this text, and manichulas (illustrations of hands with pointing index fingers) have been added in some of these spaces.

## 4.3 The Language of Scribe M

### 4.3.1 Introduction

All the scribal texts in the second part of the Sloane 3160 manuscript (ff. 87r-end) that were analysed in LALME were identified as containing Northwest Midland dialects, even though only three of them (Hands M, O and P) were actually mapped in LALME. Hands F, O and P, as well as the first stint by M, were localised in Staffordshire, while the second stint of M was placed in north Derbyshire, E and J were placed in either Derbyshire or Cheshire, H and I were placed in the north of Warwickshire or Worcestershire, and K and L were simply identified as ‘Northwest Midland’. While the LALME localisations cannot be assumed to give direct evidence about the place where a text was produced (Stenroos and Thengs forthcoming), these localisations taken together suggest very strongly that the manuscript was connected with the Northwest Midland area (see: Figure 5).



*Figure 5: localisations of the dialects of Sloane 3160*

In LALME, the two analysed stints of Scribe M (f. 151r-v and ff. 166r-170r) were considered separate scribal texts, and their dialect was stated to be different: while the second, longer,

stint was localized in north Derbyshire as LP 314, the first one was considered more similar to Hand F, localized in north Staffordshire. While the aim of the present study is not to challenge the LALME localizations, a study of the dialectal features of scribe M's work suggests that the linguistic differences between the stints are minimal, and limited to a small number of orthographic features.

For the purposes of this study, the present text has been divided into three scribal texts: f.151r-v (henceforth ST1), ff. 166r-170r (henceforth ST2), and 170v (henceforth ST3). The reason for separating ST3 from ST2 is that, even though these texts are consecutive in the manuscript as they stand now, ST2 ends approximately halfway down the recto side of f. 170, while ST3 begins in the middle of a recipe on the verso side of the same folio. The folio itself appears to have been torn or cut; it has been mended with another piece of parchment, which has been left blank. The text on the recto side ends with a heading giving the title of a new recipe, which seems to be written by the same scribe; however, it might be noted that it is written in a larger handwriting, that it is the only such heading in the text, and also that it refers to a non-medical recipe: the making of sugar candy. The beginning of the recipe seems to be lost, while what is presumably the same text then continues on the verso side of the folio. The texts on the recto and verso sides of f. 170 are thus not strictly consecutive and should be considered separate 'scribal texts' following the LALME definition (LALME I: 8).<sup>41</sup>

The texts were analysed with the aid of a short questionnaire including features of orthography and morphology, with the aims to assess the differences between the stints and to produce a brief description of the dialect. In order to identify variation between the stints, a concordancer (AntConc 3.2.1) was used to aid the selection of items. The following items (both closed and open categories) were collected:

- Individual words: DAY/DAYS, EACH, EARTH, EVIL, FIRST, LIKE, MUCH, OTHER, WARK 'ache'
- OE /a/ before nasals: MAN, STAMP
- OE /a/ before homorganic clusters: HOLD, STAND, HAND
- OE /o:/ BLOOD, GOOD, ROOT
- OE /hw/: all forms

---

<sup>41</sup> A 'scribal text' is as 'any consecutive written output that is a single text in the literary sense, or part of such a text, and written by a single scribe' (McInstosh, Samuels, and Benskin 1986: 8).

- OE initial /sw/: all forms
- Personal pronouns: all
- Verb forms: all present indicative forms, present and past participles; all forms of BE, HAVE, DO, GO, WILL, SHALL

In addition, AntConc was used to help gain overviews of distributions for which detailed data were not collected, such as the use of <th> and <þ>.

Different thematic content in the three texts posed some limitations to the comparative data that could be collected, as they to some extent make use of different vocabulary and grammatical categories; in addition, the uneven length of the texts makes comparison difficult. However, a large number of frequent items was shared by all texts, making at least some clear conclusions possible.

#### 4.3.2 Orthography and Phonology

The texts produced by Scribe M show orthographic variation both between and within the three scribal texts. There are, however, very few clear differences between the three scribal stints; these are collected into Table 2. Apart from the purely orthographic preference of <ai> vs <ay> and <w> vs <u>, the differences might suggest a somewhat more northern usage in ST2. However, it should be noted that only one of the differences, the use of <qu> for OE *hw* in ST2, is (nearly) categorical.

	ST1	ST2	ST3
OE /o:/ in <i>blood, good</i>	o (24), oo (6)	o (22), u (2)	--
OE <i>hw</i>	wh- (6)	qu- (32), wh- (1)	wh- (3)
OE <i>sw</i>	sw- (2)	su- (4)	--
	sh- (8), sch- (1)	sh- (9), sch- (6), s- (4)	s- (2)
PDE <i>day</i>	daie (12), dai (4), day (3)	day (2)	--
PDE <i>days</i>	daies (22)	days (5), daies (5)	daies (1), dayes (1)

Table 2: orthographic variation between the three scribal stints used by Scribe M.

All other orthographic variation seems involve all three stints as far as data is available. Some of the most frequent features showing variation consist of inflectional endings, spelling of the fricatives corresponding to PDE *sh* and *th*, and the use of initial *h*. Spellings with both *-es* and *-us* appear throughout ST1, ST2 and ST3, as do <sh>, <sch> and <s> spellings of *shall* and *schall*. Similarly, both <th> and <p> appear in all stints, although it appears that <th> is particularly common in ST1. Finally, the modern English ‘it’ is represented by both *it* and *hit*; the former appears 120 times throughout ST1, ST2 and ST3 combined, but nearly all folios of ST1 and ST2 also contain at least one instance of the word *hit*; with the exception of folios 168r-v and 169r, which, it should be noted, contain a large proportion of Latin text. In total, *hit* occurs 27 times throughout ST1 and ST2. In ST3, *hit* does not occur; *it* occurs 16 times.

There are multiple possible explanations for the occurrence of different dialectal features in close proximity to one another in ME texts. When there can be distinguished a gradual shift, it might indicate the work of a copyist that is in the habit of changing the text of his exemplar into his own kind of language. In such a case it often takes the scribe some time to get used to the language of his exemplar, and he might opt for different spellings or translations of the same words or phrases before his strategy eventually becomes consistent. Cases like these are not found in the texts produced by Scribe M: apart from a few differences in usage between the three stints, variant forms are for the most part spread relatively evenly, with no obvious patterns.

For example, the alternating spellings *stomp(e)* and *stamp(e)* for the lexical item STAMP in ST2 appear throughout the entire text, and at no point does the scribe ‘switch’ to consistently using either spelling. Both forms are used in close proximity to one another: thus, on folio 166r, *stamp* occurs once, *stampe* occurs 5 times, and *stompe* occurs 3 times. They are never used in the same sentence, but appear in successive sentences, such as here, where the scribe alternates between the spellings:

That venou’ shal not men þe in mete nor drinke take lecus sede & **stampe**  
it & meng it wt watur & drinke it fastand & it schal safe þe // For  
warke & suelling in þe papp3 take waybrod & þe lefs of fenikle & old  
grece & **stompe** it and bynd it þer-to Anoper take horrehon’ & **stampe** it wt old

grece & anoint þi pap þer-wt For euel in þe wombe take fenel lef & **stompe**

it & take tvo sponful of þe ius & drinke it & it shal do þe euul a-way (f. 166r)

Altogether, <a> appears somewhat more frequently than <o>, with 10 occurrences of the former and 6 of the latter respectively, all in ST2.

The <o> in STAMP presumably represents the rounding of Old English short /a/ before nasals, which is a strongly western dialectal form in Middle English (see: LALME MAN; see also e.g. Kristensson 1987: 211-213). The same feature appears frequently in <o> spellings of the lexical item MAN both in ST1 and ST2, which far outnumber <a> spellings, with *mon* appearing 6 times in ST1 (which has no instances of *man* at all) and 16 times in ST2, which has 3 instances of *man*, though one is in the form of *manis* ‘man’s’ and another in the form of *woman*. ST3 has no instances of either.

The dominant form *mon* man is one of numerous strongly dialectal forms in Scribe M’s text, which together indicate a phonology with both northern and western characteristics, as might be expected in a north-western dialect. While some of these forms are majority ones, others occur as minor variants only. In virtually all cases, the strongly dialectal forms appear only or more commonly in ST2 than in the other stints; however, this is not surprising considering that it is much longer.

Apart from rounding before nasals, Western forms include spellings that suggest front rounded vowels. The minority form *furst* first appears once in ST2 beside six occurrences of *first* and seems to represent OE /y/; similarly, *vrthen* ‘earthen’ (OE *eorðe*) appears beside *erthe* in ST2.

Before homorganic consonant clusters, the spelling of OE /a/ varies lexically, showing a somewhat larger tendency for <a> in ST2, presumably reflecting a more strongly northern usage:

HOLD: ST1 *hold* (1); ST2 *hald* 4, *halde* 1, *haldz* 1

STAND: ST2 *stond* (3), *stand* (1); ST3 *stond* (3)

HOND: ST2 *hond* (1), *hondis* (1)

Old English /o:/ is spelt <o> throughout the text, but variant spellings <oo> and <u> also appear and are limited to ST1 and ST2 respectively. Of these, <u> has been considered a northern dialect feature (see: LALME GOOD). Thus, the forms *blod/blode* ‘blood’, *gode* ‘good’ and *rote* ‘root’ appear both in ST1 and ST2. *God*, *blud* and *rute* appear in ST2 only, whereas *bloode* and *goode* only appear in ST2. None of these words appear in ST3.

Northern features appear almost always in variation with non-northern ones, as one would expect for a North Midland text; this is particularly clear in the alternation between OE /tʃ/ and Northern/Scandinavian /k/ forms in MUCH, EACH, LIKE and WARK/WARCH ‘ache’, all of which appear in Part 2 only:

EACH: *ilke* 1, *ilkon* 1, *ilkone* 1, *ilkon*’ 2; *ichin* 1, *ichon* 1

MUCH: *mecul* 5, *mikul* 1

LIKE: *ilike* 5, *iliche* 2

WARK: *warke* 3, *warche* 4

Finally, the text contains a relatively large number of unstressed vowels spelt <u>, a feature typical of the West (see: LALME Dot Maps 57, 61). On the whole, unstressed syllables show the full range of variation available in Middle English, with <e>, <i>, <y> and <u> all being represented:

- Nouns plurals/possessives: *bathes*, *egges*; *hondis*; *cornys*; *methus*, *drinkus*, *figus*
- Verb present indicative forms (3 sg and plural): *makes*, *soukes*; *lettis*; *begynnys*; *comus* (-us only appears as an abbreviation)
- Other unstressed syllables: *euel*, *euul* ‘evil’, *other*, *othur*

In all scribal texts, and in all grammatical categories, <e> spellings are completely dominant. While <y> is the least common in all categories, there are numerous examples of <u> and <i>



forms; of all these, <u> is the only one with clear geographical significance. As with the great majority of features considered here, the data show no systematic differences between the three scribal texts.

#### 4.3.3 Morphology: Pronouns and Verbs

No attempt is made here to produce a complete description of Scribe M's dialect. The main focus is on those aspects which tend to be geographically salient and/or that show changes through time: in morphology, this means above all the personal pronouns and the verbal paradigms.

The personal pronoun paradigms are given in Table 3, with numbers of occurrence added in brackets. Most of the categories are represented in the text, with only the first person singular and second person plural completely lacking. The only instance of first person pronouns is on f. 168v, where the plural *our*' appears in the phrase ' *quen our' laurd was dragh on þe rod crose* ('when our lord was put/dragged on the wooden cross'). Similarly, the only instances of feminine pronouns are on ff. 169r-v, where the scribe discusses matters of fertility and labour.

		<b>Singular</b>		<b>Plural</b>
1st person:	subjective			<i>our</i> (1)
	objective			
	possessive			
2nd person:	subjective	<i>þu</i> (22)		
		<i>thou</i> (1)		
	objective	<i>þe</i> (5)		
		<i>the</i> (2)		
		<i>ye</i> (1)		
	possessive	<i>þi</i> (41)		
		<i>yi</i> (3)		
3rd person:	subjective	masc.	fem.	<i>þai/ þai'</i> (3)
		<i>he</i> (17)		
		<i>ho</i> (1)		

	<i>hee</i> (1)	<i>sho</i> (1)	<i>yai</i> (1)
objective	<i>him</i> (18)		<i>þaim</i> (18)
	<i>hym</i> (3)		<i>hom/hom'</i> (14)
			<i>hem/hem'</i> (6)
			<i>þam/þam'</i> (2)
possessive	<i>his</i> (10)	<i>h'</i> (1)	
	<i>hes</i> (2)	<i>hir</i> (1)	
	<i>is</i> (4)		

---

Table 3. The personal pronouns used by Scribe M.

The dialectally salient forms here are the third person feminine and plural ones. The feminine form *ho* and the plural object form *hom* are typical of the Northwest Midland area (LALME SHE, THEM), while the plural object forms with *þ-* and the <ai> spelling in the plural forms suggest a relatively northern localization (LALME THEY, THEM). The form *sho* is also mainly a Northern form.

The regular verb paradigm is given in Table 4.

---

Infinitive	-
Present indicative:	1 sg. -
	2 sg. <i>-us</i> (1)
	3 sg. <i>-es</i> (12), <i>-us</i> (5), <i>-ʒ</i> (4), <i>-eth</i> (2), <i>-ethe</i> (2), <i>-eʒ</i> (2), <i>-uthe</i> (2), <i>-s</i> (2), <i>-<u>us</u></i> (2), <i>-et</i> (1), <i>-is</i> (1), <i>-se</i> (1), <i>-th</i> (1), <i>ys</i> (1)
	pl. <i>-en'</i> (1)
Past indicative:	-
Present participle:	<i>-and</i> (4), <i>-ing</i> (2), <i>-ande</i> (1)
Past participle:	<i>-d</i> (5), <i>-ed</i> (3), <i>-en</i> (4), <i>-un</i> (1), <i>-ett</i> (1), <i>-on</i> (1), <i>-t</i> (1), <i>-ud</i> (1), <i>-yd</i> (1), <i>-yt</i> (1), $\emptyset$ (1)
Verbal noun:	<i>-ing</i> (6), <i>-yng</i> (5), <i>-ynge</i> (1)

---

Table 4. The paradigm of regular verbs

Infinitives and imperatives have not been included in the table, as they are very common in the material and show an unremarkable variation between zero and final *-e*. The pattern of verbal inflexions correlates overall with a Northwest Midlands dialect. The verb forms that dominate are northern: in particular, the third person present indicative forms in *-s* and the present participle in *-and(e)*. The non-northern variants (third person present indicative *-th* and present participle *-ing*) appear mostly in ST1 and might thus suggest a dialectal difference; however, it should be noted that the great majority of the third person present indicative forms appear in ST1, with only three occurrences in ST2, and that *-ing* appears in both stints.

The paradigms for **be**, **have**, **do**, **go** in the three scribal texts are given in tables 5-7. The present plural indicative form of *be* appears as the typically Midland form *be* in all three texts, although it may be noted that the numbers are very small. With regard to *do* and *go*, the forms (although infrequent) show the same pattern as found in the regular verbs, where third person singular indicative *-s* appears both in ST1 and ST2, but *-th* only appears in the former.

---

	ST1	ST2	ST3
<b>Infinitive</b>	<i>be</i> (5)	<i>be</i> (6)	-
<b>Imperative</b>	<i>be</i> (1)		
<b>Present ind</b>			
<b>2nd sg</b>	-	-	-
<b>3rd sg</b>	<i>is</i> (10)	<i>be</i> (8), <i>is</i> (25)	<i>be</i> (2), <i>is</i> (4)
<b>Pl</b>	<i>be</i> (1)	<i>be</i> (1)	<i>be</i> (1)
	<i>ben/ben'</i> (14)		
	<i>bene</i> (1)		

**Other forms:** Present subjunctive singular *be* (10); past tense *was* (1)

---

Table 5. The paradigm of *be*

---

		<b>ST1</b>	<b>ST2</b>	<b>ST3</b>
<b>Infinitive</b>		<i>haue</i> (4)	<i>haf</i> (1)	-
<b>Imperative</b>		-	-	-
<b>Present ind</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> sg</b>	<i>haue</i> (1)	<i>haue</i> (1)	-
	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> sg</b>	<i>has</i> (3)	<i>hafs</i> (1)	-
			<i>has</i> (3)	-
			<i>hays</i> (1)	-
	<b>PI</b>	-	-	-

---

Table 6. The paradigm of *have*

---

		<b>ST1</b>	<b>ST2</b>	<b>ST3</b>
<b>Infinitive</b>		-	<i>do</i> (3); <i>go</i> (2)	-
		-	<i>for-do</i> (1)	-
<b>Imperative</b>		-	<i>do</i> (20) , <i>go</i> (1)	<i>do</i> (1)
<b>Present ind</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> sg</b>	-	<i>gose</i> (1), <i>gos</i> (1)	-
	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> sg</b>	<i>doth</i> (1) -	-	-
	<b>PI</b>	-	-	-

**Other forms:** past participle: *done* (1) (ST1)

Table 7. The paradigm of *do* and *go*

---

		<b>ST1</b>	<b>ST2</b>	<b>ST3</b>
<b>Infinitive</b>		-	-	-
<b>Imperative</b>		-	-	-

<b>Present ind</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> sg</b>	<i>wolt</i> (1)	<i>wil</i> (2)	-
	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> sg</b>	<i>wil</i> (1)	<i>wil</i> (4)	<i>wil</i> (1)
		<i>wol</i> (1)	<i>w<sup>l</sup></i> (2)	
	<b>PI</b>	-	<i>w<sup>l</sup></i> (1)	-

**Other forms:** no other forms.

**Overall frequency:** *wil* (8), *w<sup>l</sup>* (3), *wol* (1), *wolt* (1)

---

Table 8. The paradigm of will

---

		<b>ST1</b>	<b>ST2</b>	<b>ST3</b>
<b>Infinitive</b>		-	-	-
<b>Imperative</b>		-	-	-
<b>Present ind</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> sg</b>	-	<i>sal</i> (1)	-
			<i>shal</i> (1)	
			<i>schal</i> (2)	
	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> sg</b>	<i>shal</i> (7)	<i>sal</i> (4)	<i>sal</i> (2)
		<i>shall</i> (1)	<i>shal</i> (9)	
		<i>schal</i> (1)	<i>schal</i> (6)	
	<b>PI</b>	-	-	-

**Other forms:** preterite: *shuld* (3) (ST1)

**Overall frequency:** *shal* (17), *schall* (9), *sal* (7), *shall* (1).

---

Table 9. The paradigm of shall

Tables 8 and 9, finally, present the paradigms of **will** and **shall** in the three scribal texts. It may be noted that the *wol* type appears in ST1 only, while the typically northern *sal(l)* form appears in ST2 only.

On the whole, both the morphological and orthographic features may be said to show a stronger concentration of northern forms in ST2 and ST3, with the exclusive use of <qu> spellings for OE *hw* and *sal* SHALL. In several cases, ‘northern’ forms also seem to be proportionally more common in ST2. However, this generally reflects the highly uneven distribution of forms between the scribal texts: while ST1 is the only text to show *-th* type endings of the third person plural indicative verb, it should be noted that it contains the great majority of all the occurrences of this category; the converse is the case with regard to *-and* in the present participle, which is exclusive to ST2. Overall, where comparable data are available, the differences between the three stints are very minor indeed, and, considering the overall degree of variation in the language, they seem well within the expected variation for a single scribal dialect. It is likely that the same scribe produced these texts using different exemplars or copying from a single exemplar that was itself a collation of earlier texts originating in different dialects and having been assembled at some point, as was often the case for medical texts, particularly those that were practical – such as recipe collections – rather than theory-based.

## 5. Situating Scribe M and Sloane 3160

### 5.1 Sir Hans Sloane and the Sloane Collection

The manuscript here studied is part of the collection previously owned by Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753). Born in Killyleagh, Ireland, he was a physician, naturalist and collector who amassed a selection of works exceeding 71,000 items, which he towards the end of his life bequeathed to the British nation. This collection laid down the groundworks for the collections of both the British Library, the British Museum and the Natural History Museum in London. Amongst these items an estimated 50,000 are manuscripts (Talgø 2015: 11). Many of these are medical works. The British Library has described the Sloane collections as possibly being ‘the greatest collection of medical manuscripts ever made by a single individual, not just in quantity and variety but in the exceptional quality of individual items’ (British Library Online Search Catalogue).

Sloane was a member of and, for a time, the president of both the Royal Society of London and the Royal College of Physicians. He frequently attended to the medical needs of the queen and other members of the royal family and was a distinguished and respected professional in demand with well-to-do patients. Sloane was well-connected with experts in the medical field all across Europe. He was also known to provide open access for anyone interested to view the works in his collection, a willingness to share knowledge and information that was perhaps connected to his personal motives for collecting. In *The Sloane Letters Project* (2016) it is noted that ‘[f]or Sloane, the point was not simply to acquire items, but to study the natural world and to understand its medical applications’.<sup>42</sup> Despite mainly operating within the higher layers of society, Sloane was neither isolated from nor neglecting those of the lower classes. Besides attending to the wealthy, Sloane worked from 1694 until 1730 at Christ’s Hospital, which, like other hospitals at the time, overwhelmingly provided medical aid to the poor.<sup>43</sup> Sloane made substantial donations to this hospital, as well as to others. It is noted that ‘Sloane also supported the Royal College of Physicians’ dispensary,

---

<sup>42</sup> *The Sloane Letters Project* (2016) catalogues and analyses the many letters sent by and to Sir Hans Sloane during his long career as a physician and active member (and President, from 1727 to 1741) of the Royal Society. See: <http://sloaneletters.com>

<sup>43</sup> See: <https://sloaneletters.com/about-sir-hans-sloane/>

which aimed to provide inexpensive medicines, and he ran a free surgery every morning'.<sup>44</sup> All the same, it was the learned people from England's upper classes which would visit and make use of Sloane's collection. It was, however, Sloane's wish that his collection become public property and would be available to all. After Sloane's passing in 1753, parliament purchased his collection for the sum of £20,000 pounds.

## 5.2 The Historical Context of Sloane 3160

It is unclear how Sloane 3160 made its way into Sloane's collection, or who might have owned it – or parts of it – previously. As noted in Chapter 3, the manuscript as we have it today consists of two distinct parts: a religious one, spanning ff. 1-86v, and one that is almost exclusively medical, with minor additions of verse, spanning ff. 87r-173v. As the manuscript contains a post-medieval table of contents that describes only the first part (ff 1-86), containing religious texts, we know that the manuscript took its final shape after the Middle Ages, possibly when incorporated into Sloane's collection. This is also shown by the renumbering of folios that reveal a prior assembling and suggest that the current binding has brought together two parts that may not have had anything to do with each other prior to their unification. The two different parts of the manuscript, which also differ greatly in terms of dialect, were thus probably intended for, and read by, different reader bases.

The medical part of the manuscript (ff 87-173) shows, if only in very general terms, some similarity to a group of uniform manuscripts identified by Voigts (1990: 26-57) and named the 'Sloane Group': some of the contents are shared, although the dialects are different and Sloane 3160 is a miscellany rather than firmly belonging to the academic tradition like the codices in the Sloane Group.<sup>45</sup> Studies like the one by Voigts (1990), who compared physical features, language and content, can tell us much not just about the communities that these shared conventions imply, but about the dissemination, use and all-round availability of certain written material in certain regions. As LALME has made it possible to group manuscripts based on their geographical dialect characteristics, the finding of similar texts in different dialects may allow for inferences about the interconnectedness of their possible

---

<sup>44</sup> See: <https://sloaneletters.com/about-sir-hans-sloane/>

<sup>45</sup> In a study of a number of these texts, Voigts (1990: 26-27) identified the 'Sloane Group', a group of six 'sibling' manuscripts, three 'half-sisters' and a further eight 'distant relatives' in the Sloane collection sharing both textual and codicological characteristics.



regional discourse communities. While Sloane 3160 is not included in the Sloane Group and does not display the same level of uniformity, future studies with tools such as LALME and the growing number of corpora of both medical and other Middle English texts may elucidate more of these types of manuscript groups, which would prove valuable for historical linguistic studies.

The scribes of the medical manuscript have been distinguished from one another but remain anonymous. The texts they wrote are not necessarily homogeneous in function: they include treatises (in particular several herbals), general guidelines or rules (such as the rule on bloodletting here edited), texts providing diagnostics (including a treatise on urines and several smaller texts showing how to recognize terminal illness, leprosy and so on) and practical remedies. While different in function, however, all the included texts may be categorised under a general medieval tradition of texts on health and medicine, belonging to the remedybook tradition (see: pp. 21-24). On the whole, the manuscript shows signs of extensive use and would seem to reflect the practical needs of an active and reasonably learned practitioner, rather than a highly academic or purely domestic context. While such an assumption must be highly tentative, it would seem clearly corroborated when the work of Scribe M is considered in more detail.

### 5.3. The Content of Scribe M's Work

The work of Scribe M on f. 151r-v contains both recipes and a 'teaching and ruling' on what to eat and drink in each month of the year, as well as when to let blood. It is a variant on Galen's *De minutione sanguinis per duodecim anni menses*, with much of the underlying philosophy dating back to Ancient Greece and Hippocrates (see: p. 19). Such instructions were meant to be of general use, and texts of this kind are found in many medieval medical manuscripts. The text concludes with a list of the benefits of bloodletting:

[H]er' ben' the vertuse of blood-lettyng hit clerus & clansuthe the brayne . ht temperes the stomake & clansuthe it and hit defiethe the mete hit maketh the voice the liztur hit scharpethe the witte hit lizth the wombe hit gedres & hit noresshethe good blod &

doth a-waie wikket blod and makes a monnes blode to haue the lengur heele . & c' (f. 151v)

'Here are the virtues of bloodletting: it clears and cleanses the brain, it tempers the stomach and cleanses it, it promotes digestion of the food, it makes the voice lighter, it sharpens the wit, it lightens the stomach: it gathers and it nourishes the good blood and does away with wicked blood and makes a person's blood have longer health, et cetera'.

The end of the text is marked on the bottom of f. 151v with the names of the three magi (*Jasper, Melchar* and *Balthezar*) and Christoforus, or St Christopher, patron saint of travellers. The significance of this particular combination of saints is unclear, as they seem to have no particular connection to bloodletting; all seem to be connected with travel, however.

The larger passage contributed by Scribe M, ff 166r-170v, contains many different recipes for all sorts of ailments or situations that one might want rectified. There are specialised recipes on how to sedate someone for the purposes of surgery as well as advice on how to get rid of smelly breath, cure coughs and headaches, diagnose a leper, make one's face white, get rid of grey hair or ensure that unwanted hair does not grow back after removal (something that requires *þ<sup>e</sup> blod of a bat & þ<sup>e</sup> gall of a cat* 'the blood of a bat and the gall of a cat', as Scribe M specifies in this case).

Most of the recipes are what Mäkinen (2004: 147) would describe as *receptaria* (see also p. 22). They are short and concise, starting with the purpose of the recipe, then listing the ingredients, adding short instructions on how to combine them or specifying when and how to take the medicine after one has prepared it, and often ending with the assurance that this medicine will heal the patient:

For him þ<sup>t</sup> thirsteȝ ay take centori or þ<sup>e</sup> rote of louage & stampe it & temper it w<sup>t</sup> wyne lue or w<sup>t</sup> water & drinke it iij niȝtȝ *quenn* þ<sup>u</sup> gose to þ<sup>i</sup> bed & it w<sup>l</sup> for-do þ<sup>i</sup> thirst[e] (f. 166r)

‘For him that is always thirsty, take centaury or the root of lovage and pound it, and mix it with lukewarm wine or with water, and drink it three nights when you go to bed, and it will put an end to your thirst’.

Most of the recipes are *composita* rather than *simples*, as they are brief but nearly always contain two or more ingredients. One of the few examples of a *simple* would be an instruction on f. 166v for ‘*him þ<sup>t</sup> may not hald his pisse*’ to take goat hooves and burn them to a powder, which is then to be eaten in one’s soup (or however the patient prefers it).

In some cases, the *receptaria* recipe form is stretched a little and the scribe provides extra justification for the medicine in the form of ‘efficacy phrases’ (Jones 1998: 199-200), such as on f. 166v, where, following a recipe for a medicine against *taw* (‘root’ or ‘rootlet’) in the throat or mouth, the scribe adds that ‘*þes medecyn is profetabull for it is proued*’. On the same folio, the effectivity of bandages made using a (slightly longer than average) recipe against sickness of the kidney on the same folio – calling for, amongst other things, the use of moist pigeon droppings – is assured to be ‘*on warandise*’.

On the last two pages contributed by Scribe M, f. 170r and f. 170v, there appear significantly longer recipes, of which the one on 170r especially resembles the *antidotaria* recipe form as defined by Mäkinen (2004: 146). This recipe, which provides the instructions for the production of *aqua vitae*, calls for a very large number of ingredients:

Take þ<sup>e</sup> rote of . saxifrage percil . fenel . ysop time . pilioll riall . rosmarin . of ilkone half a quartron’ & wasche þaim clene & bray þaim a littul . And of . galingay . peper . clauus . ginger’ . notmuke . maces quibybs . spiknard . safron’ . of ilkon ilike mikul a quartron’ of a nouns & bet þ<sup>is</sup> spices to poudur & blend hom þen w<sup>t</sup> þin erbes & do þaim in a galon of god red wyne & stepe þaim al a nyzt for þai w<sup>l</sup> wel suffice to a galon’ of wyne & blend þaim wel to-gedur (f. 170r)

‘To make aqua vitae, take the root of saxifrage, parsley, fennel, hyssop, thyme, pennyroyal and rosemary, half a quarter of each, wash them clean and boil them a little. And galangal, pepper, cloves, ginger, the outer covering of nutmeg, cubebs, spikenard, and saffron in equal quantities, that is, a quarter of an ounce, and beat these spices to powder and blend them with your herbs, and put them in a gallon of good red

wine and steep them all night, for they will be quite sufficient for a gallon of wine.  
Blend them well together'

The ingredients are next distilled using a glass still, equipment that would not have been available in the ordinary household and thus strongly suggests a more professional context of use. While the production of *aqua vitae* is complicated, its uses and benefits seem almost infinite: it helps prevent *al maner of maladise*, controls temperature, warms the stomach, destroys scabs and eczemas, cures deafness, helps against epilepsy and palsy in the head, helps against scorpion bite and toothache caused by cold, it cooks and preserves meat and eggs, it is good for washing wounds and using as a purgative and a bleach, it helps against heart problems and cures weakness in the head after wine drinking.

Finally, f. 170v contains instructions for the making of a sugarloaf, a practise in which the product of sugarcane was made into the tall cones that were the common form in which to sell and use sugar in Europe right up until late in the nineteenth century (see also p. 86). Like the *aqua vitae* recipe, this recipe is very long and includes detailed descriptions

In addition to the recipes which make up most of this passage, f. 168v and f. 169r contain several charms, both in English and Latin, including charm formulae mixing Latin and nonsense language. These include some common formulae used in connection with childbirth:

For a womon' þ<sup>t</sup> trauels on child bind þis writt to hir theghe: + In + *nomine* + *patris* + *fili* + & *spiritus* + *sancti* + *amen* + *per vertutez domini* sunt medicina mea *sancta* + *maria* + *peperit* + *cristem* + *sancta anna* + *peperit* + *mariam* + *sancta* + *elizabeth* + *peperit* + *Johannem* + *sancta* + *cecilia* + *peperit* + *reonigem* + *sator* + *arepo* + *tenet* + *opera* + *rotas*

The charm begins with the instruction 'For a woman that is in labour, bind this written note to her thigh: In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, Amen, for the powers of the Lord are my medicine...' It continues with an extremely long list of formulae, the first two of which (cited above) represent a list of biblical childbirths ('St Mary gave birth to Christ, St

Anne gave birth to Mary', etc) and the *sator arepo* formula, both of which were also noted by Thengs (2008: 115-116).

This portion also includes a number of detailed drawings depicting the *Arma Christi* or Instruments of the Passion including two flagella, a chalice with a rope wound around it, a cross bearing the inscription INRI and surrounded by the Latin words *palma, oliua, cipressus* and *cedrus*, a ladder, a sponge on reed, a spear, a laurel crown, nails and a hand reaching for dice. The illustrations appear in a single row and are preceded by a Latin passage and followed by instructions in the vernacular on the saying of charms.

#### **5.4. Making the Text Accessible: Pointers and Marginalia**

The portion of Sloane 3160 copied by Scribe M (like the surrounding parts) show an extensive use of marking systems and other aids that were put in place to aid the user of the text in navigating through and using the recipes. These systems would seem to provide evidence for the use of Sloane 3160 as a practical manual.

Mooney (2004: 199) notes that it is first and foremost material additions found on the pages of manuscripts that form evidence of their use. For example, when the remains of a plant stalk appear in a herbal, or dried blood over a recipe that instructs one to cut their vein, it may be assumed that the texts have indeed been used for their intended purposes. However, writings in the margins, may also tell us about certain manuscripts that they were, for example 'working books, not ornate collections for the aristocracy's leisured reading' Mooney 2004: 199). Such marginalia appear in Sloane 3160, suggesting that this was indeed the case; while some were clearly introduced by Scribe M himself, others were added by at least one later scribe.

Scribe M, when writing his pages, seems to have added notae in the left margin at the start of every new recipe, making it possible for the reader to scan through them relatively quickly when searching for something specific. Two distinct symbols are in use: a general nota symbol (resembling an open letter a) and the symbol R, the usual abbreviation for 'Recipe'. The nota symbols are found on f. 151r-v, f. 168v, and ff. 169r-170r, while the Recipe symbol is found on ff. 166r-169v. It is impossible to tell whether all these were added by Scribe M himself; however, the ink colour is the same and the use of notae to organize a

collection of recipes was a common practice. Maniculas, some of them partially lost in cropping at the time of the rebinding of the codex, appear on ff. 151r-v, f. 166r and f. 169v; however, at least those on ff. 151r-v are probably the work of a later scribe (see: below).

In some places, Scribe M has added a glossing word above the text for the purposes of clarification, for example where he added *peletre* over the word *piritrum* on f. 167, identifying this ingredient ('pyrethrum') by adding its vernacular name ('pellitory'). In line 17 of f. 167v, in a Latin passage, he adds the vernacular clarification . *l . waybrod* in small script above the Latin word *plantagins*. This gloss is clearly intended to help a reader who might be struggling with the Latin language and make sure he understands the ingredients; this clearly suggests that a use by people who have not got extensive Latin learning is envisaged.

In addition to the notae and recipe signs, cross signs appear in numerous places in the text. On f. 151r-v, they are used to mark all the 'perilous days' of the year as well as the days suitable for bloodletting, making it easy to find the dates as they stand out in the text. They have also been added in numerous places throughout both the Latin and vernacular text passages. It is impossible to tell whether the crosses have been added by Scribe M himself or another user, but they clearly seem to highlight particular recipes.

Scribe M generally does not use marginal titles or keywords; however, on f. 169, he adds a little box in the left margin with the Latin words *per dolorem dentes* [sic], highlighting the start of a recipe for a medicine against toothache. It is perhaps significant that this, again relates to a Latin passage, perhaps indicating that these might be more difficult for a user to scan and locate.

Many more keywords and scribbles have, however, been added by another scribe in a fairly untidy hand that looks somewhat later than that of Scribe M. This hand has added notes around the writing surface on the folios throughout the manuscript, providing clear evidence that at least one other person has made use of the text. Words and phrases produced by this hand are found on ff. 151r, 166v, 167r-v and 168v, as well as elsewhere in the manuscript. In virtually all cases, they translate or repeat words and phrases from the main text, and presumably marking certain recipes or topics to make them easier to locate and use. For example, in the top left corner of f. 151r, the scribe added the Latin word *Sang'* 'blood' to flag that this text concerns bloodletting. In another instance on f. 166v, the alternative spelling *agew*, 'acute fever/disease' was added to the left of a recipe meant *for the agu*.

It is possible that this later scribe has also added the maniculas that appear twice on ff. 151r-v; the ink colour corresponds to the other marginalia by this later scribe. Both are added in places where there was a blank space for an initial; the maniculas thus seem to be a decision by the later scribe to signal the start of new sections where Scribe M clearly had implied them.

There are several occurrences of the symbol Ø in the margins of ff. 166r-168r, which might be added by this later scribe, but which also could be additions by someone else. It is unclear what the symbol is used for, as it does not seem to mark beginnings of recipes like the crosses and notae do; it is in fact unclear to what extent it relates to individual recipes at all. While two of the symbols might seem like quire signatures, this would not explain the use of the others. Further inquiry into these marginalia could prove fruitful for a clearer picture of the people involved in the production and use of this text.

While not undisputed evidence of the actual use of the recipes in the book – in the way that a herb stem or a weasel hair might be – all of the different aids for reading and using the text that have been added to it are certainly a testament to its perceived usefulness and relevance, and probably also to its use as an actual reference work.

## 5.5 Controlling Access: Code and Language Choice

While several features of the text have been added to aid navigation and use, other features of the work of Scribe M appeared to reflect the opposite aim: to make information less easily accessible. One of the most interesting aspects of scribe M's work is his use of different layers of coding, presumably to control access to particular parts of the text. The passage on ff. 166r-170v displays instances of such coding in three layers: firstly in encoded vernacular English words, secondly in the strategic use of Latin in other places than creeds, prayer and charms, and lastly in the use of encoded Latin.

On f. 168r and f. 169v, the scribe has chosen to encrypt certain English words. The first instance of their use appears in a recipe for an anaesthetic:

[F]Or to make a Mon to slepe quil he is coruen take iij sponful of þ<sup>e</sup> **gbl** of a **sbynk** & iij sponful of þ<sup>e</sup> ius of **hkmklkk** & iij sponful of **byskl** & blend al to-gedur & do it in a vessel of glas & kepe it clen' & take of it a sponful & do it in a galu' of wyne or of ale

& if þ<sup>u</sup> wil make it stithe do þer-in ij . sponful & þen' gif him þer-of to drinke sittand by þ<sup>e</sup> fir' & he schal son' slepe & fele no sor' . (f. 168r)

'To make a man sleep while he is being carved, take three spoonfuls of the (gall) of a (swine) and three spoonfuls of the juice of (hemlock) and three spoonfuls of (vinegar) and blend all together and put it in a vessel of glass and keep it clean, and take a spoonful of that and put it in a gallon of wine or of ale and if you will make it strong, put in two spoonfuls and then give it to drink to him while he sits by the fire, and he shall soon sleep and feel no pain'.

Here, the crucial ingredients needed for the recipe are masked by letter substitutions. Such coding appears in altogether two English recipes; the coded words are listed in Table 10 in order of their appearance in the text.

f. 168r	Gbl	gal 'gall'
	sbynk	suyne 'swine'
	hkmklkk	hemelek, 'hemlock'
	byskl	aysel, 'eyssel' (vinegar)
	bkkne	boore 'boar'
	sppf	soof 'sow'
f. 169v	mpn, wpmpn	Mon, womon 'man', 'woman'
	knbue	knaue 'boy' / 'male child'
	khkld'	kheld' 'child'
	anbre, anbr'	an are 'a hare'
	mkn, wkmkn (latter twice)	man, woman 'man', 'woman'
	b:d, b:d:	bed, bede 'bed'
	cknsaf <sup>e</sup>	consaf <sup>e</sup> 'conceive'
	wes:l	wesel/wesil 'weasel'

Table 10: The letter-substitution codes of Scribe M.



If deciphered correctly here, the scribe has made use of a relatively simple code and replaced the vowels in key words with consonants that were near them in the alphabet. It seems, however, that some consonants have been employed to denote more than one vowel. Taking into account likely spellings, the rules for encoding could have looked like this:

B = A

K = E / O

P = O

In addition, interpunction symbols such as : and :: were used to denote ‘e’.

The coded words on f. 168r appear in a recipe on how to sedate or induce sleep on someone who has surgery (or perhaps amputation) performed on them. Apart from the fact that surgery is a specialised skill, the recipe calls for three spoonfuls of the juice of hemlock, which is a highly poisonous plant, and ingestion of small amounts may be fatal.<sup>46</sup> The scribe here thus seems to have wanted to shield this recipe from the eyes of those who he might have deemed unfit for such a dangerous undertaking. This certainly implies that these texts could have been accessible to those who were not trained medical practitioners, or at least that the scribe assumed as much. It is also possible that the scribe merely encrypted the language in case the manuscript would fall into the hands of those who did not have the sufficient competence to prepare and administer these remedies.

The function of the coded words on f. 169v seems slightly less obvious. They are a recipe for determining whether the man or the woman of a couple is infertile, for helping them have a male child, and for making a woman that cannot conceive pregnant. They are part of a section on fertility and pregnancy where not all recipes are encoded. It may have been the case that the scribe deemed the pursuit of these particular ends inappropriate for

---

<sup>46</sup> It has been theorised that it was hemlock poisoning that killed Socrates, Theramenes and Phocion. Though this is not an undisputed fact, it is certainly true that ingestion of a small dosage of the coniine chemical found in the plants can lead to respiratory collapse and death. For more on hemlock, see Marjorie Blamey’s *Wild Flowers of Britain and Ireland* (2003).

laymen and scaled them under the type of treatment that must be done with the help of a professional.

It is interesting to note that, while certainly hindering legibility, these codes used by the scribe may seem neither elaborate nor very sophisticated to the highly literate eye of a modern reader. In medieval England, however, literacy skills would vary enormously and range from complete illiteracy or rudimentary functional literacy to highly advanced multilingual reading and writing skills. Measures such as these might very well have ensured a safe encryption of those recipes which were not intended for private use in the home, or by beginning apprentices.

The second way in which we might ‘read’ authorial intent that implies a certain readership, is the appearance of recipes in Latin interspersing the vernacular text. On f. 167r, the following instruction appears:

*Conter semen sicute cum pane & appone mure3 & eum comederit morientur*

‘Crush hemlock seed with bread to use against mice, which will die from eating it’

The recipe is preceded and immediately followed by recipes in the vernacular which seem to have been written in a single stretch. This instance of code switching – one of many, both in the work of Scribe M and that of others in Sloane 3160 – appears a conscious decision to hide the recipe, which again contains the dangerous ingredient hemlock, from the eyes of those who were not proficient in Latin.

Finally, to protect certain information from even those who could read Latin, Scribe M, at the bottom of the same folio, encodes numerous words in a Latin passage. These passages are still to be transcribed and decoded; we might speculate that they contain yet more recipes calling for hazardous ingredients that Scribe M did not wish to share indiscriminately.

## 5.6 Concluding Notes

It remains a mystery who the scribes writing Sloane 3160 were. The appearance of marginalia indicates usage, as does the ‘wear and tear’ of the codex, which suggests it was, at least in certain places, thumbed regularly. The coded language implies an awareness of the possible access of amateurs – or perhaps apprentices - to the recipes and knowledge offered in the manuscript, in addition to the professional practitioners at which these texts appear to be aimed. Of course, when it was eventually incorporated into Hans Sloane’s personal collection – which grew so large that he bought a second house to store it in – the manuscript would have been visited by well-to-do readers, mainly scholars and dignitaries.<sup>47</sup>

It is reasonable to assume that the actual readership of the manuscript, perhaps from the moment of its conception but at the very least from the point onwards where it formed part of Sloane’s collection, would have most likely been concentrated in England’s middle and upper classes, solely for the relation they had with the written word in general. However, both the miscellaneous nature of the contents and the frequent code-switching between English and Latin do not suggest an affiliation with the most learned academic circles, even though the knowledge produced in those circles has definitely pressed its mark on the contents of the manuscript.

The medical part of Sloane 3160 would also not have been a commonplace or household book, but rather one used by a medical practitioner, or perhaps a community of them. The presence of a recipe requiring distilling equipment suggests a professional context, and the reference to surgery or amputation might in particular indicate an affinity with the kind of practitioners known as barber-surgeons (see also p. 82); presumably, the recipes to do with hair dyeing, hair removal, the charms to staunch blood and the ruling for bloodletting would point at this particular group of practitioners as well.

The fact that many different scribes have contributed in more than one section of the manuscript suggests that it was possibly shared amongst a community, rather than that it was written on a linear timescale in isolated increments by individuals that might have consecutively owned the book without having any relationship to each other. Apart from Scribe M’s own work appearing in different parts of the manuscript, the use of the manuscript by a community is suggested by the last three folios (ff. 71r-73v), directly following Scribe

---

<sup>47</sup> See: <https://www.britishmuseum.org/about-us/british-museum-story/sir-hans-sloane>

M's contribution, which contain short medical texts – recipes and diagnostics – added by as many as five hands.

It would have required literacy skills and at least a basic level of education to make use of a manuscript such as Sloane 3160. The numerous systems of marking, and the very large number of alternative remedies for specific ailments suggest strongly that it was the kind of manuscript that was used by practitioners rather a status marker collecting dust in a library. It seems likely that Scribe M and the other contributors were medical practitioners themselves or that they copied for such individuals, who might have used a manuscript like this extensively if they attended to many patients or customers and needed to locate remedies quickly.

The overall physical features of the manuscript also give some suggestions about its use. The codex' relatively small dimensions (see: p. 27) are perhaps suggestive. Even though it was by no means a pocket book, it was certainly humble in size and weight, and would not have been a great bother for one to travel with it, to loan it out, or to handle it in domestic or public spaces. Valuable information has been lost as a result of the remounting of the leaves, which renders an inquiry into the quire collation and prior contents and dimensions impossible. On the other hand, one might theorise that a remounting might have suggested intensive use of the manuscript, leading to a fragile binding that required such repair. Reassembling and rebinding, however, was quite a common practise during Sloane's lifetime and was not only done to heavily damaged codices, so this explanation is speculative at best.

Finally, the use of multiple layers of coding in Scribe M's work might indicate the kind of community of medical practice where education might be largely through practical apprenticeship, and levels of learning varied. The appearance of famous texts such as Arnald of Villanova's *Tractatulus de regimine sanitates*<sup>48</sup> and a vernacular version of Galen's *De minutione sanguinis per duodecim anni menses*, and the *Agnus Castus*, side by side with surgical recipes, hymns and poetry, magical charms, and vernacular *receptaria* of the remedybook tradition displays quite aptly not just the conflation and dissemination of knowledge traditions in several languages, but the interplay between ancient Greek wisdom,

---

<sup>48</sup> Arnald of Villanova originally wrote this text on hygiene for king James II of Aragon and it was titled 'Regimen sanitatis ad inclitum dominum regem Aragonum'. It has not been established whether the copy of this text in Sloane 3160 is complete, though complete copies have certainly appeared in many medieval medical manuscripts, and it is noted that it is the medieval hygiene text 'of which the most handwritten Latin copies have been conserved: 78 manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, 61 of which contain the whole text' (Carré and Stacey 2017). See: <https://www.sciencia.cat/temes/arnald-villanovas-regimen-health-king-aragon>

Roman patriarchal influence and what we may see as 'old wives remedies', Christian religion and magical beliefs.

## PART II

### The Edition

#### Conventions

This thesis presents a diplomatic edition of the text on ff. 151r-v and 166r-170v in Sloane 3160. As the edition aims at representing the manuscript reality closely, it is particularly directed at scholars of philology and linguistics, as well as readers with a particular interest in medieval manuscript texts. A translation of the entire text is also provided in order to make this text available to scholars with an interest in the history of medicine as well as for any readers who take an interest in medical recipes and charms from the English Middle Ages.

The edition follows the transcription conventions of the Middle English Grammar Corpus (MEG-C) as represented in the ‘Readable version’; a detailed description of the conventions is available on the corpus website ([www.uis.no/meg-c](http://www.uis.no/meg-c)). It represents the text at the graphemic (spelling) level, retaining manuscript punctuation and capitalization but on the whole not indicating allographic variation, that is, different letter shapes. The only exception is the usage with regard to ‘v’/’u’ and ‘i’/’j’ respectively, which have clearly different functions today but were simply variant forms the medieval period. Here the transcription follows throughout the manuscript usage: the shape of the letter – that is, whether it is made up or minims (‘u’) or not (‘v’) – determines, as a general rule, the use of ‘v’ or ‘u’ in the transcription. Thus, the Modern English word ‘use’ may appear both as <use> and <vse> in the transcription, based on the letter shapes.

The letter form ‘y’ is used in both a consonantal and vocalic function, representing both the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ (and corresponding to the present-day consonant combination ‘th’) and the vowel /i(:)/. Both have been retained in the transcription as the letter ‘y’. Examples of this are:

yaim, ‘them’

yno3e, ‘enough’

The dental fricatives are represented in the manuscript text not only by ‘y’, but also by ‘th’ and ‘þ’ (thorn). The two letters ‘y’ and ‘þ’ are clearly differentiated in the script, and only ‘y’ is in general used for the vowel, while both forms are used for the dental fricative. This variation is retained in the transcription.

The letter ‘ȝ’ or yogh, which was in use in Middle English and represented various phonemes, including /j/ and /x/ (and its allophone [ç]), is also retained in the edition:

ȝer, ‘year’

liȝtur, ‘lighter’

draȝt, ‘draught’

In addition, yogh is used as the spelling of inflectional -s in words such as <niȝtȝ> ‘nights’, <pappȝ> ‘breasts’ and <grogheȝ> ‘grows’. In some Middle English texts, this use involves a consistently somewhat different shape which may be considered a variant of ‘z’; in the present text, however, the letter form used here is indistinguishable from yogh.

Capitalisation, lineation and punctuation have been left unchanged. Punctus is represented by a full stop ( . ) and virgule by a slash sign: ( / ). Superscript letters have been retained, as in <w<sup>t</sup>> ‘with’, <þ<sup>e</sup>> ‘the’.

Substantial flourishes or rising endstrokes made without a pen lift, which may or may not indicate an abbreviation (known as squiggles in the MELD terminology) have been written out as apostrophes ( ’ ) following the usage recommended by Malcolm Parkes (1969: xxix-xxx).<sup>49</sup> A succession of tildes ( ~~~~~ ) has been employed to represent line fillers indicating the beginning of a new paragraph or section on the following line. Symbols used to represent ‘and’ are consistently transcribed as ( & ). Notae are indicated as ( [nota] ).

Wherever macrons (horizontal superscript strokes, usually abbreviating a nasal) appear in the manuscript, they have been expanded in italics: <him, þaim, þuen>. Suspension or

---

<sup>49</sup> For a more complete explanation, see ‘A Note on the Transcriptions’ in Parkes’ 1969 book *English Cursive Book Hands, 1250-1500*.

contraction marks that are not macrons are also expanded in italics, using the MEG-C practice: <gouerne, venemus, sugur>.

For words that were written separately, but that are in modern English regarded a single word, a hyphen ( - ) has been added. Thus, what was written as <nase thirlis> in the manuscript appears in the transcription as <nase-thirlis>, as in modern English this exists as a single word: nostrils. In the same way, <blod letting> appears as <blod-letting>, even though it appears as two separate words in the manuscript. It may be noted that all hyphens are editorial, as none are used in the manuscript. Any superscript additions are made by Scribe M unless otherwise indicated in the footnotes.

It appears that the manuscript pages have been cut to fit the manuscript after the scribe had written on them, and in this process some letters and parts of words are missing from the end of the lines in the right corners of f. 151r and f. 168r (and in one instance on f. 167r). Suggestions for the missing text have been added for the purpose of its legibility, but placed in brackets [ ] to denote that these are not a direct representation of the manuscript reality. The additions have been provided with footnotes detailing the manuscript reality and, where necessary, giving justifications for the suggested additions. All spellings of the suggested words have been reconstructed taking both the language of its context and the OED listings of known ME spellings into consideration. The text found in the MS is in all these instances specified in the footnotes. All reconstructions are based on strong likelihoods given the context and the discernible writing; where no such likely form is suggested by the context, this has been marked by [...] and, where necessary, is accompanied by further explanation in a footnote.



## The Text

[fol. 151r] [H] Er<sup>50</sup> be-gynnys the techyng<sup>51</sup> and the Rulyng how a mon'  
shuld gouerne hym thro the 3er' of methus and drinkus and  
blode-lettyng and 3if a mon' use this rule he shal be in gode hele  
and long of life & c' And also to be war' of *perelus* daies þ<sup>e</sup> whiche<sup>52</sup>  
5 ben' in þ<sup>e</sup> 3er . 32 . and in þies daies no mon' shuld let him blode noþer  
of vayne ne of wound ne begyn' no grete werke ne no grete jorna[y]<sup>53</sup>  
for take ne no mariage for to make for it wil torne to wrake . and [þer<sup>-fore</sup>]<sup>54</sup>  
it is gode þ<sup>t</sup> this daies befor-said be fore-borne in al thing þ<sup>t</sup> is to be  
done the wheche daies . ben' written' her' undur how þai' fallen' and  
10 what tyme . / ~~~~~<sup>55</sup>  
[nota] Jn the Monethe of Janyuer al maner of swete wynes ben' gode to dr[inke]<sup>56</sup>  
and medesinabul and al maner of blod-letting to leue for there ben' . [7]<sup>57</sup>  
perellis daies the first<sup>58</sup> the seconde the . 4 . the . 5 . 10 . 15 . and þ<sup>e</sup> . [...]<sup>59</sup>  
[nota] in the monethe of feuerelle potage of malues ete þ<sup>u</sup> not for yai ben<sup>60</sup>  
15 venemus in þ<sup>t</sup> tyme . in<sup>61</sup> . the veine of the thombe let the blode . 2 . daies-  
of perel<sup>62</sup> ther ben' the . 7<sup>63</sup> . and the . 19 . dai .  
[nota] Jn the monethe of Marche use figus & raysingus & othur swete metes  
& drinkes blode let the none ne vse bathes but let the blod in the . 17 . d[ai]e]<sup>64</sup>  
in the ri3t arme for eueri maner feuer but . 3 . daies he has *perelus* & wiche<sup>65</sup>  
20 and that is the . 15<sup>66</sup> . day & the . 16 . & the . 19 . day . / / /  
[nota] Jn the monethe of Aprilis goode is to be let blode in the . 3 . daie in the

<sup>50</sup> A space has initially been left blank for a large initial *h* in the manuscript, and a small drafted *h* can be discerned in this gap. A manícula has however been drawn to fill the gap.

<sup>51</sup> Light, reddish smudging appears over this word, but as the text was written in a darker colour it remains legible.

<sup>52</sup> A small, part of the letter *e* is missing as the page seems to have been cropped after the scribe wrote on it, resulting in the loss of letters and word parts at the end of many of the lines that follow on f. 151r.

<sup>53</sup> MS: *jorna* (the remainder lost in cropping).

<sup>54</sup> MS: a thorn and a suspension mark denoting *er* seem to form the word *þer*, after which is most likely written – in close proximity – an *f*, though it is possible this is a long *s* with an arm connecting it to the next letter of a lost word.

<sup>55</sup> A total of 8 separate line-filling flourishes indicate the start of a new section in the following line.

<sup>56</sup> MS: The letters *dr* followed by three minims are visible (remainder lost in cropping).

<sup>57</sup> A number shape or the beginning of a word appears here; the context requires the number 7.

<sup>58</sup> There is a cross sign drawn above all the numbers on this line.

<sup>59</sup> The number shape *l* is visible on the line, followed by a number that is difficult to identify. In the context of the sentence it must have been a number higher than fifteen and lower than twenty.

<sup>60</sup> MS: Part of the letter *n* has been lost in the cropping.

<sup>61</sup> Light smudging on the manuscript page over this word, but the writing is legible.

<sup>62</sup> Dark smudging on the manuscript page over the second *e* in this word, but the writing is legible.

<sup>63</sup> There is a cross sign drawn above both numbers on this line.

<sup>64</sup> MS: only *d* is visible (remainder lost in cropping).

<sup>65</sup> The final *e* is barely visible.

<sup>66</sup> There is a cross sign drawn above all the numbers on this line.

left arme & he shal that 3er' haue no swon in his heede and whoso  
 lettes *him* blode in the . ii . day on' the same arme þ<sup>t</sup> 3ere he shal lese  
 no sȳt & fresche metes vse and . 2 . daies he has *perilus* . the 7<sup>67</sup> . & . 9 . da[ie]<sup>68</sup>  
 25 [nota] Jn the monethe of May Rise erle hote metes & drinkes use but ete  
 noyer the heede of no best ne the fote blode let the none for . 3 . daies  
 ther' ben' of *perel* . the . 8<sup>69</sup> . dai the . 15 . dai and the . 17 . daie . but let the  
 [nota] blode in the . 4<sup>70</sup> . or the . 5 . the . 7 . or in the last daie of monethe in whe[che]<sup>71</sup>  
 arme þ<sup>u</sup> wolt & hit wol help the of *eueri* euel in that 3er'  
 30 [nota] Jn the monethe Junij . *eueri* dai' drinke a litil cold *watur* fasting  
 ete & drinke in mesure and for grete nede þ<sup>u</sup> may let þ<sup>e</sup> blode but  
 the . 7<sup>72</sup> . daie is *perellis* . / / /  
 [nota] Jn the monethe of Julij hold the fro *leccherie* for yen' þ<sup>e</sup> brayne *gedr[es]*<sup>73</sup>  
 his humerus blode let the none for . 2 . daies þ<sup>er</sup> ben *of perel* . þ<sup>e</sup> . 15<sup>74</sup> . & þ<sup>e</sup> . 19  
 35 [nota] Jn the monethe of August malues use none in þ<sup>i</sup> potage . but vse<sup>75</sup>  
 hote metes & drinke no cold drinkes blode let the none for . 2 . daies þ<sup>er</sup> be[n]<sup>76</sup>  
 of *perel* þ<sup>e</sup> . 19<sup>77</sup> . & þ<sup>e</sup> . 20 . daie .

[fol. 151v] [nota] Jn the monethe of september' al frutes þ<sup>t</sup> bene ripe hete hote  
 40 & not cold and goode is to let blode for who so lettis *him* blod  
 in the . 12 . daie or on þ<sup>e</sup> . 17<sup>78</sup> . daie dropsei . palesei *feuer*' ne falling  
 euel shal he not haue that 3er' but he has . 2 . daies of *perel* þ<sup>e</sup> . 15<sup>79</sup> .  
 and the . 16<sup>80</sup> . daie .

[nota] Jn the monethe of October . must & new wyne is goode for to  
 45 use and for nede to let blod . but the . 17<sup>81</sup> . daie is *perelles* .  
 Jn the monethe of Nouember . be ware of these daies for these

<sup>67</sup> There is a cross sign drawn above both ordinal numbers on this line (that is, the 7 and the 9), not above the 2.

<sup>68</sup> MS: *da* (remainder lost in cropping).

<sup>69</sup> There is a cross sign drawn above all the numbers on this line.

<sup>70</sup> The numbers on this line, though ordinal, do not have cross signs drawn over them.

<sup>71</sup> MS: *whe* (remainder lost in cropping).

<sup>72</sup> This number has a cross sign drawn over it.

<sup>73</sup> MS: *gedr* (remainder lost in cropping).

<sup>74</sup> There is a cross sign drawn above both ordinal numbers on this line (that is, the 7 and the 9), not above the 2.

<sup>75</sup> The final *e* is barely visible.

<sup>76</sup> MS: *be* (remainder lost in cropping).

<sup>77</sup> There is a cross sign drawn above all the numbers on this line.

<sup>78</sup> This number, though ordinal, does not have a cross sign drawn over it.

<sup>79</sup> This number has a cross sign drawn over it.

<sup>80</sup> This number has a cross sign drawn over it.

<sup>81</sup> This number has a cross sign drawn over it.

ben' daies of grete *perel* . the . 15<sup>82</sup> . and the . 19 . daie & loke þ<sup>u</sup> come  
in no bathe for þen the blode gederes . goode is þ<sup>e</sup> wayne to a-  
vent w<sup>t</sup> garsing for to set þ<sup>e</sup> Ronkenes of bloode for then' ben'  
50 al the humures qwike . ///

[nota] In the monethe of December . vse hote metes blode thou may let  
& þ<sup>u</sup> haue neede the cole wortes for-ber' and who so euer this live  
ledes shal haue long life & hele . but . 2 . daies þer ben of *perelle*  
the . 5<sup>83</sup> . and the . 17 . daie . ///

55 [nota] Er'<sup>84</sup> ben' the vertuse of blood-lettyng hit clerus & clansuthe  
the brayne . h<sup>t</sup> temperes the stomake & clansuthe it and hit  
defieth the mete hit maketh the voice the liztur hit scharpethe  
the witte hit lizth the wombe hit gedres & hit noresshethe good  
blod & doth a-waie wicket blod and makes a monnes blode to  
60 haue the lengur heele . & c' . /// ~~~~~<sup>85</sup>

her'<sup>86</sup> ben' . iij . daies in þ<sup>e</sup> 3er' þ<sup>t</sup> no mon' shuld blede vpon  
for no maner of sekene that is to whette the last daie  
of *apriles* the first monndaie of August the last monndaie of  
decembur' for þ<sup>s</sup> daies all þ<sup>e</sup> vaynes on a mon' ben ful of blode  
65 and he let hym' blode in any of *yes* daies he shall die w<sup>t</sup>-in  
xl . daies next *aftur* and if he lyue *aftur* . xl . daies he shal lyue  
in car' & sorow . and if hee ete of a gosse in any of þ<sup>s</sup> . iij . daies  
be-for-sayd he shal dee w<sup>t</sup>-in . xl . daies after' or ellis he schal  
be lazere . /// ~~~~~<sup>87</sup>

70 *jasper melchar balthezar x<sup>o</sup>forus* .

[fol. 166r] For stynnkand and take blake mynt & the ius of rue of *aythur*  
ilike mecul & do it in y<sup>i</sup> nase-thirlis . Another' take puliol  
& temper it wit vinegr' & drinke it At eue' & n a morow . For *him*  
75 that' has þ<sup>e</sup> thop<sup>e</sup> warche take *hauur* mele & sethe it in old wyn'

---

<sup>82</sup> There is a cross sign drawn above both numbers on this line.

<sup>83</sup> There is a cross sign drawn above both numbers on this line.

<sup>84</sup> Space left blank for a large initial *h*. A small *h* has been drafted in the gap in light ink.

<sup>85</sup> A total of 6 separate line-filling flourishes indicate the start of a new section in the following line.

<sup>86</sup> Space left blank for a large initial *t*. A small *t* has been drafted in the gap in light ink, and a manícula has been added in the margin, partly filling up the gap.

<sup>87</sup> A total of 8 separate line-filling flourishes indicate the end of the section and folio.

tyl h<sup>t</sup> be thike & do it on a linon clothe & warm' lay it to his cheke .  
 anoyer for þ<sup>e</sup> worm' in þ<sup>e</sup> tothe take henban & lek sede & franc-encens  
 & lay þ<sup>s</sup> thre on a hot telston' & make a pipe that<sup>88</sup> hafs a wyd  
 end' ouer the smoke þ<sup>t</sup> it ren' thurgh þ<sup>e</sup> pipe & do y<sup>e</sup> naro end  
 80 to þ<sup>i</sup> tothe & it shal sle y<sup>e</sup> worm & hele the . For him þ<sup>t</sup> has  
 the host take liuerwort hynd' tong & maydenhag' of ichin<sup>89</sup> ilike mecul  
 and stampe þam wel & stepe þaim wel in old ale & drinke þ<sup>t</sup> ale ix .  
 morous fasting & als mony euens & it shal helpe y<sup>e</sup> welle . Anoyer  
 for y<sup>e</sup> perelus host take sauge rue comyn & peper & sethe . yaim to-gedur in  
 85 a pon' w<sup>t</sup> hone & et at morou' a sponful & at euen anoþer . / For shepe-  
 lous or erwig<sup>90</sup> or any oyer worm in þ<sup>i</sup>-n er take rue iuse or of wermot  
 or hor' houn & do it in þ<sup>i</sup>-n er & it wil sle it . For euel in þ<sup>e</sup> stomake  
 take the rote of fenel & þ<sup>e</sup> rute of ache & stompe hem to-gedur . & temper  
 honi w<sup>t</sup> quite wyn' & gif y<sup>e</sup> seke to drinke. also take þ<sup>e</sup> ius of  
 90 walworth & drinke it w<sup>t</sup> wyne an egge-shele<sup>91</sup> ful at' ones &  
 hit sal clans y<sup>e</sup> stomake. For him þ<sup>t</sup> thirsteꝝ ay take centori or  
 þ<sup>e</sup> rote of louage & stampe it & temper it w<sup>t</sup> wyne lue or w<sup>t</sup>  
 water & drinke it iij niȝtꝝ quenn þ<sup>u</sup> gose to þ<sup>i</sup> bed & it w<sup>t</sup> for-do þ<sup>i</sup> thirst[e]<sup>92</sup>  
 That venou' shal not men þe in mete nor drinke take lecus sede & stampe  
 95 it & meng it w<sup>t</sup> watur & drinke it fastand & it schal safe þ<sup>e</sup> // For  
 warke & suelling in þ<sup>e</sup> pappꝝ take waybrod & þ<sup>e</sup> lefs of fenikle & old  
 grece & stompe it and bynd it þer-to Anoþer take horrehon' & stampe it w<sup>t</sup> old  
 grece & anoint þi pap þer-w<sup>t</sup><sup>93</sup> For euel in þ<sup>e</sup> wombe take fenel lef & stompe  
 it & take tvo sponful of<sup>94</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> ius & drinke it & it shal do þ<sup>e</sup> euul a-way  
 100 Anoþer take þ<sup>e</sup> ius of waybrod & make it leuk & drinke it for it is gode  
 For þ<sup>e</sup> scabbe take þ<sup>e</sup> red dok rote & stampe it w<sup>t</sup> may buttur & sethe it <sup>w<sup>e</sup>le</sup> in  
 old wine & clans it thurgh a cloþ<sup>e</sup> in-to a bassun' ful of watur & let it  
 harden þer-in & þen do it in a boist & a-noint þ<sup>i</sup> scab þer-w<sup>t</sup> For þ<sup>e</sup> ston  
 take ouerfern þ<sup>t</sup> grogheꝝ on þ<sup>e</sup> oke & take þ<sup>e</sup> roteꝝ in aprile & wasche hom' <sup>95</sup>

<sup>88</sup> There is smudging over the last two letters of this word, but the writing is legible.

<sup>89</sup> There is smudging over the first two letters of this word, but the writing is legible.

<sup>90</sup> There is smudging over the lower part of the letter g, but it is legible.

<sup>91</sup> MS: a negge shele.

<sup>92</sup> MS: *thirst*, with a trace of a letter lost in the cropping.

<sup>93</sup> A smudge appears underneath the latter part of this word, but the text is legible.

<sup>94</sup> Some smudging appears over this word.

<sup>95</sup> The word is faded but still legible.

105 welle & stamp hom wel & take tvo cupful of stale ale &  $\Lambda^a$  cupful of hony  
& do *per*-to & het it a littull & do a-way  $\text{p}^e$  fome & drinke *per*-of quo so wil  
be sopele deliuerd For  $\text{p}^e$  ringe-worme take mosse & bren it to poudur &  
frot it of *per*-w<sup>t</sup> & h<sup>t</sup> shal be hole . / ~~~~~<sup>96</sup>

110 [fol. 166v] For  $\text{p}^e$  taw in  $\text{p}^e$  throte or<sup>97</sup> mouthe take salt comyn & pepur of ilkon'  
ilike mecul & make of *païm* a poudur & gif  $\text{p}^e$  seke to drinke it in a  
sponful of hate watur *pes* medecyn is profetabull for it is *proued*  
For *him*  $\text{p}^t$  may not pisse take gromel red nettel *percylle* sede &  
fenelle<sup>98</sup> sede & quite pepur *iliche* miche & stomp hom' & temper hom in  
115 wyne & use<sup>99</sup> *his* drinke &  $\text{p}^u$  schal be hole . For *him*  $\text{p}^t$  spues blode  
take ache mynt rue & betayn' of ilkon' *iliche* mecul & well *païm*'  
wele in gotes mylke & drinke it . iij . days . For to gar' a-nion' to  
spue take<sup>100</sup> *lauriale* & make poudur *perof* & blend it euunliche w<sup>t</sup> hone  
& ete *perof* by a sponful or tvo . For *him*  $\text{p}^t$  spues & haldz not h<sup>s</sup>  
120 mete take rue & stamp it temper it w<sup>t</sup> wyn' & vse it lue . Also  
take iij lefes of rue & ete at morou' & iij of sage at euen .  
For warche & euel in *pe* bleddur . take ache . *percil* . fenell of ichon  
ilike mecul & stampe *païm* well & temper *païm* w<sup>t</sup> wat' & drinke it  
& hit schal hele  $\text{p}^i$  bleddur & make  $\text{p}^e$  wel to pisse & berston'  $\text{p}^e$  ston  
125 and hete  $\text{p}^i$  stomake . For *him*  $\text{p}^t$  may not<sup>101</sup> hald his pisse take gote  
clause & bren *païm* in a ner $\text{p}^e$  pot al to poudur & ete  $\text{p}^t$  poudur ilke day<sup>102</sup>  
fastand in  $\text{p}^i$  potage or how so  $\text{p}^u$  may ete h<sup>t</sup> & hit shal hele  $\text{p}^e$   
For the neresond take doufe dritte  $\text{p}^t$  is moyst & barle mele &  
stamp hom wel to-gedur & do *per*-to halph a pynt of vinegr' to  
130 half<sup>103</sup> a pond of *pes* o $\text{per}$  & medil hem wel to-gedur & lay hom to

<sup>96</sup> A total of 6 separate line-filling flourishes indicate the end of the section and folio, the last two of which are barely legible due to smudging/darkening of the right side of the page. In the bottom right margin there is a symbol (Ø). This symbol appears also in the left margin halfway down f. 166v, and on f. 167v and f. 168r (see: footnote 114 below). Outside of this text they have also been identified on f. 144v and twice on f. 147v. Their function has not been established.

<sup>97</sup> The *o* is slightly smudged.

<sup>98</sup> Another hand has added the word [<sup>?</sup>*Jewyng*] in the left margin. The first letter seems to be lost in the cropping.

<sup>99</sup> A smudge that looks like an oil stain appears over this word, making its ink looks slightly darker than that of the words around it.

<sup>100</sup> A smudge that looks like an oil stain appears in between the words *take* and *lauriale* on this line, and *of* and *by* on the following line, slightly darkening the letters it encompasses.

<sup>101</sup> Slight smudging over the *t*.

<sup>102</sup> The text on this line is slightly smaller than most of the others.

<sup>103</sup> A light, reddish smudge appears in the margin to the left of this line.

cold & lay cole lefs a-bofe to hald in þ<sup>e</sup> *licur* & bynd a clothe  
 a-bove alle a-boute it & let it lie . iij . daies of more & on  
 the thred day if it be nede renewe it w<sup>t</sup>-inne & hit shal be  
 hole<sup>104</sup> w<sup>t</sup>-in . iij . plasterus on' warandise . For the agu take þ<sup>e</sup>  
 135 dok þ<sup>t</sup> *berus* þ<sup>e</sup> cuntkles & take þ<sup>e</sup> rote þ<sup>e</sup>r-of & make it clene w<sup>t</sup>  
 þ<sup>i</sup> knyfe & bray it in a mortar & temper it w<sup>t</sup> old ale & drinke  
 hit in þ<sup>e</sup> sorust tyme of alle & c' The firste thorsday of may  
 drinke þ<sup>e</sup> Juse of betoyne & hit schal amend þi sikt & þ<sup>i</sup> brayne  
 and<sup>105</sup> þ<sup>i</sup> coloure . **Contra dolorem dentium** . Take the Jndir barke of þe  
 140 eldye & savyn or . ix . pepyr cornys & grind hem smale & temper  
 hit w<sup>t</sup> hony & then' make smale peletes þ<sup>e</sup>r-of & put in þ<sup>e</sup> hole .  
 of the tothe . & hit shal stanche the warche / For a man þ<sup>t</sup>  
 hays the senew wherht in is arme or' de bone werht that is  
 in a manis boddy take the grese of a splayt biche and bayes &  
 145 loril lefis and take a nerbe þ<sup>t</sup> is cald neypt than take þis  
 herbe & theis bayys and stamp hem' in a mortar & wring it be-

[fol. 167r] twene þowr' hondis then' take this grese & set it on' þ<sup>e</sup> fier'  
 & a litil sethe it & then' put in this herbus þ<sup>e</sup>rto and when' it is  
 150 wel sothen' to-gedur then' take & put it in a herthen' pot þ<sup>t</sup> is clen[e]<sup>106</sup>  
 Take sage & stomp it a litil & put þ<sup>e</sup>r-to tvo so micul of salt & do  
 it in a past & bake it to it brent & þ<sup>e</sup>n take þ<sup>t</sup> & make a poudur  
 þ<sup>e</sup>r-of & rub þ<sup>i</sup> tethe þ<sup>e</sup>r-w<sup>t</sup> & h<sup>t</sup> schal make þ<sup>i</sup> tethe quit & make  
 suete brethe . it' take þ<sup>e</sup> rotes of *veruayn* & sethe & oft sithe  
 155 wasche þ<sup>i</sup> tethe þ<sup>e</sup>r-withe & it shal hele þ<sup>e</sup> w<sup>t</sup>-in tvo daies .  
 For worme in mons womb take þ<sup>e</sup> ius of<sup>107</sup> suthern' wod & of  
 wermot & of rue & a litul of þe ius of sauyn &<sup>108</sup> of *veruayn*  
 & drinke w<sup>t</sup> old ale . [Latin: Conter' semen sicute cum pane & appone  
 muribz & dum comederint morientur] For stiche in þ<sup>e</sup> side take litul  
 160 balls of sothen red wortes & bren' hom' in a new pot & sithen

<sup>104</sup> To the left of this line the word *agew*, written by a different scribe, appears in the margin, framed by a faint line above and below.

<sup>105</sup> To the left of this line and the next two lines the words *dolor dentium* appear in the margin.

<sup>106</sup> MS: *clen*, with a trace of a letter lost in the cropping

<sup>107</sup> Slight smudging appears over this word.

<sup>108</sup> It looks like this & was preceded by another, rendered almost illegible by smudging.

grind<sup>109</sup> hom' in-to poudur & blende hit w<sup>t</sup> hony & old smer' & lay it  
 þer-to For hedd warke take þ<sup>e</sup> gall of a har' & temper it w<sup>t</sup>  
 hone enliche & smer' <sup>110</sup>þer-w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>i</sup> templus & al þ<sup>i</sup> hed be-for' .  
 Also take peper <sup>111</sup>& mustard sed piritrum<sup>112</sup>& make poudur þer-of & blend  
 165 w<sup>t</sup> wax & hald it in þ<sup>i</sup> mouthe . For þ<sup>e</sup> migrayn in þ<sup>e</sup> hed & for<sup>113</sup>  
 enpostem in þ<sup>e</sup> hed & for þ<sup>e</sup> dropse in þ<sup>e</sup> hed & for al maner of  
 hedwarke take faur' pany weght of þ<sup>e</sup> rote of peletr' of spayn'  
 & a halpeny weght of spiconard & grind hom' in-to poudur & boil  
 hom' in gode vinegr' & take a saucerful of hone & fife saucer-ful of  
 170 mustard & quen' þ<sup>i</sup> vinegr' is cold do þer-in þ<sup>i</sup> mustard & þ<sup>i</sup> hony  
 & let þ<sup>e</sup> seke vse þer-of half a sponful at eues & hald it in his mouthe  
 quil he miȝt say two credes ten times or . xij . to-gedur a gode quil  
 aftur mete & also oft be-for' mete & þen spit it out in-to a bassin &  
 quen' þ<sup>u</sup> gos to þ<sup>i</sup> bedd wasche þ<sup>i</sup> mouthe & drinke a draȝt & vse  
 175 þis medcyn þus thre daies & þ<sup>u</sup> shal be hole on warandise . but  
 take hede quiche þ<sup>e</sup> filthe is in þ<sup>e</sup> bassin for it wil rope as brede lime

*Eight lines in Latin.*

180 [fol. 167v]

*Twenty-two lines in Latin.*

[line 23] For stoppyng in þ<sup>e</sup> brest for fat take rue & seth in aysel & gyf him to drink  
 For stink in þ<sup>e</sup> nose take þ<sup>e</sup> ius of mintes & of rue & do it oft in þ<sup>i</sup> nase .

185

*Nine lines in Latin.*

[line 33, word 9] For to draghe out thorn take  
 þ<sup>e</sup> in-mast bark of þ<sup>e</sup> hazy tre & bris it wel in rred wyn & do it as hot  
 190 as þ<sup>u</sup> may suffur it . For to sle quicsiluer take it and lay it in þ<sup>i</sup>

<sup>109</sup> It seems that this word is repeated, with the first one smudged out.

<sup>110</sup> Light, reddish smudging appears over this word.

<sup>111</sup> Light, reddish smudging appears in between the word *peper* on this line, and *hald* on the next.

<sup>112</sup> The word *peletr* has been added above *piritrum*.

<sup>113</sup> The beginning of a word in a different hand: *h* followed by *i* or possibly *u*. Remainder lost in cropping.

hond & spet þer-on & rub wel þ<sup>e</sup> spale & hit to-gedur & þen kest all in  
clene watur & þen pour' out þ<sup>e</sup> watur & þen lef þ<sup>e</sup> quicsiluer .<sup>114</sup>

[fol. 168r] vinegr' is þ<sup>s</sup> made take a pott & fil it al-most of gode wyne & let  
195 it stond vn-hild a gode quyll & if þ<sup>u</sup> most hiȝe red hot teiler stones put  
þer-in or set þ<sup>t</sup> vessel in þ<sup>e</sup> sunne tvo daies or thre . if þ<sup>u</sup> wel proue queþer  
it be god make a hole in þ<sup>e</sup> vrthe & put a litil þer-in . & if hit bol vp it  
is gode or on cold irm' if it bol not it is not god vinegr' . For þ<sup>e</sup> sto[n]<sup>115</sup>  
take saxifrage *preceptur* gromel pigul filago asche chattes alisandur tansay  
200 chiristones or blossums or bullurs centori brome auens : al þes is for þ<sup>e</sup> [...] <sup>116</sup>  
For þ<sup>e</sup> brest *Recipe* ysop maydinshor' enula<sup>117</sup> Ridiche rote percil rotes crushet  
licoris meche horhoune & ȝonk fenel rotes & sethe in wat' long' & þen'  
wring it & put þer-to mor' wat' & let sethe as long & þen' wring it eft  
& put it agayn in-to þ<sup>i</sup> pot & sethe al þ<sup>i</sup> wat' bettur w<sup>t</sup> a quantite of hone  
205 and þ<sup>e</sup> quite of ij . egges .

[F] Or<sup>118</sup> to make a Mon to slepe quil he is coruen take iij sponful of  
þ<sup>e</sup> gbl of a sbynk & iij sponful of þ<sup>e</sup> ius of hkmklkk & iij sponful  
of byskl & blend al to-gedur & do it in a vessel of glas & kepe it clen' &  
210 take of it a sponful & do it in a galu' of wyne or of ale & if þ<sup>u</sup> wil  
make it stithe do þer-in ij . sponful & þen' gif him þer-of to drinke sittand by  
þ<sup>e</sup> fir' & he schal son' slepe & fele no sor' . take for a mon' þ<sup>e</sup> gbl of a<sup>119</sup>  
bkkæ for . women' of a sppf To wacon' him take vinegr' & salt & wasche<sup>120</sup>  
his tempuls<sup>121</sup> & his thonewonges & sal wacon' a-non For to make her'  
215 to groghe take willy leues & sethe þaim in oile & anynt þ<sup>i</sup> hed þer-w<sup>t</sup>  
Anothur take peletr' & male it in poudur & temper it w<sup>t</sup> bores grece & a-

<sup>114</sup> The left bottom corner of the page has writing in another hand, consisting of at least three words of which the beginnings have been lost in cropping; probably *[sl]ey [qu]yk [sil]uer*. In the bottom margin there is a symbol (Ø), repeated at the top of the following page. Their function has not been established (see: footnote 96 above).

<sup>115</sup> MS: *sto*. Remainder lost in cropping.

<sup>116</sup> A letter resembling a long s with a connecting arm or an f can be made out at the end of the line. Perhaps a word lost in cropping would have read *ston*.

<sup>117</sup> The scribe has added the Latin word *parum* 'little' above both *enula* and *Ridiche rote*.

<sup>118</sup> Space left blank for a large initial *F*. A small *f* has been drafted in the gap in light ink.

<sup>119</sup> Some text written here and smudged out.

<sup>120</sup> The *e* is partly lost in the cropping and there is a slight gap before it.

<sup>121</sup> A small, dark smudge appears over the letter *e*.



noint þ<sup>e</sup> þer-w<sup>t</sup> Anoper take mluis w<sup>t</sup> al þ<sup>e</sup> rote & sethe þaim in water  
& wasche þ<sup>i</sup> hed þer-w<sup>t</sup> . For to do hor' a-way make ley of hauer stre ascu[s]<sup>122</sup>  
and wasche þ<sup>e</sup> oft þer-w<sup>t</sup> . Anop' for contrariouse her' take þ<sup>e</sup> ius of  
220 yuyn lefs & quen þ<sup>e</sup> her' is puld a-way anoint þ<sup>t</sup> stid þer-w<sup>t</sup> Anop' take  
askes of elm bark & vnslekud lime or piment & wel water & do þer-on'  
Anoper take & do a-way þ<sup>e</sup> har' first & take þ<sup>e</sup> blod of a bat & þ<sup>e</sup> gall  
of a cat & a-noint it oft þer-w<sup>t</sup> & h<sup>t</sup> wil not groze For to make hor<sup>123</sup>,  
lic gold take þ<sup>e</sup> hols of þ<sup>e</sup> gren walnot<sup>3</sup> & þ<sup>e</sup> rind of þ<sup>e</sup> tre & sethe  
225 þaim well & make leghe w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> watur & wasche þ<sup>i</sup> hed þer-w<sup>t</sup> oft  
Anoper to make blac har' take sage & meng w<sup>t</sup> askus quen þ<sup>u</sup> makus ley  
or make poudur of sauge & meng it w<sup>t</sup> may buttur or hen' grese  
& anynt þ<sup>e</sup> þer-w<sup>t</sup> oft For þ<sup>e</sup> brest take an vrthen' pot of faur'  
galuns & get þ<sup>e</sup> a potel dische ful of slaghe & grind hom in a mortar  
230

[fol. 168v] þ<sup>e</sup> stones & al to-gedur & do hom' in þ<sup>i</sup> pot & þen' take a thre  
galuns of fin merce ale quen it is clans & do þer-in w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> slaghe  
& þen make þ<sup>e</sup> a hol in þ<sup>i</sup> gardin or in þ<sup>i</sup> house & set in þ<sup>i</sup> pot  
so þ<sup>t</sup> it be w<sup>tin</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> vrthe a fote or ij & hil it on þis maner first  
235 w<sup>t</sup> a tvo fold of linnen clothe<sup>124</sup> or a thre fold & þen w<sup>t</sup> a  
turphe of vrthe a fote þicke & þen' w<sup>t</sup> oper vrthe miche opon'  
all & þus let it stond neuen daies & þen drinke þer-of and take  
it vp of þ<sup>e</sup> erthe & vse it .

240 *Four lines in Latin.*

*Illustrations.*

Furst<sup>125</sup> aske the name of him þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> schal make þ<sup>i</sup> charme then' go to þ<sup>e</sup>  
245 kirke & say þ<sup>i</sup> charm bot say it not for mon' þ<sup>t</sup> is seke and begynne in  
*nomine patris & f . & c' . quen our' laurd was dragh on þ<sup>e</sup> rod crose þan<sup>126</sup> com' longius*

<sup>122</sup> MS: *ascu*. Remainder lost in cropping.

<sup>123</sup> A small part of the letter *r* has been lost in the cropping.

<sup>124</sup> A false start of *clothe* smudged out preceding the word.

<sup>125</sup> In the margin, the same scribe has put in the heading *Sanguinis* 'of blood'. Another hand has added above in English: *[stanchi]nge bloode*.

<sup>126</sup> A small smudge appears over this word, but the writing is legible.

bidur & smate him w<sup>t</sup> is sper' in þ<sup>e</sup> syde water & blod com' out at þ<sup>e</sup> wounde  
he wiput is en & sewe all son' thurghe þ<sup>e</sup> holi vertu of þ<sup>e</sup> godhed .  
J coniuur' þ<sup>e</sup> blud þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> comm' not out of þis cristen' mon' neme þ<sup>e</sup> name &c'  
250 say þis . iij . & þ<sup>e</sup> þar not rek *quer'* þ<sup>e</sup> mon' be & þ<sup>u</sup> haue *hes* name .

*Eleven lines in Latin.*<sup>127</sup>

[line 31] For wiccud wightes  
255

*Two lines in Latin.*

[fol. 169r]  
260 *5 lines in Latin.*

For þ<sup>e</sup> tothe warche

*Five lines in Latin.*

265 [Line 12] For erewigge

*Five lines in Latin.*

[Line 17 ] Say þis charm *in hes* er' & say v *pater . n .* & v *ae* in þ<sup>e</sup> worship  
270 of þ<sup>e</sup> fife wounde3 of crist. For a womon' þ<sup>t</sup> *trauels* on child bind þis  
writt to hir theghe

*Seventeen lines in Latin.*

275 [fol. 169v]

*Eleven lines in Latin.*

---

<sup>127</sup> To the left of the first Latin line, in the margin, appears the word *feuer* in isolation. It looks like the work of Scribe M.

[Line 12] For<sup>128</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> neb þ<sup>t</sup> semes mesel . take quicsiluer & þ<sup>e</sup> grese  
of a bore & peper and sens & stomp hem al to-gedur & þer-w<sup>t</sup> anynt þ<sup>i</sup> neb  
280 & kepe it fro cold thre days if þ<sup>u</sup> wil cnav a meselr' cast salt on  
his blod & it w<sup>l</sup> sink doun For to make a visage quit & saft take  
fresche suynes grese & hen grece & þ<sup>e</sup> quite of a nei & pope mele  
& a-noint it w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup>s tempert to-gedur

285 *Six lines in Latin.*

For to w<sup>t</sup> queþer it is defaut of **mpn** or of **wmpn** þ<sup>t</sup> sho beres not .  
take tvo smale nue pottes of vrthe & do a litul bran in ayþer pott & let him  
stand þ<sup>e</sup> ton' & hij þ<sup>t</sup> other & let þaim stond vp . x days or fartene & if  
290 þ<sup>e</sup> mon be in defaute þ<sup>u</sup> sal find in his pot lik wormes & hit sal stink  
& if þ<sup>u</sup> find þ<sup>e</sup> same in þ<sup>e</sup> wommons þen is ho in defaut & if þ<sup>u</sup> find defaut  
in nauþer þen may men helpe hom to haf childur w<sup>t</sup> medcins for to mak  
mon' & womon to get childur take þ<sup>e</sup> balok of anold koke or of a zong  
grys þ<sup>t</sup> soukes & bren þaim & mak poudur þer-of & ta . l . corns of peper &  
295 make poudur þer-of & do þes pouders to-gedur & gif þ<sup>e</sup> mon' to ete & take  
þ<sup>e</sup> modur of a har' & bren it & make poudur þer-of & do þ<sup>e</sup> poudur of als  
mony peper cornes to ijt & gif þ<sup>e</sup> wommon & let &c' For to get **knbue**  
**khkld'** ta þ<sup>e</sup> home of **anbre** & bren it & þ<sup>e</sup> modur bath & make a poudur þer-of <sup>129</sup>  
& gif þ<sup>e</sup> **mkn** & þ<sup>e</sup> **wkmkn** drink þer-of wit wine or ale or þai go to  
300 **b:d** . Anop' take þ<sup>e</sup> balok of **anbr'** & let þ<sup>e</sup> **wkmkn** suolo it al hot or  
ho go to **b:d** : For **wkmkn** þ<sup>t</sup> **cknsaf<sup>e</sup>** not ta a **wes::l** al quik<sup>130</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> is  
a male & cut is baloks fromen & let him go þen do þaim in a cloþ<sup>e</sup> & heng  
þaim about her nec &c'

305 [fol. 170r] For to make aqua vite . Take þ<sup>e</sup> rote of . saxifrage percil . fenel . ysop  
time . pilioll riall . rosmarin . of ilkone half a quartron' & wasche þaim clene  
& bray þaim a littul . And of . galingay . peper . clauus . ginger' . notmuke . maces

<sup>128</sup> A manícula appears to the left of this line in the margin.

<sup>129</sup> A vertical incision or cut runs through the folio, starting between the *o* and the *f* of this word and continuing down for three more lines. The cut is small and clean and does not obstruct legibility. This is the only line on which it actually cuts through text.

<sup>130</sup> Very light smudging between this word and the next.

quibybs . spiknard . safron' . of ilkon ilike mikul a *quartron*' of a nouns & bet þ<sup>is</sup>  
 spices to *poudur* & blend *hom þen w<sup>t</sup> þin erbes* & do *þaim in* a galon of god  
 310 red wyne & stepe *þaim al a nyȝt for þai w<sup>l</sup> wel suffice* to a galon' of  
 wyne & blend *þaim wel to-gedur* & distill *þaim on þ<sup>e</sup> toþ'* morou' *in* a  
 stillator' of glas & kepe it *in* a glasin vessell for *þat is kyndly* . This *water*  
 has mony *vertuus hit helpus* a mon' fro al man' of *maladise* . hit *cunfords*  
 a mon' & *haldes him in kyndle hete* For cold stomak . hit *distriet scab & scall*  
 315 For al old sores For *defenis poured som in-to his er'* hit *a-mendus* . *stinkande air'*  
 & if a mon' drink it *helpus* for þ<sup>e</sup> falling eul . For þ<sup>e</sup> *persy on' þ<sup>e</sup> tong wete*  
 a peche of cloþe *þer-in* & lay on' þ<sup>i</sup> tung for þ<sup>t</sup> *percy makȝ* a mon' sodanly *dompe*  
*percy in hed þ<sup>e</sup> percy on þ<sup>e</sup> lupps þ<sup>t</sup> trembulu'* hit lettȝ al þis to gro . hit is god for  
 bytyng of *scorpiouns* & for þ<sup>e</sup> tothe warke of kold h<sup>t</sup> is god for þ<sup>e</sup> cold *feuer*  
 320 & it be drunkun' be-for' take te raw flesche þ<sup>t</sup> is not sodon' & be layd *þer-in'*  
*iij . days* & it schal be y-noȝ . & lay *þer-in* a henne egge & it sal be soþen ynoȝe  
 w<sup>t</sup>-in a littul quyle for wone to wasche & old *sorus noli ine vinigr'* it  
*helpus þ<sup>e</sup> sainflome in þ<sup>e</sup> visage w<sup>t</sup> a purgacon'* be-for' hit *purgȝ þ<sup>e</sup> stomak*  
 & þ<sup>e</sup> body of all *glaymes & corrupcon'* for *padal þ<sup>t</sup> comus* of cold hit *mase*  
 325 *wite colur* & a mon' wasche *þer-in* . for þ<sup>e</sup> *guttus* & for *gnawynge w<sup>t</sup>-in þ<sup>e</sup> body*  
 for *wanite in þ<sup>e</sup> hed drunkn'* w<sup>t</sup> *wyn'* for *colica passio* . for sore *in hert* <sup>131</sup>for all  
*maner of kun' nurished w<sup>t</sup> cold ymurs drunkun . xv . days first & last . &ce*

For<sup>132</sup> to make *sugur* candy take pott *sugur* & dissolue hit in  
 330  
 [fol. 170v] *eyrin' viij li* & depart it *in thre partis* & boile it wel take þen  
 a vessel of tre or erthe eshape as a lofe of *sugur w<sup>t</sup> a litill*  
 hole in y<sup>e</sup> smalar' ende & loke þis vessell be full [*drunkun*]<sup>133</sup> of  
 hote *water* & after of cold & sett it *in* anoþir' vessel þ<sup>e</sup> grete  
 335 ende up-ward' & when y<sup>i</sup> *Sugur* is buled' inowȝe þ<sup>t</sup> it wil  
 rope be-twene y<sup>i</sup> *fyngyrs pewr'* it *in-to þ<sup>i</sup> forme* & stere it  
 wel & þ<sup>t</sup> opire *parte* of þ<sup>i</sup> *sugur* & when it is enowȝe *powr*

<sup>131</sup> A small, light reddish smudge appears above this word.

<sup>132</sup> This sentence marks the start of a new section, written seemingly by Scribe M but in a larger hand and with thicker strokes. Some space is left between the end of the previous section and this new start. This line marks the end of the text on f. 170r that has not been lost.

<sup>133</sup> MS: *drunlun*. Likely a misspelling.

it in-to þ<sup>i</sup> forme to þ<sup>t</sup> opir' & euer stere it wel þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> hote & þ<sup>e</sup>  
cold be wel medlett & in þ<sup>e</sup> same maner do w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> þred *part*  
340 & medle hem wel to-gedr' & þ<sup>t</sup> sal make þ<sup>i</sup> *sugur* white  
and schort & all þis tyme loke *yer* be a fauset in þ<sup>e</sup> hole of  
þ<sup>i</sup> forme & when al þ<sup>i</sup> *Sugur* is wel medlett hele it & lat  
it stond' . iiij . dayes & when it is cold inowze & hard take  
out þ<sup>i</sup> fauset & lete out þ<sup>i</sup> *watur* & take þenne potters erþ<sup>e</sup>  
345 & make þer-of a neshe payst & powr it on þ<sup>i</sup> loyfe þ<sup>t</sup> it stond  
al a-bowe an ench a-bowe þ<sup>e</sup> hole & so let it stond . ix . daies  
& þe moister of þ<sup>i</sup> erthe sal voyd al þ<sup>e</sup> moyster of þ<sup>i</sup> loyfe out  
at þ<sup>e</sup> hole þen take of þin erthe & stope þ<sup>e</sup> hole w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> fauset  
and depart w<sup>t</sup> a knyfe a lital a-bowe þ<sup>e</sup> loyfe for þ<sup>e</sup> vesselle  
350 þan' sett þ<sup>i</sup> forme in warm~ water to lowse þ<sup>i</sup> lofe & þan  
take it out & c'

## Endnotes

### A note on f. 151r-v

F. 151r-v contain a text on month-by-month instructions on what to eat and drink (*methus and drinkus*), what products to avoid, what days to beware of because they *ben perellis* ('are dangerous'), as well as instructions on when to let blood. In some cases, such as on lines 18-19, the arm from which the blood should be let is specified (*let the blod in the . 17 . daie in the rizt arme for eueri maner feuer* 'let the blood on the right arm on the 17<sup>th</sup> day for all sorts of fever'). This text is probably derived from Galen's twelve-month regimen of health, profoundly inspired by Hippocratic works of the same nature. A slightly different version of the same text can be found in Sloane 3160 on f. 148r-v. Similar texts can also be found in other manuscripts, including: Additional MS 17866 (ff. 3r-4r), Arundel MS 359 (ff. 15v-17v), Egerton MS 2724 (f. 9v) and Egerton MS 2852 (ff. 100v-101r), Harley MS 1735, (ff 36v-52v), Royal MS 17 C. xv (ff. 45r-46r), Sloane MS 372 (ff. 108r-110r), Sloane MS 389 (ff. 145r-146r), Sloane MS 405 (f. 62v), Sloane MS 442 (ff. 61v-63r), Sloane MS 521 (ff. 267v-268r), Sloane MS 540a (ff. 24r-25r), Sloane MS 610 (ff. 3r-4r), Sloane MS 962 (f. 72v), Sloane MS 963 (ff. 3v-4r), Sloane MS 1315 (ff. 30v-32r), Sloane MS 1609 (f. 3v), Sloane MS 1964 (ff. 30r-31r), Sloane MS 2581 (ff. 3r-5r) and Sloane MS 3542 (ff. 65v-67r).

### Line 3 - *blode-lettyng*

Bloodletting, or phlebotomy, as a medical practice dates back at least to Ancient Greece and was possibly already used in Ancient Egypt. It was a common practise throughout the Middle Ages and it was widely believed to be beneficial and even necessary to relieve blood in order to realign a person's four different humours (blood, phlegm, black bile and yellow bile), when disease indicated that they were unbalanced (see also: p. 8). Bloodletting was done by physicians, barber-surgeons and laymen, using either a special knife or scarification device, or leeches. It was not until the late nineteenth century that scientific findings by tissue pathologists started to truly challenge the existing dogmas on 'the vertuse of blood-lettyng', making it more and more suspect as a beneficial or even safe medical treatment.

Contemporary medicine eventually confined phlebotomy to practises such as plasmapheresis (the separation of plasma from the blood cells), and started using biomedical methods to

‘study the “humours” within the blood rather than trying to flush them out’ (Curtis 1981: 1031).

**Line 14** - *potage (of malues)*

A *potage* (see also line 35 and 127) is a thick soup made from vegetables and/or meat (OED). Here, the text is concerned with a soup made from mallows (see also *malue* in Appendix 2, p. 106) which should be avoided in February since these, or so the text argues, are poisonous at that time. Mallows were commonly featured in herbals and in the Middle Ages their use ranged from treating coughs to the making of an antidote to love potions (Breverton 2011: 214).

**Line 25** - *hote metes & drinkes*

Hot foods and drinks (see also lines 36, 39 and 51). Hot here refers either to temperature or to the four different categories into which foodstuffs could be classified during the Middle Ages, that is, cold, hot, moist and dry. These correlated to Galenic humoral theory (see pp. 7-8).

**Line 33** - *leccherie*

Lechery, the ‘habitual indulgence of lust, lewdness of living’ (OED). In more common terms this means crude or offensive sexual conduct, where one gives in to the desire for unrestrained promiscuous sexuality. In this instance the reader is instructed to keep away from such behaviour in the month of July, as the brain ‘gathers its humours’ during that time. In Galenic theory, the brain (along with the lungs) were associated with the phlegmatic temperament and humour (see also pp. 7-8).

**Line 41** - *dropsei*

Dropsy or edema, ‘[a] morbid condition characterized by the accumulation of watery fluid in the serous cavities or the connective tissue of the body’ (OED). In other words, build-up of fluid in the body, resulting in swelling. In medieval times, the term was synonymous with heart failure, and physicians often laboured to remedy the patient by bloodletting, purgatives

(for the loosening of the stool), cauterisation (the burning of a part of a body to close it off to further bleeding) or the use of a trocar, a medical device used at the time to relieve fluids (Ventura and Mehra 2005: 247-252). In this text it is argued that ‘*who so lettis him blod in the . 12 . daie or on þ<sup>e</sup> . 17*’ will not experience dropsy that year, nor palsy or the ‘falling-sickness’ (see next two entries).

**Line 41 - *palesei***

Palsy, which can refer to various types of paralysis often in connection with bodily weakness and involuntary tremors. Obladen (2010: 248) notes that cerebral palsy was seen as a deformation ‘associated with God’s wrath’ and that during the Middle Ages, it was often thought to have been the result of negligent midwifery or a difficult teething process. Appropriate bloodletting as a preventative measure for a later development of this disease was also common.

**Line 41-42 - *falling euel***

Falling-sickness (literally: ‘falling evil’), otherwise known as epilepsy. Epileptic seizures have long been a known human condition (Julius Cæsar is said to have had it) and were described with accuracy already by Galen, who described them as ‘a seizure of the mind and the senses together with a sudden fall, in some with convulsions, in others, however, without convulsion. Besides, in these patients froth flows through the mouth when the evil is abating and past its height’ (Galen; edited in Kühn 1821: 414).

**Line 70 - *jasper melchar balthezar x<sup>o</sup>forus***

The text is concluded with the names of the Magi, or three wise men, usually known as Caspar (or Jasper), Melchior and Balthazar, as well as Saint Christopher. It is said of this saint that he carried a child across a river, who afterwards revealed himself to be Christ, and thus he is known as the patron saint of travellers. The appearance of his name besides those of the Magi perhaps alludes to their shared connection to travel, although other connections are possible. Saint Christopher was also one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, a group of saints that



were venerated in Roman Catholicism in the late Middle Ages. Intercessory prayer to these saints was believed to protect against various diseases; Christophorus was invoked to protect against both the dangers of travel and the bubonic plague.

**Line 87**– *euel in þ<sup>e</sup> stomake*

In Medieval times, the language of disease and medicine often reveals itself in ontological metaphors, with war-like language describing the disease as a sort of enemy entity trying to conquer the body (Vera 2010). Though this mainly pertains academic treatises and the ‘incidence of this metaphor in remedy books and herbals’ (Vera 2010: 86), there are still some similarities in the language used by Scribe M here: one has ‘evil’ in the stomach, and animals such as a *worme* ‘worm’ were often presumed to be the cause of pain in one’s tooth or ear (lines 77 and 86). Similarly, one could be struck by *neresond* ‘evil in the kidney’ (line 128), palsy was known as the *falling euel* ‘falling-evil’, and one should use medicine to do away with *wikket blod* ‘wicked blood’ (line 59). The medicine was often described as a weapon that would *sle* ‘slay’ the worm (lines 80, 87).

**Line 207** – *gbl, sbynk, hkmklkk...*

The words *gbl*, *sbynk* and *hkmklkk* on line 204 are codes; there are further instances of code on lines 205, 208-209, 270, and 208-284. For discussion, see: pp. 59-62.

**Line 305** – *aqua vite*

The inspiration for this recipe for *Aqua Vitae* ‘water of life’ likely dates back to Roman Antiquity. The term *Aqua Vitae* has served as etymological source of names for different distilled spirits such as the Nordic drink akvavit, the Polish drink okowita, and whisky (from the Old Irish *Uisce beatha*). The variants of all these drinks had different recipes, but often called for spices such as cloves and fennel, dried fruit or herbs.

**Lines 331-351** - *sugur*

The price of cane sugar in fifteenth century England was high, as is attested in the account rolls of an abbey in Durham that listed the products they purchased annually. Portions of these accounts have been made available for online study on Archive.org by Surtees Society, Durham, England.<sup>134</sup> For centuries, the function of sugar had been taken to be almost purely medicinal; Faas (2003: 149) has related that Pliny the Elder noted that '[s]ugar is used only for medical purposes'. Dioscorides, in his *Materia Medica*, argued that sugar dissolved in water has medicinal effects for the stomach, bladder, kidney and intestines.<sup>135</sup>

---

<sup>134</sup> See: <https://archive.org/details/extractsaccountr01surtuoft/mode/2up>

<sup>135</sup> To read Osbaldeston's translated and edited version of *De Materia Medica*, see: <http://www.cancerlynx.com/dioscorides.html>.

## Bibliography

### *Reference works, corpora and digital resources*

- Anthony, Laurence. 2007. AntConc (Version 3.2.1) [Computer Software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University. Available from <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software>
- BLC = British Library Online Catalogue. <https://www.bl.uk>.
- DIMEV = *Digital Index of Middle English Verse*. Compiled by Linne R. Mooney, Daniel W. Mosser, Elizabeth Solopova, Debora Thorpe, David Hill Radcliffe and Len Hatfield. [www.dimev.net](http://www.dimev.net)
- IMPEP = *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*. 1985. Compiled by Robert E. Lewis, Norman F. Blake and Anthony S. G. Edwards. New York: Garland.
- eLALME = *An Electronic Version of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. 2013. Compiled by Michael Benskin, Margaret Laing, Vasilis Karaiskos and Keith Williamson. University of Edinburgh. <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html>
- eVK = *Scientific and Medical Writings in Old and Middle English: An Electronic Reference*. Compiled by Linda E. Voigts and Patricia D. Kurtz. CD-ROM. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- LALME = *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. 4 vols. 1986. Compiled by Angus McIntosh, Michael L. Samuels and Michael Benskin. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press. See also: eLALME.
- MED = *Middle English Dictionary*. 1956-2001. Edited by Hans Kurath, Sherman M. Kuhn and Robert E. Lewis. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary>
- MEMT = *The Corpus of Middle English Medical Texts*. 2005. Compiled by Irma Taavitsainen, Päivi Pahta and Martti Mäkinen. CD-ROM. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- MWD = *Merriam Webster Dictionary Online*. <https://www.merriam-webster.com>
- MWM = *Manuscript of the West Midlands Catalogue*. [www.dhi.ac.uk/mwm/](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/mwm/).
- MEG-C = *Middle English Grammar Corpus*. Version 2011.1. Compiled by Merja Stenroos, Martti Mäkinen, Simon Horobin and Jeremy J. Smith. University of Stavanger. [www.uis.no/meg-c](http://www.uis.no/meg-c)

OED = The *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. [www.oed.com](http://www.oed.com)

*Secondary sources*

- Adams, James N. and Marilyn Deegan. 1992. 'Bald's Leechbook and the *Physica Plinii*'. *Anglo-Saxon England*, 21: 87-114.
- Barton, David. 1994. *Literacy: An Introduction to the Ecology of Written Language*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Benskin, Michael and Margaret Laing. 1981. 'Translations and *Mischsprachen* in Middle English manuscripts'. In Michael Benskin and Michael L. Samuels (eds.), *So meny people longages and tonges: philological essays in Scots and mediaeval English presented to Angus McIntosh*. Edinburgh: M. Benskin & M.L. Samuels. 55-106.
- Blamey, Marjorie and Alastair Fitter. 2003. *Wild Flowers of Britain and Ireland*. London: A&C Black.
- Breverton, Terry. 2011. *Breverton's Complete Herbal: A Book of Remarkable Plants and Their Uses*. London: Hachette UK.
- Burrow, John A. 1982. *Medieval Writers and their Work: Middle English Literature, 1100–1500*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Carroll, Ruth. 2004. 'Middle English recipes: Vernacularisation of a text-type'. In Irma Taavitsainen and Päivi Pahta (eds.), *Medical and Scientific Writing in Late Medieval England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 174–196.
- Carroll, Ruth. 1999. 'The Middle English recipe as a text-type'. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 100: 27-42.
- Carré, Antònia, and Andrew Stacey. 'Arnald of Villanova's 'Regimen of Health for the King of Aragon.' *Sciència.cat*. 2017. Accessed 13 April 2020.  
<[www.sciencia.cat/temes/arnald-villanovas-regimen-health-king-aragon](http://www.sciencia.cat/temes/arnald-villanovas-regimen-health-king-aragon)>
- Cholmeley, Henry P. 1912. *John of Gaddesden and the Rosa Medicinae*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Clanchy, Michael T. 1993. *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, second edition. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Coleman, Joyce. 1996. *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Curtis, Peter. 1981. 'Family Practise History: Bloodletting'. *Canadian Family Physician /*

- Médecin de Famille Canadien* 27: 1030-2.
- Deming, David. 1954. *Science and Technology in World History, Volume 4: The Origin of Chemistry, the Principle of Progress, the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution*. Jefferson: McFarland.
- Egins, Suzanne and Martin, J.R. 1997. 'Genres and registers of discourse'. In Teun van Dijk, (ed.), *Discourse as Structure and Process: Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. New York: SAGE. 230-56.
- Evans, Ruth, Taylor, Andrew, Watson, Nicholas and Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn. 1990. 'The Notion of Vernacular Theory'. In Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn *et al.* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press. 314-30.
- Faas, Patrick. 2013. *Around the Roman Table*. London: Pan Macmillan.
- Fowler, J. T. 1898-1901. *Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham*. 3 vols. Durham: Andrews.
- Frazer, James G. 1913. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*. London: Macmillan.
- French, Roger K. 2003. *Medicine Before Science: The Business of Medicine from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Galen (edited by C. G. Kühn). 1821. 'Definitiones medicae'. *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, 19: 346-462.
- Gelderen, Elly V. 2014. *A History of the English Language*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Getz, Faye M. 1998. *Medicine in the English Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Getz, Faye M. 1992. 'The Faculty of Medicine before 1500'. In Catto, J. I. and R. Evans (eds.), *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume II: Late Medieval Oxford*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 372-405.
- Getz, Faye M. 1991. *Healing and Society in Medieval England: A Middle English Translation of the Pharmaceutical Writings of Gilbertus Anglicus*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Gray, Douglas. 1962. 'An Inscription at Hexham'. *Archaeologia Aelilana*, 40: 185-8.
- Handerson, Henry E. 1918. *Gilbertus Anglicus: Medicine of the Thirteenth Century*. Cleveland: Cleveland Medical Library Association.
- Hanegraaff, Wouter J. 2006. *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers.

- Hargreaves, Henry 1981, 'Some problems in indexing Middle English recipes'. In Anthony S. G. Edwards and Derek Pearsall (eds.), *Middle English Prose: Essays on Bibliographical Problems*. New York: Garland. 91-113.
- Hoey, Michael. 2001. *Textual Interaction: An Introduction to Written Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge.
- Jones, Claire. 2004. 'Discourse communities and medical texts'. In Irma Taavitsainen and Päivi Pahta (eds.), *Medical and Scientific Writing in Late Medieval English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 23-36.
- Jones, Claire. 1998. 'Formula and formulation: "Efficacy Phrases" in Medieval English Medical Manuscripts'. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 99: 199-210.
- Keiser, George R. 2003. 'Verse Introductions to Middle English Medical Treatises'. *English Studies*, 84: 301-317.
- Kieckhefer, Richard 1990. *Magic in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [first published 1989]
- Kristensson, Gillis. 1987. *A Survey of Middle English Dialects 1290–1350: the West Midland Counties*. Lund: University of Lund Press.
- Lindberg, David C. 2007. *The Beginnings of Western Science: The European Scientific Tradition in Philosophical, Religious, and Institutional Context, Prehistory to A.D. 1450*. 2nd.edn. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [first published 1992]
- Machan, Tim W. 2003 *English in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McIntosh, Angus. 1973. 'Word geography in the lexicography of medieval English'. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 211: 55-66.
- Meaney, Audrey L. 1984. 'Variant versions of Old English Medical Remedies and the Compilation of Bald's Leechbook'. *Anglo-Saxon England*, 13: 235-268.
- Metlitzki, Dorothee. 1977. *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England*. New Heaven: Yale University Press.
- Millward, Celia M. 1989. *A Biography of the English Language*. Boston: Forth Worth.
- Mooney, Linne R. 2004. 'Manuscript Evidence for the Use of Medieval English Scientific and Utilitarian Texts', in Green, Richard F. and Linne R. Mooney (eds.), *Interstices: Studies in Late Middle English and Anglo-Latin Texts in Honour of A.G. Rigg*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 184-202.
- Mäkinen, Martti. 2006. *Between Herbals et alia: Intertextuality in Medieval English Herbals*. University of Helsinki, PhD dissertation.
- Mäkinen, Martti. 2004. 'Herbal Recipes and Recipes in Herbals – Intertextuality in Early

- English Medical Writing'. In Taavitsainen, Irma and Päivi Pahta (eds.), *Medical and Scientific Writing in Late Medieval English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 144-173.
- Obladen, Michael. 2010. 'Lame From Birth: Early Concepts of Cerebral Palsy'. *Journal of Child Neurology*, 26: 248-256.
- Pahta, Päivi, and Irma Taavitsainen. 'Vernacularisation of scientific and medical writing in its sociohistorical context'. In Irma Taavitsainen, and Päivi Pahta (eds.), *Medical and Scientific Writing in Late Medieval English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1-22.
- Pahta, Päivi. 1998. *Medieval Embryology in the Vernacular: The Case of De spermate*. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.
- Pahta, Päivi and Irma Taavitsainen. 2010. 'Scientific Discourse'. In Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen (eds.), *Historical Pragmatics*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 549-586
- Parkes, Malcolm.B. 1969. *English Cursive Book Hands, 1250-1500*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ramos, María J. E. 2019. 'Manuscript contexts and the transmission of the Agnus Castus herbal in MS Sloane 3160'. *SELIM: Journal of the Spanish Society for Medieval English Language and Literature*, 24: 157-172.
- Robbins, Rossell H. 1965. 'Middle English Lyrics: Handlist of New Texts', *Anglia – LXXXIII*, 83: 35-47.
- Rubin, Stanley. 1974. *Medieval English Medicine*. Newton Abbot: David and Charles.
- Schibanoff, Susan. 1998. 'The New Reader and Female Textuality in Two Early Commentaries on Chaucer'. *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 10: 71-108.
- Stannard, Jerry. 1981. 'Rezeptliteratur as *Fachliteratur*'. In Eamon, William (ed.) *Studies on Medieval Fachliteratur. Scripta: Mediaeval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*. Brussels: Omirel. 59-73.
- Stenroos, Merja and Kjetil V. Thengs. Forthcoming. 'Local Documents as Source Material'. In Stenroos, Merja and Kjetil V. Thengs (eds.), *Records of real people: Linguistic Variation in Middle English Local Documents*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Taavitsainen, Irma. 1988. *Middle English Lunaries: A Study of the Genre*. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.
- Taavitsainen, Irma. 2001a. 'Language History and the Scientific Register'. In Diller and Görlach (eds.), *Towards a History of English as a History of Genres*. Heidelberg: Winter. 185-202.

- Taavitsainen, Irma. 2001b. 'Science'. In Peter Brown (ed.), *A Companion to Chaucer*. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons/Blackwell. 378-396.
- Talbot, Charles H. 1967. *Medicine in Medieval England*. London: Oldbourne.
- Talgø, Marit M. 2015. *ffor þe knyghtys tabylle and ffor þe kyngges tabille: An Edition of the Fifteenth- Century Middle English Cookery Recipes in London, British Library's MS Sloane 442*. MA thesis, University of Stavanger.
- Thengs, Kjetil V. *An Edition of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 78, 7v-17v*. 2008. MA thesis, University of Stavanger.
- Ventura, Hector O., and Mandeep R. Mehra. 2005. 'Bloodletting as a Cure For Dropsy: Heart Failure Down the Ages'. *Journal of Cardiac Failure*, 11: 247-252.
- Vera, Javier E. D. 2010. 'Analysing the Diffusion of Scientific Metaphors through a Corpus of Middle English Medical Texts'. In Javier E. D. Vera and Rosario Caballero (eds.), *Textual Healing: Studies in Medieval English Medical, Scientific and Technical Texts*. Bern: Peter Lang. 75-92.
- Voigts, Linda E. 1995. 'Multitudes of Middle English medical manuscripts, or the English of science and medicine'. In Margaret R. Schleissner (ed.), *Manuscript Sources of Medieval Medicine: A Book of Essays*. Garland Medieval Casebooks 8. London: Garland. 183-95
- Voigts, Linda E. 1990. 'The 'Sloane Group': Related Scientific and Medical Manuscripts from the Fifteenth Century in the Sloane Collection'. *British Library Journal*, 16: 25-57.
- Voigts, Linda E. 1984. 'Medical prose'. In Anthony S. G Edwards, (ed.), *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 315–335.
- Voigts, Linda E. 1979. 'Anglo-Saxon Plant Remedies and the Anglo-Saxons'. *Isis* 70: 250-268.
- Ziegler, Philip. 1969. *The Black Death*. New York: John Day.

#### Websites



‘Introducing Sir Hans Sloane’. *The Sloane Letters Project*. 2016. Accessed 4 May 2020.


<<https://sloaneletters.com/about-sir-hans-sloane/>>

‘Sir Hans Sloane’. *British Museum*. Accessed 13 March 2020.

<<https://www.britishmuseum.org/about-us/british-museum-story/sir-hans-sloane>>



## Appendix 1: Translation

### A Note on the Translation

Words or phrases in the MS that were illegible or lost in cropping are marked: . Words that are written in letter-substitution code language in the MS are presented in **dark red** and **14-point**. Translations that have been interpretations of missing or ambiguous words in the MS are preceded by (?).

(f. 151r)

Here begins the teaching and ruling how a man should govern himself through the year regarding foods and drinks and bloodletting. If a man uses this rule he will be in good health and have a long life, et cetera. Also to beware of perilous days, of which there are 32 in the year, and on these days no man should let blood either from veins, or from wounds, nor should he begin any great work or undertake any great journey, or get married, because it will turn to ruin. It is good to avoid these beforementioned days in everything that is to be done. It is written hereunder how these days fall and at what times.

In the month of January, all sorts of sweet wines are good to drink and medicinal, and all manner of bloodletting should be avoided, because there are  (?) seven perilous days: the first, the second, the fourth, the fifth, the tenth, the fifteenth and the .

In the month of February, do not eat soup of mallows because it is poisonous at that time. Let the blood from the vein of the thumb. There are two days of peril, that is, the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> day.

In the month of March, consume figs and raisins and other sweet foods and drinks. Do not let blood or bathe, but let blood on the right arm on the 17<sup>th</sup> day for all sorts of fever, but 3 days in March are perilous, and those are the 15<sup>th</sup>, the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> days.

In the month of April it is good to let blood on the left arm on the third day, and he [who does this] will have no faintness in his head that year. Whoever lets blood on the 11<sup>th</sup> day on the same

arm that year will not lose their sight. Eat fresh foods. This month has two perilous days, the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 9<sup>th</sup> day.

In the month of May rise early, consume hot foods and drinks but do not eat either the head or foot of any animal. Do not let blood, because there are three days of peril: the 8<sup>th</sup> day, the 15<sup>th</sup> day and the 17<sup>th</sup> day, but do let blood in the 4<sup>th</sup>, the 5<sup>th</sup>, the 7<sup>th</sup> or the last day of the month in whichever arm you want and it will help against all sickness in that year.

In the month of June, drink a little cold water every day while fasting. Eat and drink in measure and if there is great need you may let blood, but the 7<sup>th</sup> day is perilous.

In the month of July, stay away from lechery, because then the brain gathers its humours. Do not let blood because there are two days of peril: the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup>.

In the month of August, do not use mallows in your soup, but eat hot foods and don't drink cold drinks. Do not let blood because there are two days of peril: the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> day.

(f. 151v)

In the month of September eat all ripe fruits hot, and not cold. It is good to let blood for whoever lets blood on the 12<sup>th</sup> day or on the 17<sup>th</sup> day will not have dropsy, palsy or falling-sickness that year, but the month has two days of peril: the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> day.

In the month of October, it is good to consume must and new wine, and to let blood if necessary, but the 17<sup>th</sup> day is perilous.

In the month of November, beware of these days because they are of great peril: the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> day. Make sure you don't get into any bath, because then the blood gathers. It is good to air the vein with scarification, to slow down the speed of the blood, because at this time all the humours are active.

In the month of December, eat hot foods. You may let blood if you need to. Avoid cabbage. Whoever lives according to this rule will have a long life and health. But there are two days of peril: the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> day.

Here are the virtues of bloodletting: it clears and cleanses the brain, it tempers the stomach and cleanses it, it promotes digestion of the food, it makes the voice lighter, it sharpens the wit, it lightens the stomach: it gathers and it nourishes the good blood and does away with wicked blood and makes a person's blood have longer health, et cetera.

There are three days in the year upon which no man should bleed, for no manner of illness, namely the last day of April, the first Monday of August, the last Monday of December. On these days all the veins on a man are full of blood, and if he lets blood on any of these days he will die within the next 40 days, and if he lives after 40 days he will live in care and sorrow, and if he eats any goose on any of these three aforementioned days he will die within the next 40 days or else he will (?)lose stature.

Jasper Melchar Balthezar Christoforus

(f. 166r)

For smelly breath, take black mint and the juice of rue in equal quantities and put it in your nostrils. Another: take puliol (pilioll) and mix it with vinegar and drink it in the evening and in the morning. For him who has the toothache, take oatmeal and boil it in old wine until it is thick, and put it on a linen cloth and lay it to his cheek while warm. Another: for the tooth worm, take henbane and leek seed and frankincense and lay these three on a hot tilestone and make a pipe that has a wide end over the smoke so that it runs through the pipe, and hold the narrow end to the tooth and it shall kill the worm and heal you.

For him who has the cough, take liverwort, hart's tongue fern and maiden hag in equal quantities and pound them well and steep them well in old ale, and drink that ale nine mornings fasting and as many evenings, and it shall help you well. Another: for the perilous cough, take sage, rue, cumin and pepper and boil them together in a pan with honey and eat a spoonful in the morning, an another in the evening. For sheep-louse or earwig or any other worm in your ear, take rue juice or that of wormwood or horehound and put it in your ear and it will kill it.

For illness in the stomach take the root of fennel and the root of smallage/wild celery and pound them together and mix honey with white wine and give it to the sick to drink. Also, take the juice of danewort and drink an eggshell full of it at once with wine and it shall cleanse the stomach

For him that is always thirsty, take centaury or the root of lovage and pound it, and mix it with lukewarm wine or with water, and drink it three nights when you go to bed, and it will put an end to your thirst. That poison shall not hurt you in food or drink take leek seed and pound it, and mix it with water and drink it fasting, and it shall save you.

For ache and swelling in the breasts take plantain and the leaves of fennel and old grease and pound it and bind it to it. Another: take horehound and pound it with old grease and anoint your

breast with it. For illness in the stomach, take fennel leaf and pound it and take two spoonfuls of the juice and drink it, and it shall do away with the evil. Another: take the juice of plantain and make it lukewarm and drink it, because it is good.

For scabs, take the red dock root and pound it with May butter and boil it well in old wine, and sieve it through a cloth into a basin full of water, and let it harden in that, and then put it in a box and anoint your scab with it. For the stone, take epiphytic fern that grows on the oak and take the roots in April, and wash them well and pound them well, and take two cupfuls of stale ale and a cupful of honey, and add to it and heat it a little, and take away the foam, and who drinks from it will be truly delivered. For the ringworm, take moss and burn it to powder and rub it with that, and it shall be healed.

(f. 166v)

For the taw in the throat or mouth, take salt, cumin and pepper in equal quantities and make a powder of them and give to drink to the sick person in a spoonful of hot water, this medicine is profitable, because it is proved. For him that may not piss, take gromwell, red nettle, parsley seed and fennel seed and white pepper in equal measures, and pound them and temper them in wine and use this drink and you shall be healed. For him that vomits blood, take wild celery, mint, rue and betony in equal measures and boil them well in goatmilk and drink it three days. To make someone vomit take laurel and make powder of it and blend it evenly with honey and eat a spoonful or two of it. For him who vomits and does not hold his food, take rue and pound it, mix it with wine and use it lukewarm. Also take three leaves of rue and eat in the morning, and three leaves of sage in the evening.

For ache and illness in the bladder, take wild celery, parsley, and fennel in equal measure and pound them well, and mix them with water and drink it, and it shall heal your bladder and make you piss well and get rid of the stone and heat your stomach. For him that cannot hold his piss, take goat's hooves and burn them in an earthen pot to powder and eat that powder every day fasting in your soup or however you may (want to) eat it, and it shall heal you.

For the sickness of the kidney, take moist pigeon droppings and barley flour, and pound them well together and add half a pint of vinegar to half a pound of these other things and mix them well together and lay them on (the kidneys) cold, and lay cabbage leaves over them to keep in the liquid and bind a cloth around it all, and let it sit there three days or more, and on the third day, if

necessary, renew the contents, and it shall be healed with(in) three compresses; (this is) on authority.

For the acute fever, take the dock that bears the cuticles and take its root, and clean it with your knife and braise/prepare it in a mortar and mix it with old ale, and drink it at the time when the fever is at its worst, etc. On the first Thursday of May, drink the juice of betony and it shall improve your sight and your brain and your colour.

Against toothache: take the inner bark of the elder and savin juniper, or nine peppercorns, and grind them small and mix them with honey, and then make small pellets of this and put them in the hole in the tooth and it will stop the ache. For a man that has tendon pain in his arm, or the bones in a man's body ache, take the grease of a spayed bitch, and bay and laurel leaves and take a herb that is called nepte and take this herb and these bay leaves and pound them in a mortar, and wring it be-

(f. 167r)

-tween your hands, then take this fat and put it on the fire, and boil it a little and then put these herbs in it, and when it is well boiled together, take it and put it in an earthen pot that is clean.

Take sage and pound it a little and add twice the amount of salt, and make it into a paste and bake it until it burns, and then take that and make a powder out of it, and rub your teeth with it and it shall make your teeth white and your breath sweet. Also, take the roots of vervain and boil (them), and wash your teeth with it repeatedly and it shall cure you in two days. For worms in a man's stomach, take the juice of southernwood and of wormwood and of rue, and a little of the juice of the savin juniper and of vervain and drink with old ale.

[*Latin: Crush hemlock seed with bread to use against mice, which will die from eating it.*]

For a sharp pain in the side, take little balls of boiled redwort (red wort)/marigold and burn them in a new pot and then grind them into powder, and blend with honey and old fat, and lay it on (the side). For headache, take the gall of a hare and mix it evenly with honey and smear it on your temples and your entire forehead. Also, take pepper and mustard seed (and) pyrethrum and make a powder of them and blend (it) with wax and hold it in your mouth. For the migraine in the head and for an abscess in the head or dropsy in the head and for all sorts of headache, take four pennyweight of the root of pellitory of Spain, and half a pennyweight of spikenard and grind them to a powder, and boil them in good vinegar, and take a saucerful of honey and five

saucerfuls of mustard, and when your vinegar is cold, put the mustard and the honey in it, and let the sick (person) take half a spoonful of it in the evening and hold it in his mouth the time it would take him to say two creeds, (to be done) ten or twelve times altogether a good while after the meal and equally often before the meal, and then spit it out into a basin, and when you go to bed, wash your mouth and drink a draught, and use this medicine thus three days, and you shall be whole, (this is) on good authority. But take heed of which filth is in the basin for it will stick like birdlime.

*(Eight lines in Latin)*

(f. 167v)

*(Twenty-two lines in Latin)*


For stoppage in the breast because of fat, take rue and boil in vinegar and give him to drink. For stench in the nose, take the juice of mint and of rue and put it often in your nose.

*(Ten lines in Latin)*

To pull out a thorn, take the innermost bark of the hawthorn tree and crush it well in red wine and lay it on as hot as you can manage it. To kill quicksilver, take it and lay it in your hand and spit on it, and rub it well together with the spit and then put it all in clean water, and then pour out the water and then leave the quicksilver.

(f. 168r)

Vinegar is made like this: take a pot and fill it almost wholly with good wine and let it stand uncovered a good while, and if you must hurry, put in red hot tilestones, or put the vessel in the sunshine for two or three days. If you want to try whether it is good, make a hole in the earth and put a little therein, and if it bubbles up it is good, or (put it) on cold iron, if it does not bubble up it is not good vinegar.

For the (?)stone take saxifrage, (?)cowslip, gromwell, pigul, filago, ash chats, Alexander, tansy, cherry stones or blossom or bulbs, broom, avens: all this is for  for the breast. Recipe: hyssop, maidenhair fern, inula, radish root, parsley root, crushed liquorice, horehound and young fennel roots and boil in water for a long time and then wring it out and add more water to it, and let it

boil for equally long, and then wring it afterwards and put it back in your pot and boil all your water better with a quantity of honey and the whites of two eggs.

To make a man sleep while he is being carved, take three spoonfuls of the gall of a swine and three spoonfuls of the juice of hemlock and three spoonfuls of vinegar and blend all together and put it in a vessel of glass and keep it clean, and take a spoonful of that and put it in a gallon of wine or of ale and if you will make it strong, put in two spoonfuls and then give it to drink to him while he sits by the fire, and he shall soon sleep and feel no pain. Take for a man the gall of a boar, for women of a sow. To wake him, take vinegar and salt and wash his temples and pulse points and he will wake at once.

To make hair grow take willow leaves and boil them in oil and anoint your head with it. Another: take pellitory and grind it into a powder and mix it with boar fat and anoint yourself with it. Another: take mallows with the whole root and boil them in water and wash your head with it. To do away with gray (hair) make lye of oat straw ashes and wash yourself often with it. Another: for unwanted hair, take the juice of ivy leaves and when the hair is pulled out, anoint that place with it. Another: take ashes of elm bark and unslaked lime or piment and water from a well and put on. Another: remove the hair first and take the blood of a bat and the gall of a cat and anoint it often with it and it will not grow. To make gray (hair) like golden, take the shell of the green walnuts and the rind of the tree and boil them well, and make a lye with that water and wash your head often with it. Another: to make hair black, take sage and mix with ashes when you make lye, or make powder of sage and mix it with May butter or chicken fat and anoint yourself often with it.

For the breast, take an earthen pot with a capacity of four gallons, and get yourself a half gallon dish full of sloes and grind them in a mortar –

(f. 168v)

- the stones and everything together and put them in your pot and then take three gallons of fine dark ale when it is clean, and put it in there with the sloes and then make a hole in your garden or your house and put in your pot so that it is a foot or two (deep) in the earth and cover it in this manner, first with a linen cloth folded double or three times, and then with a turf of earth as thick as a foot (and) with as much earth on top of that all, and let it stand thus for nine days, and then drink from it and take it out of the earth and use it. (Four lines of Latin follow)



First ask the name of him for whom you will make your charm, then go to the church and say your charm but do not say it for a person who is sick, and begin [Latin: in the name of the father and the son, etc.] when our lord was on the cross then came Longius and struck him with his spear in the side, water and blood came out of the wound, he wiped his eyes and immediately saw everything through the holy power of the deity. I conjure the blood that you come not out of this Christian man. Mention the name, etc. Say this three times, and it does not matter where the man is if you have his name.

*(The remainder of the page is in Latin, except for the heading: For wicked creatures)*

(f. 169r)

*(Sixteen lines in Latin, except for the headings: For the toothache, For earwigs)*

Recite this charm in his ear and say five pater nosters and five hail marys to the worship of the five wounds of Christ. For a woman that is in labour, bind this written note to her thigh: (the remainder of the page consists of charm formulae based on Latin)

(f. 169v)

*(Eleven lines in Latin)*

For the face that seems leprous, take quicksilver and the grease of a boar and pepper and frankincense and pound them all together and anoint your face with it and keep it from cold for three days. If you want to diagnose a leper, strew salt on his blood and it will sink down. To make a face white and soft, take fresh swine's fat and chicken fat and the white of an egg and poppy meal and anoint it with these mixed together. (Seven lines of Latin follow)


To know whether it is the fault of man or of woman that she does not bear (a child), take two small new pots of earth and put a little bran in each pot and let him place one of them, and her that other one, and let them stand up ten days or fourteen, and if the man is at fault you will find (something) like worms in his pot and it will stink and if you find the same in the woman's then it is she who is at fault, and if you find the fault in neither then one may help them to have children with medicine. To make a man and a woman have children, take the testicle of an old rooster or of a young pig that suckles and burn them and make a powder of it, and take one peppercorn and make a powder of it, and do these powders together and give the man to eat, and take the womb

of a hare and burn it and make powder of it, and combine the powder with an equal amount of peppercorns and give the woman.

To get a **male child** take the vagina of a **hare** and burn it, as well as the womb, and make a powder of it and give the **man** and the **woman** to drink thereof with wine or ale before they go to bed. Another: take the testicle of a hare and let the woman swallow it while hot before she goes to **bed**. For a **woman** who cannot **conceive**, take a live male weasel, cut his testicles off and let him go. Put them (the testicles) in a cloth and hang them around her neck.

(f. 170r)

To make aqua vitae, take the root of saxifrage, parsley, fennel, hyssop, thyme, pennyroyal and rosemary, half a quarter of each, wash them clean and boil them a little. And galangal, pepper, cloves, ginger, the outer covering of nutmeg, cubebs, spikenard, and saffron in equal quantities, that is, a quarter of an ounce, and beat these spices to powder and blend them with your herbs, and put them in a gallon of good red wine and steep them all night, for they will be quite sufficient for a gallon of wine. Blend them well together and distil them on the second morning in a still of glass and keep it in a glass vessel for that is appropriate. This water has many virtues, it helps a man against all manner of maladies. It comforts a man and retains his natural warmth so that his stomach does not get cold. It destroys scabs and head eczemas. For all old sores. For deafness, pour some into his ear. It cures/improves smelliness and if a man drinks it, it helps against the falling sickness. For the palsy on the tongue, dip a piece of cloth in it and lay it on your tongue, because that palsy makes a man suddenly dumb, palsy in head, the palsy on the lips that tremble, it keeps all this from getting worse. It is good for scorpion bites and for toothache from cold, it is good for cold fever if it is drunk beforehand.

Take the raw flesh that is not boiled and if it is laid in it (the aqua vitae) for three days, it will be enough. Lay a hen's egg in it and it shall be cooked enough within a little while. To wash wounds and old sores  in vinegar. It helps the (?)sainflome in the face. Taken after a purgative, it purges the stomach and the body of all flegm and corruption. For (?)padal that comes of cold. It makes white colour if a man washes in it. For the guts and for gnawing within the body, for weakness in the head. Drunk with wine, for colica passio, for heart pain, for all manner of constitution nourished with cold humours, drunk fifteen days, first and last thing.

To make sugar candy, take pot sugar and dissolve it in 

(f. 170v)

Eggs 8 pounds and divide it into three parts and boil it well, then take a vessel of wood or earth, shaped as a sugar loaf with a little hole in the smaller end and see that this vessel is fully saturated with hot water, and afterwards with cold, and put it in another vessel with the larger end up, and when your sugar is boiled enough for it to form strings between your fingers pour it into your mould and stir it well, and (do the same with) the other part of your sugar, and when it is enough pour it into your mould with the other, all the while stirring well so that the cold and the hot are well mixed, and do the same with the third part and mix them well together and that will make your sugar white and brittle, and all this time make sure there is a peg in the hole of the form, and when all your sugar is well mixed, cover it and let it stand (for) four days, and when it is cold and hardened enough take out your peg and let your water (pour) out, and take potter's clay and make a soft paste from it, and pour it on your loaf, let it all stand about an inch above the hole and thus let it stand nine days, and the moisture of your clay will remove all the moisture (out) of your loaf through the hole, then remove the clay and close the hole with the peg and make an incision with a knife a little above the loaf in the vessel, then put your mould in warm water to loosen your loaf and then take it out.

## Appendix 2: List of ingredients

The following list contains the ingredients used in the medical recipes here edited, on folios 166r-170r in Sloane 3160. Varying spellings of the same words often occur within the text and are included here. The list gives translations into Modern English, Latin names as well as comments where appropriate. Definitions and descriptions are derived from the Online *Middle English Compendium* (MED), the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) and the Merriam Webster Dictionary (MWD). In the case of ambiguous or otherwise unclear meanings, the source has been specified.

<b>Ache</b>	Smallage/wild celery ( <i>Apium</i> ).
<b>Alisandur</b>	Alexander ( <i>Smyrniium olusatrum</i> ), also known as black lover or horse parsley.
<b>Asche</b>	Ash tree, a forest tree indigenous to Europe, Western Asia, and North Africa, or a tribe of trees: Fraxinæ (OED).
<b>Asche chattes</b>	Ash chats, the catkins of the hazel or the seeds of the ash.
<b>Ascus, askes</b>	Ashes.
<b>Auens</b>	Avens, a genus of species in the rose family (Rosaceæ).
<b>Bark</b>	Bark.
<b>Barle, barle mele</b>	Barley flour.
<b>Bayes lefis</b>	Bay-leaves, from the Bay Laurel tree ( <i>Laurus nobilis</i> ).
<b>Betayn</b>	European Betony ( <i>Betonica officinalis</i> ).
<b>Bkkne</b>	Boar. For discussion see 5.5.
<b>Blod of a bat</b>	Blood of a bat.
<b>Blossums</b>	Blossom, the flower that grows on a plant, preceding the seed or the fruit.
<b>Bore, bors grece</b>	Boar, boar grease.

<b>Bran</b>	Bran, the husk of a grain such as wheat, barley or oats.
<b>Brome</b>	Broom, a genus of oat-like grasses ( <i>Bromus</i> ).
<b>Bullurs</b>	Bulbs.
<b>Byskl</b>	Eysel (vinegar). For discussion see 5.5.
<b>Centori</b>	Common centaury ( <i>Centaureum umbellatum</i> ) or the yellow centaury ( <i>Chlora Perfoliata</i> ) (OED; MED).
<b>Chattes</b>	Catkins of the hazel, or the seeds from its ash.
<b>Chiristones</b>	Cherry stones.
<b>Clauus</b>	Claws (MED); or cloves, the dried flower-bud of <i>Caryophyllus aromaticus</i> (OED).
<b>Cole lefs/wortes</b>	Cole, cabbage leaves/roots ( <i>Brassica oleracea</i> ).
<b>Comyn</b>	Cumin, seeds from the umbelliferous plant <i>Cummin Cyminum</i> .
<b>Dok þt berus þe cuntkles</b>	A plant in the <i>Rumex</i> family, many of which were used for medicinal purposes.
<b>Doufe dritte</b>	Pigeon droppings (MED).
<b>Eldye</b>	Elder, a low tree or shrub ( <i>Sambucus nigra</i> ).
<b>Enula</b>	Inula, elecampane or horseheal ( <i>Inula helenium</i> ) (OED; MED).
<b>Erthe</b>	Earth, clay.
<b>Eysel</b>	Vinegar.
<b>Fenel, fenel rotes, lefs of fenikle/fenel lef, fenelle sede</b>	Fennel, fennel roots, fennel leaves, fennel seeds, all from the perennial umbellifer <i>Fæniculum vulgare</i> .
<b>Figus</b>	Figs, the fruit of the fig tree ( <i>Ficus carica</i> ).
<b>Filago</b>	Filago, cudweed or a plant from the genus <i>Gnaphalium</i> .
<b>Franc-encens, sens</b>	Frankincense, an aromatic gum resin from trees of the genus <i>Boswellia</i> .

<b>Gal</b>	Gall, gall bladder.
<b>gbl</b>	Gall. For discussion, see 5.5.
<b>Galingay</b>	Galangal; the aromatic rhizome of a number of Asian plants of the ginger family.
<b>Ginger</b>	Ginger, rhizome of the plant <i>Zingiber officinale</i> .
<b>Gote clause</b>	Goat's hooves.
<b>Gotes mylke</b>	Goat's milk.
<b>Grese, grece</b>	Grease/fat, melted or rendered fat of animals.
<b>Gromel</b>	Gromwell, a plant of the genus <i>Lithospermum</i> ( <i>Lithospermum officinale</i> ).
<b>Grys, 3ong grys p<sup>t</sup> soukes</b>	Pig, young pig that suckles.
<b>Har', home of <i>anbre</i>, modur of a har', balok of anbr'</b>	Hare, vagina of a hare, womb of a hare.
<b>Hauer, hauer mele, hauer stre</b>	Oats, oatmeal, oat straw.
<b>Hemloke</b>	Hemlock, a poisonous biennial flowering plant ( <i>Conium maculatum</i> ).
<b>Hen, hen grece, henne egge</b>	Hen, hen grease/fat, hen's eggs.
<b>Henban</b>	Henbane, any of the flowering plants from the genus <i>Hyoscyamus</i> .
<b>Hkmklkk</b>	Hemlock. For discussion, see 5.5.
<b>Hols of green walnut</b>	Outer pericarp of the English walnut, shell of the green walnut.
<b>Hone / hony</b>	Honey.
<b>Horhoune/ Horrehon</b>	Horehound, a labiate herb ( <i>Marrubium vulgare</i> ).
<b>Hynd' tong</b>	Hart's tongue fern ( <i>Asplenium scolopendrium</i> ).
<b>Ius of sauyn</b>	Juice of the danewort, <i>Juniperus sabina</i> / <i>Aster amellus</i> .

<b>Ius of suthern' wod</b>	Juice of southernwood, a flowering plant from the sunflower family ( <i>Artemisia Abrotanum</i> ).
<b>Koke, balok of an old koke</b>	Rooster, testicle of an old rooster.
<b>Lauriale, loril lefis</b>	Laurel, laurel leaves.
<b>Lecus sede</b>	Leek seed.
<b>Lefes of rue</b>	Rue leaves, a plant of the genus <i>Ruta graveolens</i> .
<b>Lefes of sage</b>	Sage leaves ( <i>Salvia Officinalis</i> ).
<b>Licoris, licoris meche</b>	Liquorice, crushed liquorice; the dried root of the plant <i>Glycyrrhiza glabra</i> .
<b>Liuerwort</b>	Liverwort ( <i>Marchantia polymorpha</i> ).
<b>Malue, mluis</b>	Common mallow ( <i>Malva sylvestris</i> ) or the marsh mallow ( <i>Althaea officinalis</i> ).
<b>May buttur</b>	May butter, butter prepared in May without salt and used medicinally.
<b>Maydenhag'</b>	Maiden hag.
<b>Maydinshor'</b>	Maidenhair fern, either <i>Adiantum capillus-veneris</i> or any of several spleenworts, such as <i>Asplenium trichomanes</i> (OED; MED).
<b>Merce ale</b>	Mercian ale (MED); or dark ale (OED).
<b>Modur of a har</b>	Womb/vagina of a hare (OED).
<b>Mosse</b>	Moss or another cryptogamous plant.
<b>Must</b>	Must.
<b>mustard sed</b>	Mustard seed, a plant of the genus <i>Brassica</i> .
<b>Mynt, ius of mintes</b>	Mint, mint juice. Aromatic plants from the genus <i>Mentha</i> .
<b>Neypt</b>	Nepte.
<b>Notmuke, notmuke maces</b>	Nutmeg, the outer covering of nutmeg.

<b>Oile</b>	Oil. Also, the awn of barley and similar grasses (OED).
<b>Old ale, Stale ale</b>	Old ale, stale ale.
<b>Old grece</b>	Old grease/fat.
<b>Old smer</b>	Old animal grease/fat, tallow.
<b>Old wine</b>	Old wine.
<b>Ouerfern</b>	Epiphytic fern.
<b>Peletr, rote of peletr of spayn</b>	Pellitory, root of pellitory of Spain.
<b>Pepur, quite pepur, corns of peper/pepyr cornys</b>	Pepper, white pepper, peppercorns.
<b>Percil, percil rotes, percyllle sede</b>	Parsley, parsley root, parsley seed. ( <i>Petroselinum crispum</i> ).
<b>Pigul</b>	Pigul.
<b>Potters erp<sup>e</sup></b>	Potter's clay.
<b>Puliol, pilioll riall,</b>	Pennyroyal ( <i>Mentha pulegium</i> ) or wild thyme ( <i>Thymus serpyllum</i> ).
<b>Piment</b>	Piment, a sweet and spiced wine containing honey, used both as refreshment and medicinally.
<b>Piritrum</b>	Pyrethrum.
<b>Pope mele</b>	Poppy meal, made of the seeds of the opium poppy ( <i>Papaver somniferum</i> ).
<b>Precepetur</b>	Cowslip.
<b>Qibybs</b>	Cubebs.
<b>Quicsilu'</b>	Quicksilver.



<b>quite of egges</b>	Egg whites.
<b>Raysingus</b>	Raisins.
<b>Red dok rote</b>	Root of the red dock, a plant of the genus <i>Rumex</i> .
<b>Red nettle</b>	Red nettle, a plant of the genus <i>Urtica</i> .
<b>Red wortes</b>	Redwort or marigold, a plant of the genus <i>Calendula</i> .
<b>Ridiche rote</b>	Radish root.
<b>Rosmarin</b>	Rosemary, an evergreen aromatic shrub ( <i>Rosmarinus officinalis</i> ).
<b>Rote of louage</b>	Root of lovage, a perennial southern European herb ( <i>Levisticum officinale</i> ).
<b>Rue</b>	Rue, a plant from the genus <i>Ruta</i> .
<b>Saffron</b>	The saffron crocus ( <i>Crocus sativus</i> ).
<b>Sage, sauge</b>	Sage, the herb <i>Salvia officinalis</i> .
<b>Salt</b>	Salt.
<b>Savyn</b>	Savin or savin juniper ( <i>Juniperus sabina</i> ).
<b>Saxifrage, rote of saxifrage</b>	Saxifrage, also known as rockfoil. Plant from the genus <i>Saxifraga</i> .
<b>Slaghe</b>	Sloes, the fruit of the blackthorn ( <i>Prunus spinosa</i> ).
<b>Spiconard, Spiknard</b>	Spikenard or muskroot, an aromatic plant from the <i>Valerianaceae</i> family.
<b>sppf</b>	Sow. For discussion, see 5.5.
<b>Sugur</b>	Sugar.
<b>Suayne, suaynes grece</b>	Swine (a domesticated pig), swine fat.
<b>Tansay</b>	Tansy, herbaceous plant ( <i>Tanacetum vulgare</i> ).
<b>Time, tyme</b>	Thyme, any plant of the genus <i>Thymus</i> .
<b>Unslakud lime</b>	Unslaked lime or calcium oxide. An inorganic material.

<b>Veruayn, rotes veruayn</b>	Vervain, roots of vervain, a perennial plant from the genus <i>Verbena officinalis</i> .
<b>Vinigr/ Vinegr</b>	Vinegar.
<b>water/ watur, wel water</b>	Water, well water.
<b>Walworth</b>	Wallwort, also known as Dwarf Elder, Ground Elder, Danewort, Danes' Blood or Daneweed. A caprifoliaceous plant ( <i>Sambucus Ebulus</i> ).
<b>Waybrod</b>	Waybread or plantain ( <i>Plantago major</i> ).
<b>Wermot</b>	Wormwood ( <i>Artemisia absinthium</i> ).
<b>Wesl, balok of a wesl, wesl al quik þ<sup>t</sup> is a male</b>	Weasel, testicle of a weasel, live male weasel.
<b>Willy leues</b>	Willow leaves.
<b>Wyne lue, red wyne, quite wyne</b>	Lukewarm wine, red wine, white wine.
<b>Ysop</b>	Hyssop, herb from the genus <i>Hyssopus</i> .
<b>Yuyn lefs</b>	Ivy, a climbing evergreen shrub ( <i>Hedera Helix</i> ).