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**Vernacular literacy in late-medieval England: the example
of East Anglian medical manuscripts**

Abstract

This thesis is an examination of vernacular literacy in late-medieval East Anglia, using the evidence supplied by English medical texts datable to between 1350–1500. It addresses not only the texts, but also the manuscripts in which they survive and the people who wrote, owned and read them. By this means I have been able to examine the literacy of a group of readers in a specific region. The thesis is divided into three main parts. The first describes the approach taken, and critically assesses the field of historical literacy before examining the value to the study of modern theories of literacy. It includes an overview of late-medieval medical practice in order to place the manuscripts in their immediate context. The second section consists of a detailed examination of the primary material and presents a corpus of some thirty-seven manuscripts dating from the mid-fourteenth to the late-fifteenth centuries. Each manuscript is described in terms of its physical appearance and the types of texts it contains. Provenance information is supplied for owners and readers in the Middle Ages. The third section draws together these findings in the light of the literacy theories adopted, analysing the information in terms of the types of text included (both medical and non-medical), the types of book (whether basic or luxurious productions), and the types of owner (graduate physicians, rural practitioners or interested laypeople). My conclusion shows that the vernacular medical literature from late-medieval East Anglia provides a picture of literacy that is more complex than previously suggested. Several shifts in literacy practices for groups and individuals can be discerned from the evidence of this survey. The increase in production and use of vernacular texts cannot be simply described as a broadening of literacy and increased accessibility of texts. Rather than a growth of literacy per se, the vernacularisation of medicine in late-medieval East Anglia seems to have been both the cause and effect of shifts in literacy practices. The increased

use of written texts in medicine during this period can be shown to be a process that involves participation in literacy events, broadening of background knowledge and the acquisition and development of practical skills in reading and writing.

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Abbreviations used

- Blomefield* Blomefield, F. 1805–10. *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, (Continued by Charles Parkin) 11 vols, William Miller: London
- BRUC Emden, A. B. 1963. *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- IMEP *Index of Middle English Prose*, Handlists I–XI:
- I. Hanna, R. 1984. *A Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in the Henry E. Huntington Library*, Cambridge: Brewer
 - V. Brown, P. and Higgs, E. D., 1988. *A Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in the Additional Collection (10001–14000), British Library, London*, Cambridge: Brewer
 - VI. Pickering, O. S. and Powell, A. eds, 1989. *A Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in Yorkshire Libraries and Archives*, Cambridge: Brewer
 - VII. Ogilvie Thompson, S. J. 1991. *A Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in Oxford College Libraries*, Cambridge: Brewer
 - X. Taavitsainen, I. 1994. *Manuscripts in Scandinavian Collections*, Cambridge: Brewer
 - XI. Mooney, L. 1995. *Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, Cambridge: Brewer
- IMEV Brown, C. and Robbins, R. H., eds, 1943. *Index of Middle English Verse*, New York: printed for the Index Society by Columbia University Press
- IMEV *Suppl.* Robbins, R. H. and Brown, C. eds, 1965. *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse*, Lexington: University of Kentucky Press

- IPMEP** Lewis, R. E., Blake, N. F. and Edwards, A. S. G., eds, 1985. *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, New York: Garland
- MLGB** Ker, N. R. 1964. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn, London: Royal Historical Society
- MMBL** Ker, N. R. 1969–83. *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon
1. London. 1969
 2. Abbotsford-Keele. 1977
 3. Lampeter-Oxford. 1983
 4. Paisley-York. 1969
- MPME** Talbot, C. H. and Hammond, E. A., 1965. *Medical Practitioners in Medieval England*, London: Wellcome
- MPME Suppl** Getz, F. M. 1990. 'Medical practitioners in medieval England', *Social History of Medicine* 3, 245–83
- MWME** Keiser, G. ed. 1998. *Manual of the Writings in Middle English* vol. 10, Works of Science and Information, New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences
- MWME vol. 6** Hartung, A. E. 1980. *Manual of the Writings in Middle English* vol. 6, New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences
- PRO** Public Record Office, London
- Sloane Index** Scott, E. J. L. 1904. *Index to the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London: The Trustees of the British Museum
- TK** Thorndike, L. and Kibre, P., 1963. *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin*, Publications of the Mediaeval Academy of America 29, London: Mediaeval Academy of America
- VCH Norfolk, i** Doubleday, H. A., ed. 1901. *The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 1, Westminster: Constable
- VCH Norfolk, ii** Page, W., ed. 1901. *The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 2, Westminster: Constable

East Anglian manuscripts and their sigla

1. BLA British Library, Additional 12195
2. Ha 1600 British Library, Harley 1600
3. Ha 1735 British Library, Harley 1735
4. Ha 2374 British Library, Harley 2374
5. Ha 2375 British Library, Harley 2375
6. Ha 2378 British Library, Harley 2378
7. Ha 2390 British Library, Harley 2390
8. Royal 17C British Library, Royal 17. C. xv
9. Sl 340 British Library, Sloane 340
10. Sl 442 British Library, Sloane 442
11. Sl 521 British Library, Sloane 521
12. Sl 706 British Library, Sloane 706
13. Sl 989 British Library, Sloane 989
14. W408 Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 408
15. W542 Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 542
16. CUL D Cambridge, University Library Dd.xi.45
17. CUL E Cambridge, University Library Ec.i.13
18. Caius 147 Gonville and Caius College Cambridge, 147/97
19. Pem 21 Pembroke College Cambridge 21
20. Pepys 878 Magdalene College, Pepys 878
21. Pepys 1307 Magdalene College, Pepys 1307
22. Pepys 1661 Magdalene College, Pepys 1661
23. TCC Trinity College 0.9.28 (1440)
24. SJC St John's College, Cambridge B.15 (37)
25. Hu 117 Glasgow, Hunter 117/T.5.19
26. Hu 509 Glasgow, Hunter 509/V.8.12

27. AS 81 All Souls College Oxford, 81
28. Rawl C Bodleian, Rawlinson C. 299
29. Rawl D Bodleian, Rawlinson D. 251
30. Tanner 407 Bodleian, Tanner 407
31. York Cathedral Library, XVI. E. 32
32. Countway 19 Harvard, Countway Library 19
33. HM 1336 Huntington Library, HM 1336
34. NLM National Library of Medicine, 514 (*olim* 4)
35. Bühler 21 Pierpont Morgan Library, Bühler 21
36. Stk X. 90 Stockholm, Royal Library X.90
37. Takamiya 38 Tokyo, Takamiya 38

Part 1

1. Introduction

2. Methodology and Context

Chapter 1

1. Introduction

Subject of study

This thesis is a study of late-medieval vernacular literacy, based on evidence from the surviving vernacular medical literature of later medieval East Anglia. The data used are derived from a systematic survey of manuscripts containing vernacular medical texts which can be located in Norfolk and Suffolk between 1350 and 1500. It draws inspiration and influence from several sources. The first is Richard Beadle's preliminary study into the 'literary geography' of later medieval Norfolk (Beadle 1991). His approach was to make a systematic survey of:

The surviving vernacular manuscripts written by scribes who, judging by the spelling system evidenced in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, were brought up or trained in one restricted area of the country, the county of Norfolk (1991, 90).

More general studies of the literary geography have, as Beadle notes, 'an impressionistic or anecdotal air' (1991, 89), which does little to explain the proliferation of texts from particular genres in certain regions. Questions about the development of peculiarly East Anglian drama or why, as Beadle observes, 'a rather ambitious kind of devotional literature came to flourish in an apparently restricted area of the west midlands during the thirteenth century' (1991, 89) remain unanswered in these broad studies. In order to clarify these issues, Beadle recommends that thorough studies be made of the relevant evidence in specific areas, whether regions, genres or types of owner (1991, 89–90). His earlier study into the drama of medieval East Anglia (1977) indicated that a particular sub-genre

of drama flourished in East Anglia during the fifteenth century. In his 1991 study he suggests that similar patterns might be found by researchers into other fields of literature:

Other 'East Anglian' configurations amongst the texts on the list may suggest themselves to researchers in other fields, and in the longer term it is to be hoped that comparable listings for other regions – taking as their starting point the *Linguistic Atlas* – will gradually generate a new and fuller picture of the literary geography of later medieval England as a whole. (Beadle 1991, 100).

This thesis explores one such avenue; that of medical texts and their readers within late-medieval East Anglia. It differs in methodology from Beadle's work in that I have included manuscripts on the basis of provenance information as well as dialect evidence, although the vast majority of those I have surveyed contain texts in East Anglian English.¹ I have also extended the region under examination to include Suffolk, as the range of texts I have included is far more limited than that in Beadle's study. Choosing a small-scale study is also in accordance with the theories of literacy which have influenced the methodology of this thesis. The main theory is the 'social theory' of literacy, as developed by David Barton, Mary Hamilton and others (2000) from Barton's 'ecological' approach to literacy (1994).² Barton maintains that literacy can only be properly understood through small-scale studies:

An ecological approach to literacy is very cautious of the broad generalizations often associated with reading and writing. It starts out from a belief that it is necessary first to understand

¹ See pp. 80 ff for an explanation of the selection criteria used in this survey.

² The literacy theories used are explained on pp. 41 ff.

something within a particular situation before looking to generalities (Barton 1994, 37).

The choice of material for this study stems partly from my M.Phil. study into the structure of medical recipe texts (M. C. Jones 1997), and also from the growing body of literature on the study of medical texts in later medieval England. This genre provides an ideal body of material for a smaller-scale study such as those advocated by Barton and initiated by Beadle. An interest in health and medicine is not restricted to any section of a population, and therefore a basic motive for the reading of medical texts can be assumed, together with a general interest in the subject throughout the population. There are also definable groups who had what may be termed a 'professional interest' in these texts, such as surgeons, barbers and rural doctors. It seems reasonable to assume that these 'medical professionals' may have formed the main audience for such works. In this thesis I will examine whether the evidence from late-medieval East Anglia supports such a hypothesis, or whether the vernacular texts were only used by those readers with no Latin or no interest in medical practice.

Contribution to the field

This thesis contributes to various aspects of Middle English studies, including practical literature, literacy and the changing function of English in the later Middle Ages. The survival of medical texts from the Middle Ages presents us with a source of evidence for the uses of the written word which is distinct from the traditional canon of Middle English literature. The term 'pragmatic literacy' has been in wide currency since the publication of Parkes' famous essay on 'The literacy of the laity' (1973). However, it has been used with little firm definition, and is often associated

primarily or solely with documentary texts.³ However, Parkes' definition of pragmatic literacy is rather more broad than such associations might suggest: 'the literacy of one who has to read or write in the course of transacting any business' (1973, 555).

Medical literature used for practical purposes can be said to fall into that category. It does, however, also cross boundaries into the area of intellectual study, as it was taught in both Oxford and Cambridge universities (although to a much smaller scale than in continental Europe).⁴ It was also of interest to all sections of the population. The maintenance of health and cure of disease was of universal interest, as is reflected by the recipes found in the margins of texts of all genres, and the popularity of pilgrimages to shrines of saints renowned for their healing powers.

The vernacular medical literature presents a number of questions. Latin was traditionally the language of scholarship and of medicine, but in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a growing number of English translations of medical texts appeared, at all levels from popular to learned. In order to explain this, we must first establish what type of audience was creating the demand for texts in English which led to the rapid increase in supply. This is one of the aims of the thesis. The second aim is to consider this audience and its books in terms of literacy. Although historical literacy is of increasing scholarly interest, these texts and this region have not been the subject of any such study, nor has the approach used here been applied to medieval literacy in any comprehensive study.⁵

³ For example, see Clanchy 1993, Britnell 1997.

⁴ See p. 63 for the training of medical practitioners within universities.

The approach

The methodology depends on a number of advances in both medieval and modern studies. As Beadle observes, the publication of *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (*LALME*) opened up ‘numerous opportunities for research’ (1991, 89). *LALME* allows the researcher to select texts from within a given region and therefore examine the ‘literary geography’ of that region in detail. I have had access not only to material published in *LALME*, but also to unpublished material gathered during the Survey of Middle English Dialects, the project which developed *LALME*, and also to further analyses made subsequent to the publication of *LALME*.⁶ Using dialect material has allowed me to gather a corpus of manuscripts which can be said to have been produced or used in late-medieval Norfolk and Suffolk. It is therefore possible to examine a specific group of manuscripts and owners in an area which has rich survivals of historical evidence, such as the Paston letters. The manuscripts themselves have presented a number of questions, such as why a doctor of canon law from Cambridge University should choose to have a Latin medical manuscript translated into English.⁷

The categorisation of texts is key to understanding their readership, but is often a problem in any field of literature, whether historical or modern. The issues will be discussed in the literature review later in this section. For now it is sufficient to say that the choice of taxonomy adopted here is the result of studies by two of the major research projects in this field: the survey of manuscripts undertaken by

⁵ It has been shown to be an effective model for analysis in Lowe’s study of Anglo-Saxon chirograph material (1998) but has not been expanded into a large-scale work.

⁶ I am indebted to Dr Jeremy Smith for allowing me access to the unpublished *LALME* material (on behalf of Professor M. L. Samuels), and to Dr Richard Beadle for providing me with material from his recent studies into the manuscripts of late-medieval Norfolk.

Linda Ehlsam Voigts and Patricia Deery Kurtz;⁸ and the ‘Scientific thought-styles’ project at the University of Helsinki, led by Irma Taavitsainen and Päivi Pahta.⁹ The theoretical framework of the thesis draws on two areas of modern study in literacy and discourse analysis. Such use of modern techniques can be of great value when applied to historical situations, but must be used with caution. Modern discourse analysts and literacy scholars have far more information about their subjects at their disposal than do those who study historical texts. Medieval attitudes to texts and languages have to be reconstructed from the texts which survive, and the survival patterns of these texts may reflect the interests of eighteenth-century collectors as much as, if not more than, those of their original owners. Nevertheless, historical sociolinguistics is a growing area of research,¹⁰ and this thesis can be considered as a contribution to the field. However, using modern techniques leaves open the temptation to view historical situations with modern attitudes: as with all historical studies, this caveat must always be considered.

Structure

The thesis is divided into five main chapters.

- The remainder of this chapter (section 2) examines the current state of research into vernacular medical writing in late-medieval England.
- Chapter 2 outlines the background and methodology of the study: Section 2.1 outlines and discusses the study of literacy in the Middle Ages. Section 2.2

⁷ See Hu 509, p. 209.

⁸ See p. 22.

⁹ See Taavitsainen and Pahta 1997a, 1997b and 1998 for details.

¹⁰ For example, see the collection of essays edited in Machan and Scott 1992, and also Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brumberg 1996.

examines the context in which these manuscripts were produced and used, presenting an overview of medical practice in late-medieval East Anglia.

- In Chapter 3 I present the manuscript material. The introduction to this chapter provides an explanation of the criteria used to select manuscripts to be examined in the survey, including the types of text which can be described as medical, and the use of dialect evidence. The manuscripts themselves are listed in individual sections, by means of a physical description of each manuscript, with contents and provenance information. This provides the reference material for the analyses in Chapter 4.
- Section 4.1 discusses the types of text found in the manuscripts. Although the vernacular medical texts are the key texts for inclusion in the survey, the other texts contained in the manuscripts are essential for our understanding of the literacy practices of the readers of individual manuscripts.¹¹ The same is also true for the languages of these texts, whether English, Latin or a mixture of languages.
- In Section 4.2 I consider the types of book in which these texts survive. Are they professional, luxurious volumes, or the notebooks of individuals? Does the size of the book lend itself to daily portability, or is it a volume designed for the desktop? Did one scribe copy it as a whole, or is it compiled of various booklets? Answers to these questions provide evidence for the perceived status of both books and owners. The present state of the books is also considered in this section; marginalia, stains and damage testify to the life of the book. How much of the damage is medieval is impossible to say, but the presence of

¹¹ For a definition of literacy practices, see p. 50.

marginal notes, especially those relating to the text, can show to some extent how much the book was in use, and for how long.

- Section 4.3 examines evidence for the owners of the books. Provenance information survives for a range of these manuscripts, and reflects a wide readership, from university graduates to rural leeches to merchant families. However, most of the manuscripts contain either no provenance information, or signatures which cannot be identified. These manuscripts are compared to others in the survey, and possible origins postulated. In this chapter I also suggest possible avenues for further research, based on the conclusions reached and questions raised by this study.

2. Vernacular medical writing: review of the literature

Although a relatively new and small field within medieval textual studies, the scholarly literature on medical works in Middle English is growing rapidly. This reflects an increasing interest in the vernacularisation process which took place across Europe in the later Middle Ages. The subject draws together scholars from diverse disciplines, from philology to medical history to medieval literary studies. This diversity is illustrated by the variety of approaches taken even within a relatively small field. This thesis is best understood within the context of these studies, as it draws on findings from a variety of sources. For clarity I have categorised studies and discuss them under specific headings. This is, of course, a somewhat arbitrary procedure, as some studies do not sit easily in any one category, and many overlap.

General surveys

As with any new field of study, the first problem facing scholars researching vernacular medical literature was to assemble the data, and early studies tended to take the form of surveys of the surviving material. The most significant work in the early part of this century was the groundbreaking study by Dorothea Waley Singer. Her survey of pre-sixteenth-century British medical manuscripts has never been published in its entirety, and much of it still survives in note form, the index cards filling 101 shoeboxes in the British Library. Singer published a brief summary (1918) which contains a great deal of valuable material. However, more recent studies have suggested that her statistics should be treated with caution, as should any conclusions drawn solely from this survey. Robbins published a critique of the Singer survey in which he comments that: ‘a caveat must be made that her listings are “raw”, that they are not weighted, and that a big proportion is erroneous’ (1970b, 67). He presents four cautions for those intending to use the Singer survey:

- The survey is incomplete;
- Palaeographical dating is often erroneous and cannot be relied upon;
- Medical and non-medical texts are often confused in the survey;
- The survey figures are inflated. (Robbins 1970b, 67).

A survey by Robbins which lists many of the manuscripts in the Singer survey has been the starting point for many recent studies in the area (Robbins 1970a). This study is important particularly for its discussion of the taxonomy of medical texts. Classification of texts and genres is key to understanding how and by whom these texts were used, and merits its own discussion later in this section.¹² Robbins' survey is still the basis for much new research into this area, and yet covers perhaps only a quarter of the total number of surviving medical codices and fragments.

Further problems with both the Singer and Robbins surveys have been brought to light by more recent research, most notably in the work of Linda Voigts. One of the most important steps for research in this field will be the publication of the *Scientific and Medical Writings in Old and Middle English: An Electronic Reference*, by Voigts and Patricia Deery Kurtz (forthcoming). This database, to be published on CD-ROM, contains records of over seven thousand texts, in texts in over 1000 manuscripts, with over 8000 cross-referenced entries.¹³ This database is the most

¹² Methods of categorisation are examined on p. 24, together with an explanation of the model adopted here.

¹³ Voigts outlines the contents and structure of the database in her 1995 article.

comprehensive study to date, and the availability of such a resource will mean that more detailed and comprehensive analyses of particular areas will be possible. It functions as a companion volume to the catalogue of Latin scientific and medical texts compiled by Thorndike and Kibre (1963). This catalogue is often cited as *TK*: accordingly, the Voigts/Kurtz database has been given the label *VK* (Voigts 1995, 187).¹⁴ *VK* is the result of over ten years' work, and Voigts has published a number of articles based on the data collected during the survey. These studies form valuable starting points for further research into this field, but also shed light on general aspects of book production and use in the Middle Ages.¹⁵

Another ongoing study which is already providing valuable data is the 'Scientific thought-styles' project at the University of Helsinki. Taavitsainen and Pahta give an overview of the project in a recent article, in which they observe that 'it is evident that a one-genre corpus with a larger number of texts will yield a more detailed account of the evolution of that particular genre' (Taavitsainen and Pahta 1997b, 71). This project has implications for various aspects of research in this area, and so will be discussed later in this review.¹⁶

In addition to the larger surveys, there are also a number of small surveys of scientific and medical books. Although not strictly medical, it is worth consulting

¹⁴ The *TK* catalogue is currently being revised and converted into electronic format by the 'e-*TK* project', directed by Peter Murray Jones at King's College, Cambridge.

¹⁵ Voigts' 1984 article is a good starting point, as she provides a general overview of research into medical English prose in the Middle Ages. More specific articles include her discussion of *VK* (1995), a study of the production and use of scientific and medical books in late-medieval England (1989b), and her examination of bilingualism in medieval texts (1996).

¹⁶ Taavitsainen and Pahta's evidence is examined on p. 25 and p. 31.

Frank Klaassen's study of English magical manuscripts (1998) as a number of these contain medical works, and Klaassen gives a useful discussion of provenance.

Within the wider field of Middle English studies there are, of course, many valuable resources for the study of vernacular medical texts. One of the most useful resources currently available is George Keiser's volume of the *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*.¹⁷ This volume is dedicated to scientific and medical writings, and provides recent information on the whereabouts of manuscripts, and the most up-to-date catalogues.¹⁸ Before further editions and studies of these manuscripts can be undertaken, however, the question of categorisation of medical texts must be addressed.

Categorisation

It is generally accepted that many more editions and studies will have to be made if the genre of medical writing in English is to be fully understood. However, there remains some debate regarding which texts should be given priority for editing. This cannot be adequately resolved until a suitable taxonomy for these texts has been established. The categorisation of medical texts has therefore been the main focus of a number of studies. Whilst broadly agreeing with the substance of Robbins' survey (1970a), Voigts questions his means of categorising medical texts, and some of the conclusions he reached (1982, 41–42). Robbins divided texts in terms of diagnosis, prognosis, or therapy. While they reflect the familiar distinctions

¹⁷ Henceforth *MWME*. References to specific works indexed in *MWME* are simply indexed in this thesis, whereas page references are indicated by 'p.'. Due to a misprint, Keiser is cited as G. Reiser on the title page of this volume, and the book is therefore listed under this name in many catalogues and databases.

¹⁸ By Keiser's own admission, however, the manual is far from comprehensive, treating only works which have been edited or studied in depth. See *MWME* p. 3598. It lacks a manuscript index, which would assist greatly with the consultation of this very useful work.

of modern medicine, Voigts point out that these divisions, as with the sharp distinction between medicine and surgery, do not accurately reflect medieval practice (1982, 41). She illustrates this by the example of bloodletting texts; bloodletting was a practice which could be used in any or all of the categories above (1982, 42). Finding a better means of categorisation has proved problematic, as approaches which work for the early modern period, such as Paul Slack's analysis of sixteenth-century texts by intended audience (1979), are simply not supported by the surviving evidence from medieval manuscripts. The solution proposed by Voigts is to place texts according to their origins, on a continuum between the two poles of theoretical academic texts and remedy books (1982, 44). This taxonomy, although not without problems, is the most promising solution to date, and recent linguistic research into these texts has provided supporting evidence. The work of the 'Finnish school', notably the project on 'Scientific Thought-Styles' by Taavitsainen and Pahta in Helsinki and also work by scholars in other Finnish universities such as Norri, has been most influential in this area. Recent studies by Taavitsainen and Pahta have modified Voigts' taxonomy and used it as a basis for empirical linguistic studies of vernacular medical texts, using techniques from discourse and stylistic analysis.¹⁹ There is, therefore, a workable taxonomy which can be used to guide the indexing and editing of further texts, and also studies of groups of texts.²⁰

¹⁹ See Taavitsainen and Pahta 1998 for an overview of the project, and the presentation of preliminary findings regarding the incidence of features of scholastic writing in medical texts. Their 1995 article demonstrates how the discourse structure of medical texts reflects their place in the academic-popular continuum.

²⁰ See pp. 277 ff. for types of medical text used in later medieval England.

Editing and indexing

Both *IMEV* and *IMEP* provide the basic starting points for the indexing of medical texts. However, there are particular difficulties in indexing and editing presented by the genre which have been illustrated in the studies of medical recipes by Hargreaves and Rand Schmidt. Although a number of recipe collections have been published, they have proved to be problematic for the editors of *IMEP*.

In his study of the subject, Hargreaves states that the initial intellectual problems facing the scholar of medical prose in general, and recipes in particular, are those of classification and arrangement (1981). This is especially the case given the criteria laid down for *IMEP*. Recipe collections are not easily indexed, given that the texts themselves are usually very short, and one collection can contain a very large number of recipes. The size of these collections mean that it is generally impractical to index each recipe individually.²¹ Hargreaves has suggested that English recipe collections tended, in the main, to follow the classical Latin arrangement of 'de capite ad pedem': starting with remedies for ailments of the head and then working down the body to the feet (1981, 94). If this were the case, then this arrangement could be used as a basis for indexing such collections.

However, Rand Schmidt disputes Hargreaves' rationale in her analysis of the same problem (1994). Her findings show that recipe collections tend to be far less orderly, and so following *IMEP* guidelines would leave large sections of text unaccounted for; those recipes which did not fall under banner headings would not be included. Rand Schmidt's solution to the problem is to transcribe the first ten to fifteen words of every recipe, 'so that we get something amounting to a first line

²¹ For details of *IMEP* guidelines, see Edwards' introduction to *IMEP Handlist 1*, especially pp. 2–6.

index' (1994, 429). She also suggests this as an improvement to the *VK* index, where recipes are entered in groups, and only individually indexed if they cover an area which Voigts and Kurtz considered worthy of special mention (Rand Schmidt 1994, 428). This means that the *VK* index will be of more use to scholars in certain fields than in others. As yet *IMEP* is far from complete, and *IMEV* is in the process of being revised.²² There is, therefore, a limited opportunity for cross-referencing between volumes. As more are published, this situation should improve, but will also require the revision of the earlier volumes.

The importance of editing medical texts is becoming more widely recognised. Books devoted to the editing of Middle English texts are beginning to include scientific and medical texts as the norm. Levere 1982 contains essays which discuss editing in many fields of medieval science, and a recent volume on editing Middle English texts, (McCarren 1998), has a chapter devoted to scientific and medical works (Keiser 1998) as well as astrological and prognostic works (Mooney 1998). The small number of published editions of medical texts currently available has severely restricted the research material available, and until recently those texts which had been edited were almost all remedy books.²³ Although these are the largest surviving group by far, and will undoubtedly yield valuable information through further study, Voigts suggests that the attention paid to them has been excessive:

²² Linne Mooney and others are currently working on an electronic version of *IMEV*.

²³ For example, Henslow 1899, Ogden 1938, and Dawson 1934. Some of these editions are unreliable, and should be used with caution. See Keiser 1996, 51, note 1. More recent remedy book editions include Heffernan 1993, and Fordyn 1983. See also the editions of commonplace books discussed further in this introduction, as on pp. 33 ff.

These Middle English remedybooks will continue to be studied, and indeed, they have much to tell us, but the number of editions may well be disproportionate, given the lack of attention to more learned writings, and the time has come to redress the imbalance in editorial emphasis (1982, 47).

A number of surgeries had been published by the mid 1980s, and their number have since been added to,²⁴ as have those of gynaecological treatises,²⁵ but there are still very few editions of the most theoretical works or of plague tracts.²⁶ However, since Voigts was writing in 1982, further work has been done on learned texts. Such editions and studies are discussed further below.²⁷

The focus on recipe books and the consequent neglect of learned texts is not only true of works in English, and medical historians have questioned the need for more editions of what are, for the most part, translations, when many of the original Latin works still await editing.²⁸ Whilst conceding this as a valid point, Voigts (1982, 49) discusses a number of reasons for continuing and increasing studies into vernacular works. These can be summarised as follows:

1. Latin/English translation: Medical texts were among the first academic works to be translated in any quantity in the fourteenth century, and the availability of editions would

²⁴ For example, Von Fleischhacker 1894, Wallner 1995; 1996.

²⁵ For example, Hallaert 1982, Rowland 1981.

²⁶ An exception to this is Getz's 1991 edition of the pharmaceutical writings of Gilbertus Anglicus.

²⁷ Editions are not discussed under a separate heading, but under various headings according to the type of text being edited. See, for example, p. 30 and p. 33.

²⁸ See Voigts 1982, 49.

enable further study into the motives, theories and practices of the translators.

2. Anglo-Norman/French translation: A number of academic texts were translated into Anglo-Norman in the thirteenth century, and circulated alongside the English works. These have been studied in detail by Tony Hunt, but their precise relationships to the English texts have yet to be established (Hunt 1990). Studies on translations of medical texts into the French vernacular provide useful models for similar studies on English material (Voigts 1982, 52 n. 68, 69).

3. The development of written English: establishing the relationship of English translations to Latin originals is an obvious course of action, but Voigts also considers the development of academic writing alongside the growth of Chancery standard as an important subject of study. The elaboration of a language is an essential stage in its progress towards standardisation, and its acceptance as a valid medium for all kinds of medical texts is clearly an important step. The place of medical writing in the development of English as a written language is further emphasised in Voigts' later survey (1984) and in her study of bilingualism (1996).

A number of scholars have devoted their attention to medical works on specific subjects. Gynaecological treatises have received increasing attention over

recent years, notably in the work of Monica Green.²⁹ Pahta's recent edition of the Middle English translation of *De spermate* illustrates that even theoretical texts on subjects such as embryology were in demand in the vernacular (1998). Other studies of gynaecological works include editions by Rowland (1981) and Hallaert (1982).

Herbals were very popular in the Middle Ages, evidenced by the number of manuscripts which survive. Accordingly, a number of editions which have been made of these works.³⁰ Other editions include a number of surgical texts. These have been edited more often than other learned works. Many are attributed to named authors, and it is these works which receive editorial attention. A particular example is the work of Bjorn Wallner, who has produced a number of studies on translations of the texts of the French surgeon Guy de Chauliac.³¹ Studies into learned or theoretical medical texts include editions and studies of regimens of health. The regimen was a well-known feature of medieval medicine, and dietary texts were a common feature of this regimen. Kiernander has edited one such 'regimen' treatise, which is found in a number of the manuscripts in this survey (1980). Amongst the most important editions for the advancement of studies in this area are the parallel editions of both the Latin and Middle English versions of a phlebotomy tract by Linda Voigts and Michael McVaugh (1984). This groundbreaking work was one of the first to address the issue of medical texts within the context of the vernacularisation process in England.

²⁹ See, for example, Green 1992, 1994.

³⁰ For example: Brodin 1950, Frisk 1949 and Grymonprez 1981. Hunt 1989 lists several herbal manuscripts.

³¹ Wallner 1964, 1969, 1970, 1976, 1987, 1991, 1992.

Middle English in medical books

Alongside the larger surveys, several more specialised projects have been building on the work of Singer, Robbins and Voigts, amongst others. The corpus work in Helsinki has already been mentioned, and preliminary results on certain aspects have been published, such as Taavitsainen's study of the use of emotive features in late-medieval and early modern scientific writings (1994a). This study suggests that aspects of scientific writing such as impersonal constructions and lack of emotive elements, previously thought to have developed in the nineteenth century, are in fact features of much earlier works. These results serve to substantiate the earlier work on medical vocabulary by Juhani Norri (1987). He postulated the existence of a 'special language' of science in the Middle Ages, of the type observed in modern texts by Sager, Dunworth and McDonald (1980). Norri's definition of, and criteria for, a 'special language' were rather vague, and seemed to suggest a conscious choice of scientific register on the part of medieval authors and translators. Although later evidence, particularly Taavitsainen and Pahta's, suggests that the beginnings of such a register can be observed in the language at this point (1997a), Norri's evidence as it stands is insufficient to support a 'strong' form of the hypothesis.

Without a comprehensive index, linguistic studies of medical texts have been limited in the past. However, there have been a number of preliminary studies, notably Wallner's work on the Middle English translations of the works of Guy de Chauliac.³² Voigts' study of symbols in scientific and medical texts illustrates both the secretive and international nature of scientific writing. A symbol for the sun, for example, represented a large number of words, in Latin, English and other languages, but could also only be understood by the initiated (Voigts 1989a).

Voigts' work on bilingualism reflects a current trend toward the use of contemporary linguistic theories, in this case Suzanne Romaine's studies of present-day bilinguals (Romaine 1995), in studies on medieval texts (Voigts 1996). The results of this survey show clearly that the concept of late-medieval England as a largely monolingual society is mistaken, and that future studies must take into account the multilingual nature of literate English society.³³ To ascertain the extent of bilingualism, amongst other variables, small specific studies must be done. Such studies should not simply involve the edition of texts, but should also examine groups of manuscripts, and features of individual manuscripts.

Specific Surveys

In recent years there has been a movement towards the analysis of texts in both the socio-historical and immediate manuscript contexts. The value of this approach is notable in a number of studies, notably Voigts' overall survey of 'Scientific and Medical Books' (1989b), and her work on the 'Sloane Group', a group of five core, and up to eight related, manuscripts, most of which are in the Sloane Collection (1990). These are remarkably similar, not only in content, but also in size, format and hand. Voigts suggests that these prove the existence of some kind of publisher, perhaps specialising in scientific and medical works, and possibly producing them for speculative sale.³⁴ Further studies along these lines will give a clearer picture of the book trade and the reading public in late-medieval England.

There are a number of manuscripts which have clear evidence of medieval provenance. These are key books for our understanding of the uses of medical

³² For example Wallner 1992, and Norri's studies on vocabulary and modification as a means of term formation (1987, 1989).

³³ Examples of such studies are to be found in Trotter, forthcoming.

³⁴ Voigts (1990) suggests that *Countway 19* is related to this group. See p. 249 below.

literature, and therefore the literacy practices of both medical practitioners and laypeople. The works of John Mirfield provide a good example. Mirfield was a clerk at St Bartholomew's Hospital in the fourteenth century whose writings, known as the *Breviarum Bartholomei*, survive complete in two manuscripts, Pembroke College Oxford MS 2 and Harley MS 3.³⁵ Mirfield was dismissed from Talbot and Hammond's survey, *The Medical Practitioners of Medieval England*,³⁶ because he was 'not a practising physician, but a mere compiler for non-medical readers' (*MPME*, 442). However, as Getz notes, 'evidence that any medieval medical writer was a "practising physician" in England at least, is rare and such a requirement would limit our consideration to a very few men indeed' (1985, 24). Compilers such as Mirfield provide valuable evidence for the transmission of learned medical literature in the vernacular, and how the literacy practices entailed in such transmission were not the sole domain of 'practising physicians'. Studies such as Getz's help to shed light on the relationship between practitioner, writer, and audience, and this study is of particular interest because it provides early evidence of a medical text having direct association with a hospital.

As well as clerks with access to medical texts, such as Mirfield, there is some evidence that non-university-trained practitioners were also compilers, and several examples have been studied in some depth. One is the 'Crophill manuscript', Ha 1735, which is included in this survey. This manuscript has been edited by Lois Jean Ayoub (1994), and studied by Talbert (1942) and Mustain (1972). Talbert's study details some of the contents and marginalia, relating them to Crophill's practice in Suffolk and Essex, while Mustain emphasises Crophill's work as a bailiff,

³⁵ Part of the text is also found in Lambeth Palace MS 444. Getz 1985, 25.

³⁶ Hence *MPME*.

demonstrating that his medical practice was of a part-time nature.³⁷ Peter Jones's studies of Harley MS 2558 cover similar ground (P. M. Jones 1995, 1998). The manuscript is the 'commonplace book' of a fifteenth century physician, Thomas Fayreford, and is interesting partly because of its layout, which has been carefully planned to allow for additions of text and ease of reference, and also because it is in Fayreford's own hand. Holograph manuscripts are also the subjects of an earlier study by Peter Jones (1990). In the case of MS Sloane 76, it is the original translator's own hand which survives in the manuscript. This manuscript is one of four translations of the works of the English surgeon John of Arderne discussed by Jones in an earlier study (P. M. Jones 1990). Arderne's works survive in Latin and English in a number of manuscripts, and evidently had a wide circulation during the period.³⁸ Cameron Louis' edition of a Norfolk commonplace book (**Tanner 407**) contains a number of medical recipes, showing how medical literature was used on a day-to-day basis by Robert Reynes, a church-reeve who does not seem to have practised medicine on any professional basis, but who may have functioned as the literate resource of the village, and whose diverse literacy practices included some background knowledge of medicine (Louis 1980). Sections of a medical manuscript used by the Paston family, **Countway 19**, have been edited by Marta Powell Harley (1982), and this, the Crophill manuscript, **Ha 1735**, and **Tanner 407** are all included in this survey.³⁹

³⁷ See Mustain 1972, 471–72 for Crophill's occupations. Crophill's manuscript (**Ha 1735**) is discussed further on pp. 117 ff. below.

³⁸ Peter Jones is currently editing the *Practica* of John of Arderne. I am grateful to Dr Carole Rawcliffe for bringing this to my attention.

³⁹ **Ha 1735** is discussed on p. 117, **Tanner 407** on p. 234, and **Countway 19** on p. 249.

It is interesting to note that one of the two medical texts in Robert Reynes' commonplace book, **Tanner 407**, was a work on astrological medicine. Astrology was an intrinsic part of medieval medicine, and a large amount of astrological medical literature survives. Much of this is discussed in Taavitsainen's dissertation monograph, in which she discusses the background, production and dissemination of these works (1988). The readership of such works is further discussed in Taavitsainen's later study (1994). These texts range from translations of the highly theoretical university texts (such as those owned by Nicholas in Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*) to popular almanacs and the prognostic charts often found in the small girdle books which were the physician's on-site guidebooks (Talbot 1961).

Translation and adaptation

Of particular interest for the study of vernacular literacy and the dissemination of medical knowledge are the translations and adaptations of Latin texts. Although essentially a study of a single manuscript, Jasin's study of Henry Daniel's *Liber Uricrisiarum* focuses on the transmission of learned medical knowledge in the vernacular. Her analysis of Wellcome MS 255 has shown clear instances of the compiler adapting the Latin text to suit the needs of the vernacular readership (1983, 1993a, 1993b). His adaptation is characterised by synonyms, glosses and analogy, but especially by his use of etymology:

The numerous etymologies...function as both a rather sophisticated method of translation and a creative – and learned – response to the linguistic challenge Daniel encountered in producing the *Liber Uricrisiarum* (Jasin 1993b, 317).

Comparison with the Latin source text shows that Daniel modified his text heavily, that he had a distinct purpose in mind and adapted his text according to this

purpose. Jasin develops this theory, describing Daniel's work as 'an example of technical prose that plainly seeks to broaden the medieval audience for academic texts to include the uneducated practitioner, adapting prose style accordingly' (1993a, 552).⁴⁰

Faye Getz has also studied the translation process, with particular reference to the English version of the pharmaceutical writings of Gilbertus Anglicus. Her conclusions are similar to Jasin's and show clear evidence of adaptation in translations of medical texts, rather than word-for-word versions (1982). In her later research, Getz considers the nature and motivations of the translation process (1990a). Like Voigts, she disputes Robbins' assertion that Latin texts were the sole preserve of graduate physicians, and questions the belief that English and Latin texts can be said to represent two different medical traditions. She maintains that texts in English were not simply 'a written voice given to folk medicine' (Getz 1990a, 4), but rather indicate a widening of the audience for learned texts. This is supported by the manuscript evidence, and implies that England had two learned textual traditions which were not discrete, but rather demonstrated that 'the audience for learned medical discourse was expanding, as it often had before, from one language into another' (1990a, 4). Such an expansion of audience also indicates an expansion of literacy practices, with an increasing number of readers choosing to read the newly available medical texts, for a variety of reasons. Getz discusses the motivations, rather than the mechanics of translation. She examines the monastic tradition of translation as an act of charity, creating a type of 'medical sermon' fulfilling a pastoral, as well as educational, function (1990a, 9).⁴¹ This is particularly true of the Dominican friars, of whom Henry Daniel, whose work Getz discusses in

⁴⁰ An edition of part of this text has been published in Hanna 1994.

detail, is a good example. Such translations and adaptations led to changes in the type of English used in medical books, and an increasing acceptance of English as a language of science.

Attitudes towards English

Scholarly interest in vernacularisation in all European languages is growing, and studies into areas such as medical prose will help pave the way for a greater understanding of practical literature and the growth of mass literacy. The contemporary attitude towards the use of English in such texts has received less attention than might be expected in recent years, but the collection of material from not only the late-medieval, but also the early-modern period, should enable the tracing of changes in attitude towards the vernacularisation of science, and of academic writing in general, and so towards the final elaboration and acceptance of English as the major language used in all fields. Audrey Eccles has studied the use of English in medical writing during the early-modern period (1974), but her emphasis on the influence of printing and suggestion that very few vernacular texts were available before the fifteenth century have been shown to be inaccurate (1974, 145).⁴² The works of McConchie (1988) and Eamon (1994) also serve to illustrate the contentious position of English in medicine two centuries after the vernacularisation process first gathered pace.

The spread of medical English

The influence of the use of English in medicine can be observed by examining the spread of English medical terminology in non-medical texts. To date, no major

⁴¹ See W408, p. 161 below, for an example of a medical work translated by a Norwich friar.

⁴² Voigts 1989b, 350 disputes the argument that vernacular medical writing came about primarily because of the introduction of printing. See p. 45 below for a discussion of the argument.

studies have been undertaken on this subject, but a number of smaller studies indicate that this is a rich seam of information. Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate all discuss medicine and the medical profession, and it is in the field of Chaucer studies that this has come to the fore. Examples include Gallacher (1986) and Hilberry (1987) as well as Ussery's monograph on Chaucer's Physician (1971). Whitaker's 1993 study considers the Paston letters from a medical standpoint. Her approach is potentially very interesting but some of her observations are problematic, and will be addressed further in this study.⁴³

The place of this study

Within the field of medieval medical texts in English, this thesis draws on many of the studies discussed above, and presents not only the texts and their audience, but also the immediate manuscript context in which the texts survive and were used. Such an analysis provides a much clearer picture of how and why these texts were being used, and how they functioned within a specific region. My study provides a model by which the vernacular medical literature of other regions may be studied, to provide a comparative medical literary geography of medieval England. Within the field of historical literacy, this thesis uses an approach which has not yet been used in any comprehensive study of early literacy: the 'social theory' of literacy. By examining a group of texts which were of both specific professional and broad general interest, the study of medical texts has allowed me to examine the literacy practices of a cross-section of the literate population of late-medieval East Anglia. This cross-section can be described as a discourse community, or set of overlapping discourse communities, who have certain texts and literacy practices in common.⁴⁴

⁴³ See p. 74.

⁴⁴ For a definition of the term 'discourse community', and how it is used in this context, see pp. 54 ff.

The choice of English for medical texts indicates a paradigm shift in literacy practices, not only for those with no Latin literacy, but also for those with a high level of university education. The terms *litteratus* and *illitteratus* are seen to be increasingly blurred during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as people came to use their literacy in English for a wider range of purposes, and fewer aspired to the Latin literacy that had once characterised the *litteratus*.

In the broader context of Middle English studies, this thesis shows how pragmatic literature formed a large part of the general reading matter of a large section of the literate population. It also demonstrates that the movement of English writing from the most basic level of popular medicine to the highest levels of academia was not solely motivated by pressure from below, by those whose literacy was primarily or solely English, but was also instigated by the more highly educated sections of the population, who must have chosen to use English for reasons other than an inability to read Latin. The readers and writers of the manuscripts studied here can be seen to represent a similar cross-section of the population of England as a whole, though only further studies such as Eleanor Lawson's current study into the vernacular materials of late-medieval Devon⁴⁵ will show if similar patterns of ownership and readership are to be found outside East Anglia.

⁴⁵ Ph.D. in progress, Department of English Language, University of Glasgow.

Chapter 2: Context and methodology

2.1 Literacy theories and the medieval context

2.2 Medical practice in late-medieval East Anglia

2.1 Literacy theories and the medieval context

Introduction.

The approach taken to the books and texts studied in this thesis is adopted in order to investigate aspects of literacy in later medieval England. The study of medieval literacy is a growing field, with diverse methods and theories underlying the study of a wide range of periods and regions. The approach that I have taken in this thesis is influenced greatly by the work of David Barton and the Literacy Research Group at Lancaster¹ in their studies of literacy theories and modern literacy (Barton 1994, Barton and Hamilton 2000). In this section I examine some of the approaches which have influenced recent research into medieval literacy, and then explain why I have chosen this particular method, which has not been used to any great degree in historical studies of literacy to date. Finally, I explain how the approach chosen relates to the subject matter of vernacular medical texts in later medieval East Anglia.

Studies of medieval literacy: an overview

Many studies of medieval literacy have focussed on the perception of a conflict between 'orality' and 'literacy'.² Such studies focus on societies where the use of the written word was not widespread, such as Anglo-Saxon England, or other areas of early medieval Europe.³ There have been far fewer studies of literacy in late-medieval manuscript culture, where literacy was much more firmly established in many European cultures.⁴ There are a number of possible reasons for this. Firstly,

¹ For the work of the Literacy Research Group, see Barton and Hamilton 2000, 2.

² For an example, see Innes 1998.

³ Some of the best-known works on these subjects are in McKitterick 1990.

⁴ There have been, of course, a great many studies of the impact of early printing, most significantly Eisenstein 1979, but few scholars have investigated the literacy of the

some of the most influential works on literacy have focussed on emergent literacy, and have supported the idea of a 'great divide' between 'literate' and 'oral' societies. These are the studies of literacy in classical Greece by Jack Goody and Ian Watt, especially as published in 'The consequences of literacy' (1968), and the work of Walter Ong, who developed a complex theory of literacy as a technology which restructures cognitive processes in societies, thereby presenting a 'strong' form of the 'great divide' theory (Ong 1982). These works have proved both popular and influential, as the number of reprints of Ong's monograph testifies.⁵ The argument behind the 'great divide' is that literate societies possess cognitive skills which are not found in non-literate or 'oral' societies. This is used to suggest that literacy in itself was an autonomous factor, largely independent of other variables such as social institutions. This view of literacy was described as the 'autonomous' approach by Brian Street (1995, 76), who criticised and contrasted it with his own approach, which he termed the 'ideological' approach (1984, 1 passim).⁶ Street describes the ideological model as follows:

Those who subscribe to this model concentrate on the specific social practices of reading and writing. They recognise the ideological and therefore culturally embedded nature of such practices... It concentrates on the overlap and interaction of oral and literate modes rather than stressing a "great divide" (Street 1984, 2).

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, prior to the introduction of the printing press. The literacy of the Tudor and Stuart periods in England has been addressed by Cressy 1980.

⁵ Ong 1982 was reprinted in 1989, 1990 (twice), 1991 and 1993.

⁶ Street provides a comprehensive critique and attack on Ong's argument in chapter 7 of *Social Literacies: 'A critical look at Walter Ong and the "great divide"'* (1995, 153–59).

This approach has proved popular in recent years, as Kathryn Lowe observes in her study of Anglo-Saxon lay literacy:

It is Street's "ideological" approach to the study of literacy which was the framework adopted – consciously or unconsciously – by the authors of the articles contained in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*.⁷ This framework allowed literacy to be examined in its historical and social context, in terms of the institutions of the particular society (Lowe 1998, 166).

The value of this approach to medieval literacy has been most clearly shown and praised in Michael Clanchy's well-known work *From Memory to Written Record* (1993). Clanchy studied the use of records and documents in England from the Norman Conquest to 1307, and argued that the shift from a reliance on oral methods of record keeping – essentially memory – to written documents took place in this period. One of the most important aspects of Clanchy's arguments is the concept of a 'literate mentality', which, he argued, had to develop before such a shift could take place: 'literate habits and assumptions, comprising a literate mentality, had to take root in diverse social groups and areas of activity before literacy could grow or spread beyond a small class of clerical writers' (Clanchy 1993, 185).⁸ Such a statement has implications that go beyond Clanchy's area of study. The fact that Clanchy identifies the literate mentality as arising from 'diverse social groups'

⁷ McKitterick 1990.

⁸ Whilst agreeing in principle with Clanchy, Lowe suggests that the 'literate mentality' can in fact be detected before 1066: 'it is investigation into a type of document like the chirograph, in form and function so attractive to the layman, that provides us with our best evidence that the growth of the literate mentality and change in attitude to the written document was

suggests that there is not one 'literate mentality', but many. Clanchy contends that 'lay literacy grew out of bureaucracy, rather than from any abstract desire for education or literature' (1993, 19). However, as he states, the literate mentality had to develop in a variety of areas. The development of this mentality in other areas may have stemmed from bureaucratic use of the written word, as Clanchy maintains, but nevertheless, developments in other domains and periods will have taken their own courses, and must also be examined in turn. This is the aim of the present thesis. A 'literate mentality' can not only be defined as the acceptance of the value of the written word by a community *per se*, but also a community's perception of the value of writing in domains such as medicine, where most practice had been as a craft, rather than a learned discipline.⁹ The dissemination of the academic medical literature to the 'craft' practitioners outside the universities suggests the development of different literate habits and assumptions: a 'literate mentality'. Another literate mentality, or, as it will be defined later, literacy practice, can also be discerned in the acceptance of the value of the written word in the vernacular, as well as, or even instead of Latin.

The second reason for the focus on early medieval literacy is the quantity of material surviving from the later period. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries texts were created in all areas, from government documents and religious texts to romantic poems, magic spells and all aspects of medicine and surgery. With such a mass of evidence it is impossible to make any reasoned discussion of literacy in general as can be attempted in the earlier period where fewer texts were produced and have survived. The invention of printing has, of course, received a great deal of

neither confined to the Church or the State nor, indeed, to the centuries following the Norman Conquest' (1998, 179–80).

⁹ See p. 58 for a discussion of literate and non-literate medicine.

attention, but as Linda Voigts has pointed out, lack of understanding of the manuscript culture immediately prior to the advent of printing has led to flaws in such studies. She cites Elizabeth Eisenstein's influential work, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (1979) as an example, stating that Eisenstein's conclusions regarding the impact of printing on scientific books 'reflect a lack of familiarity with the late-medieval scientific and medical manuscript, and should not go unrefined' (Voigts 1989b, 350). In particular, Voigts disputes Eisenstein's suggestion that vernacular scientific writing developed because of printing (Eisenstein 1979, 541), noting that 'any examination of scientific and medical manuscripts produced in England before Caxton will belie that assumption' (Voigts 1989b, 350).

The type of text to be examined will also influence the outcome of any research into literacy. Documentary texts are an ideal source of material for the earlier period, as they survive in large numbers, can often be assigned to a time and place, and frequently share textual and physical features which makes them good subjects for comparative study. They constitute, however, a much smaller proportion of surviving material in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and to concentrate on documents to the exclusion of all the other types of text produced in the late Middle Ages will produce a very skewed picture of literacy. However, a recent collection of essays (Britnell 1997), the range of which extends well into the fourteenth century, still relies on documentary material alone to discuss pragmatic literacy. Joyce Coleman's work uses medieval literary texts, notably Chaucer, to examine late-medieval literacy, primarily the reception of such texts (1996; 1997). Literary texts have typically been the main focus of research into the literature of the

period.¹⁰ Manuscripts containing practical texts from alchemy to horticulture survive in large numbers from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and provide more information about the wider range of uses and perceptions of the written word than the documentary or literary texts which are the continued focus of many scholars in the field.

Like those working on the earlier periods, those who do address the issue of later medieval literacy often find themselves still struggling with the residue of the great divide debate, and discussing the validity of looking for oral or literate features in a text. Joyce Coleman's research into the reception of later medieval literary texts is an example (1996; 1997). Her work, like Lowe's, points out the flaws in the arguments of Jack Goody and Walter Ong, and she discusses the terminological problems in defining orality and literacy as opposites:

Were these people, then, displaying a "literate orality"? Or, perhaps, an "oral literacy"? The semantics send us right back into the straightjacket (*sic*) of assumptions and identifications from which the evidence, and the arguments of more recent theorists, should be extricating us (Coleman 1997, 158).

In order to resolve these issues Coleman suggests a new terminology to detach concepts of literacy from those of mentality. She introduces the terms *exophoric* and *endophoric*, firstly to discuss aspects of language such as the sentence, and then to the wider area of literacy and orality. An exophoric sentence, then, can only be understood from its immediate context. For example 'No, I can't' can only be understood from the situation in which it appears, such as following the

¹⁰ For example, the guides to medieval literature commonly used in undergraduate teaching, such as Bolton 1970 and Burrow 1982, focus almost exclusively on literary texts.

question, 'Can you drive?' Conversely, an endophoric sentence contains all the information required for understanding, such as 'The *Canterbury Tales* were written by Chaucer'.¹¹ Coleman states: 'the exophoric carries (*pherein*) or refers you to the surrounding environment, the endophoric directs you within' (1997, 162). The opposite traits of distance or closeness to the immediate context have previously been associated with literacy and orality respectively. Coleman suggests that the advantages of her terminology are: 'they attach no value judgements, suggest no specific mechanisms, and imply no chronological or hierarchical relationship.' (1997, 162). She claims that by adopting this terminology, mentalities can be examined without necessarily ascribing changes to writing systems. How far this situation is likely to remain the same, or whether Coleman's terms will also have value connotations attached to them is questionable. Although her arguments make a useful step away from the problems of the 'standard theory' (that which suggests the great divide), words such as 'exoliteracy' and 'endoliteracy' (Coleman 1997, 167) are still liable to be perceived as opposites: future research is likely to adopt the terminology without always fully understanding the underlying arguments. Coleman's claim that 'it is easier to speak of texts as "relatively exophoric" or "relatively endophoric" than it is to speak of them being "relatively oral" or

¹¹ There are a number of problems with this definition, many of which have been discussed in modern discourse analysis studies. To rehearse a well-known example; 'I'm in the bath' may be considered as an endophoric sentence, requiring no further information to facilitate understanding. However, in this famous example, the context, both immediate and cultural, is essential: A. That's the telephone B. I'm in the bath. A. OK. (Discussed in Brown, 1983, 228, from Widdowson 1978, 29). In this case we are led to understand that this is a refusal on the part of B to answer the phone, not just a bald statement of fact. The cultural context must also include the understanding that most people, in the UK at least, do not have phones in the bathroom. Such problems arise continually in discourse analysis,

“relatively literate” (1997, 163), relies on the ability to identify ‘endophoric’ or ‘exophoric’ features within a text, and modern discourse analysis has shown that this is far from simple.¹² This is especially the case in the study of literacy in history, as we are not in a position to fully understand the degree of contextual understanding which could be assumed by the producers of medieval texts.

Theories adopted in this survey.

One of the major problems we have in the historical study of literacy is the temptation to compare periods. Every researcher is a product not only of his or her own ideology, but also of their field of study. Students of contemporary literacy often have an oversimplified view of historical situations, such as Street’s discussion of literacy following the Norman Conquest in England (Street 1995, 30–33).¹³

Conversely, historians of literacy often ignore or are unaware of the complexities of literacy in modern western societies, tending to treat it as a monolithic whole encompassing entire populations. For example, Clanchy’s analysis of the problems inherent in modern Western literate society contains many salient points, but treats modern literacy rather as a stable ‘final’ entity, rather than a dynamic concept, still developing from the literate mentality he identifies in the Middle Ages (Clanchy 1993, 7–11). Such simplifications lead to the absolute dichotomy of ‘literate/illiterate’, devoid of any grey areas, which is not true of any period or culture. This can lead to a flawed understanding of historical literacy, as if we believe that literacy can be considered as ‘autonomous’ and monolithic in one

and do not lend weight to Coleman’s argument for the labelling of either sentences or modes of literacy.

¹² See Brown and Yule 1983, 223–71 for a discussion of issues and research regarding coherence and interpretation in discourse.

¹³ See Lowe, 1998, 166–67 for a criticism of Street’s analysis.

society, we can therefore apply this perception to others. In order to solve this problem, we must not only be consciously aware of our own perceptions of literacy, including value judgements, but also must adopt a terminology which does not tie us to a time or culture, and which is flexible enough to apply to individual situations and therefore allow comparisons.

In this study I have adopted much of the 'ecological' approach to literacy laid out by David Barton (1994), which was further developed into what Barton and Hamilton later describe as a 'social theory' of literacy (2000, 7). This approach draws together research from a wide variety of disciplines, to present a coherent and accessible view of literacy. Barton uses the 'metaphor of ecology' (1994, 29) to explain the interrelationships between social and psychological views of literacy:

Rather than isolating literacy activities from everything else in order to understand them, an ecological approach aims to understand how literacy is embedded in other human activity, its embeddedness in social life and in thought, and its position in history, language and learning (Barton 1994, 32).

Much of the terminology Barton uses (and which is in turn used here) derives from other research, such as Heath's ethnographic studies of the south-eastern United States (Heath 1983). However, for clarity I use references to Barton when discussing terminology and also because it is Barton's work which presents various terms woven into a coherent approach. This approach is part of what Street defines as 'New Literacy Studies' (1995, 1). It follows the ideological approach in that literacy is conceived of as being 'implicated in power relations and embedded in specific cultural meanings and practices' (Street 1995, 1). Street also adopts the terminology of 'literacy events' and 'literacy practices' which I have adopted here,

using definitions from Barton 1994, and Barton and Hamilton 2000.¹⁴ This terminology, as Street notes, helps to challenge ‘the dominant emphasis on a single, “neutral” “Literacy” with a big “L” and a single “y”’ (Street 1995, 2). Even for researchers working within the ideological framework, this last point is often omitted, or at least, not made clear. For example, in her introduction to an influential collection of essays on early medieval literacy, McKitterick talks about ‘levels of competence in literacy’ and states that ‘it is impossibly narrow to define literacy strictly in terms of the ability to read and write.’ (1990, 3). These statements are undoubtedly true, but provide no real solutions to the problems. To discuss ‘levels of competence’ in literacy does not address the issue of multi-lingual communities, nor the communicative purposes for which the written word is used in different situations by different people. Does a person who can read newspapers in Italian, English and Gaelic have a ‘higher’ level of literacy than her next-door neighbour, a monoglot historian, reading academic texts in English?

I shall be using a number of terms to discuss literacy and the use of books throughout this thesis, which merit definition here. The first two, ‘literacy events’ and ‘literacy practices’ derive from Heath (1983). ‘Literacy events’ are one of the basic units of analysis. Heath has defined them as follows: ‘when talk revolves around a piece of writing’ (1983, 386) and as ‘communicative situations where literacy has an integral role’ (Heath 1984, 71). For example, writing a shopping list, reading a poem aloud or filling in a form are all literacy events. The advantage of these definitions is that they do not restrict participation to those who would be traditionally defined as ‘literate’. Kathryn Lowe’s study of Anglo-Saxon documents shows how the written word in the form of the chirograph allowed the ‘layman’ (the

¹⁴ These are defined and discussed below, pp. 50 ff.

non-literate person) to make use of literacy and thus participate in the event despite being unable to read: 'The literacy event in this instance is centred around the layman: the chirograph would either be produced for him (in the case of a will) or would directly involve him (in the case of a lease)' (Lowe 1998, 178). As Lowe observes: 'The physical form of the chirograph uniquely allows the layman to engage with the written texts without the aid of an intermediary' (1998, 179). In other words, he can use and understand the significance of the text without being able to read it. This also provides an example for the second unit of analysis; literacy practices. These are the patterns, strategies and background information which individuals bring to literacy events, as well as the social and institutional rules surrounding the production and dissemination of texts.¹⁵ Street (1995, 133) defines them as follows: 'Literacy practices I would take as referring not only to the event itself but the conceptions of the reading and writing process that people hold when they are engaged in the event'. A simple example is the reading of a typical tabloid newspaper. The cultural knowledge that an individual reader has of the structure of the newspaper allows him or her to immediately turn to the back to see the football results, or to the centre pages for the television guide. This way of reading a newspaper could be defined as a very specific literacy practice, very different from filling in an insurance form, for example, where all sections must be read closely. A medieval example would involve a knowledge of the *mise-en-page* of a manuscript book, and the visual cues such as illumination, paraph marks or notae which guide the reader to important sections of the text.¹⁶ There are also linguistic cues which

¹⁵ See Barton and Hamilton 2000, 7–15 for an overview of the concept of literacy practices.

¹⁶ The relationship between the use of memory and the layout of medieval books is discussed by Mary Carruthers in Chapter 7 of her study of the *ars memoria* in the Middle

the experienced reader can make use of in navigating a text, such as the tag phrases on the end of medical recipes.¹⁷ This knowledge and the type of reading it allows can be described as a literacy practice, associated with an individual and a specific text. However, some literacy practices can be shared by individuals and associated with genres, such as the ‘sports page’ example used above. In this thesis I argue that the readers of medical texts in late-medieval East Anglia used a wide variety of literacy practices, but that certain patterns and similarities can be discerned using the evidence that survives in the books themselves. For example, the two short bloodletting texts contained in **TCC** do not allow us to infer a deep background medical knowledge on the part of the intended reader(s) of this book, whereas the **Caius** manuscript, with its theoretical Latin medical texts and frequent medical marginalia lets us assume just that. The relationship between the daily life of the reader or user of this text and their literacy practices is clearly expressed in Barton’s definition:

Another way of thinking about [literacy practices] is to start from more general notions of social practices and to view literacy practices as being the social practices associated with the written word. This can help one see how social institutions and the power relations they support structure our uses of written language (Barton 1994, 37).

The relevance of this statement to the later medieval period is obvious when we consider the universities and the way in which Latin was enforced by statute as

Ages (1990, 221–57). For the relationship between function and format in medieval records, see Clanchy 1993, Chapter 4, especially pages 132–44.

¹⁷ See C. Jones 1998 for a discussion of these phrases and their uses.

the language of scholarship. In this period, however, we see a shift in these power relations in favour of the use of English, even for those within the institutions.¹⁸

I have adopted Barton's 'ecological' model of literacy (Barton 1994) also because of its focus on the particular.¹⁹ I have already mentioned the problems surrounding general surveys of medieval literature, both diatopic and diachronic. Although such approaches are essential to a full understanding of the uses of language in the period, they must be supported by closer, more specific studies which allow for more detailed analysis:

In order to understand literacy it is important to examine particular events where reading and writing are used. Focusing on the particular is an integral part of an ecological approach; this is different from other approaches which place an emphasis on broad generalizations. An ecological approach...starts out from the belief that it is necessary first to understand something within a particular situation before looking to generalities. This approach suggests certain research methodologies, such as ethnography, and rests on a particular theory of what knowledge is. Literacy is not simply a variable (Barton 1994, 37).

Street (1995) suggests that the most valuable approach to literacy requires a combination of aspects of different disciplines. The two he considers of primary

¹⁸ Strohm argues that 'only with evidence of Henry V's preference for literature in his native tongue does English emerge clearly as the preferred literary language of the royal and aristocratic group' (1986, 12). Such royal 'patronage' of the native language would have served to further support the move towards English, not only in literary works, but also in a wide range of domains.

importance are ethnography and the linguistic study of discourse analysis. He suggests that the trend in linguistics towards a discourse framework ‘could fruitfully link with recent developments of the “ethnographic” approach’, and that ‘they provide a useful basis from which to construct a synthesis that develops beyond either approach in isolation’ (Street 1995, 162).

This thesis has been greatly influenced by modern techniques of discourse analysis. These techniques are becoming more popular amongst researchers in historical fields. Linda Voigts’ study of bilingualism is an important step towards understanding the language mixing found in late-medieval scientific and medical texts (Voigts 1996). Her approach is based on contemporary linguistic theory, notably Suzanne Romaine’s studies into present-day bilinguals (1995), especially the discourse strategies of code switching and code mixing. Voigts stresses the value of using contemporary theories when studying historical disciplines.

Another example is the work of Anneli Meurmann-Solin, who uses a genre framework for her studies into early modern Scottish writings (Meurmann-Solin 1993). The use of genre analysis in literacy studies is less well attested. It is not overtly used in this study, though some of the terminology and concepts which John Swales discusses in his study of genre analysis find parallels in the literacy theories adopted here (Swales 1990). The concept of ‘discourse community’ used by Swales and a number of other discourse analysts is derived from the sociolinguistic concept of ‘speech community’, but shifts the focus on to the producers and readers of written texts, whilst not excluding the possibility of spoken discourse associated with the texts, such as Heath’s definition of literacy events. Barton defines the discourse community as:

¹⁹ This focus on small-scale work is emphasised in Barton 1994, but is also implicit in the later development of the ‘social theory’ of literacy (Barton and Hamilton 2000).

A group of people who have texts and practices in common, whether it is a group of academics, or the readers of teenage magazines. In fact, discourse community can refer to several overlapping groups of people: it can refer to the people a text is aimed at; it can be the set of people who read a text; or it can refer to the people who participate in a set of discourse practices both by reading and by writing... More generally, discourse communities are defined by having a set of common interests, values and purposes. (Barton 1994, 57).

This is a useful term with which to discuss the readers of medical books in late-medieval East Anglia, who are otherwise a disparate group with diverse occupations and interest, and who may have had no contact with each other. They may have had a shared cultural knowledge about medicine, and about the *materia medica* available locally, which coloured their approach to the texts they read, thereby having very similar literacy practices. Within this community, however, there were those who were fluent in Latin and had trained in medicine, and who therefore had literacy practices which could not be shared by those who had little or no Latin. These practices were not fixed, however, and were influenced and shaped by changes in the culture and society. Barton and Hamilton observe:

Literacy practices are as fluid, dynamic and changing as the lives and societies of which they are a part. We need a historical approach for an understanding of the ideology, culture and traditions on which current practices are based (2000, 13)

Shifts in literacy practices are evident from the growth in translations from Latin into the vernacular in this period. In accordance with Heath's definition of a

literacy event ‘where talk revolves around a piece of writing’, the commissioning of a translation, as in **Royal 17 C**, represents just such an event. The literacy practices of the readers of the manuscripts in this survey can be reconstructed from the books themselves, as well as from medical history and biographical detail of owners and readers. The perceived status of a book, as demonstrated by the materials used in its production, the script and execution, and its decoration, is also an aspect of a literacy practice, illustrating the cultural perception of the value of a given book, both financially and intellectually.²⁰ The layout of a medieval book provides a wealth of paralinguistic cues for the reader, indicating which sections are deemed of especial importance (such as notae or pointing hands in the margins).²¹ Marginalia left by readers give us perhaps the clearest evidence for their literacy practices, showing whether a book was well read and considered very useful, and whether it was also used for recording other interests, such as the notes for debt found in **Caius**.

In this thesis, therefore, I consider all aspects of the manuscripts surveyed in the light of what they can reveal of the literacy practices of their medieval readers. This approach offers a more accurate understanding of what the written word meant to individuals and groups in the Middle Ages. Rather than trying to create a definition of ‘literacy’ to fit all situations, or even to talk of different literacies, which must, in their turn, be defined and categorised, the current approach allows us to postulate a group of individual and group literacy practices, which due to the restrictions of region and genre, will produce overlapping patterns. The patterns

²⁰ See Ormerod and Ivanič 2000 for a modern example of the importance of the physical ‘literacy artefact’ for our understanding of ‘the ways in which a text is located within practices in its surrounding social and physical environment’ (2000, 105).

²¹ See Street 1995, 170 for modern examples.

which emerge will represent as closely as possible the medieval uses of the written word, rather than the application of modern 'stretch to fit' theories.

In this section I have outlined the theoretical framework for this study. The term 'literacy practices' has been shown to encompass not only skills in reading and writing, but also the background knowledge that the individual brings to the text. It is important, therefore, that the medical background to these texts, within the late-medieval East Anglian context, be understood. This is the subject of the next section.

2.2 Medical practice in late-medieval East Anglia

Introduction

Most modern medicine is based on a mixture of practical and theoretical training. Medical students work from textbooks and sit written exams, GPs consult handbooks of prescription medicines during a consultation. Even day-to-day health maintenance depends to a large extent on newspaper and magazine articles, information on bottles of vitamin supplements, and so on. In the Middle Ages, however, most medical practice and health care had little or no direct relationship to medical texts. It was carried out in families or communities according to family traditions, using methods which had been passed on by word of mouth, leaving no written record.

It would, therefore, be misleading to assume that the written texts which survive reflect the state of medical practice in the whole of medieval England. The texts represent an aspect of medicine which may be termed 'literate medicine': medicine which made use of, and was recorded in written texts. During the earlier Middle Ages, literate medicine was the preserve of the *litterati*, those literate in Latin. However, as can be seen by the manuscripts in the present survey, literate medicine reached an ever wider audience with the expansion of vernacular literacy within the growing middle classes and the rapid increase of translations of medical works from Latin into English. One aspect of this study, therefore, is to examine the spread of literate medicine from exclusively academic domains to the wider world. However, the vernacular texts were not only used by those who had previously been denied access to literate medicine because they could not read Latin. A number of manuscripts can be shown to have belonged to university graduates, who were Latin literate, and so already had access to literate medicine. In order to understand these

phenomena, it is important to understand the diversity of literate medical practitioners and types of medical practice in medieval England. These practitioners, along with 'lay readers' on the periphery can be said to have formed a discourse community around medical texts. To understand the structure of such a discourse community we must have some information about its members: their professional status, type of education and medical practice and other occupations they practised.

In its focus on vernacular medical texts, this study does not address non-literate medicine, and touches only tangentially on the academic Latin texts at the learned end of the spectrum of literate medicine. However, the medical theory and practice illustrated by the manuscripts under examination here cannot be understood in isolation, as they display influences from all aspects of medieval medicine, whether literate or illiterate, theoretical or practical. The manuscripts must also be considered within the context of East Anglian medicine. The producers and readers of these manuscripts generally lived within the local region, which had features peculiar to it, such as the proximity of Cambridge University, the high status of Norwich, and the relative affluence of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk.

East Anglian medicine

In comparison with most other regions of England, excepting perhaps London and York, there is a relatively large amount of surviving evidence for medical practice in late-medieval East Anglia. A number of studies have been made of the medical history of the region, including those by Batty Shaw (1992), Pelling (1982) and Rawcliffe (1995a, 1996, 1999). Information on medical practitioners can be found using *MPME*, together with the supplement by Getz (1990b). Such directories can only be drawn up from written sources, and therefore rely on practitioners being

involved in legal transactions, being enrolled in institutions or mentioned in correspondence. It is understandable, therefore, that the majority of those listed either attended university or received ecclesiastical benefices or both. This can give a false image of the 'medical marketplace' of later medieval East Anglia, and it must be remembered that most medical care was provided by people who have left no record of their medical practice. Medicine, like many trades, was often practised on a part-time basis, and it may have been a sideline for a large number of people. For example, Absolon the parish clerk in Chaucer's *Miller's Tale* was also a barber surgeon and legal clerk. He was evidently literate, as he could 'maken a chartre of lond or aquitaunce' (Benson 1987, line 3327), and many other barber surgeons may have had other occupations which required the ability to read and also write.

Physical evidence for medical practice beyond manuscripts and documents does survive, such as surgical instruments and the archaeological remains of infirmaries and hospitals. However, medieval hospitals were very different institutions from their modern counterparts, and were primarily concerned with spiritual rather than physical health. Practical aspects of hospital treatment seem to have been more focussed on health maintenance than medicine:

The medieval English hospital remained chiefly concerned with the promotion of spiritual health rather than rude physical well-being... In 1215 medical practitioners were threatened with excommunication if they treated anyone who had not first made a full confession, or had at least sworn to do so (Rawcliffe 1996).

Rawcliffe's studies of hospitals focus on Norfolk, and Norwich in particular (1995a, 1999). The hospitals were rarely staffed with trained physicians, but had a

staff of monks or priests and nuns.²² It is understandable that the priest, who may have been one of the few literate members of a rural community, would also have been seen as a fount of information, including medical knowledge. Such people would have developed a variety of literacy practices according to what was needed, and been involved in many literacy events, from the reading of charters and wills to the use of medical recipes from a book to treat a fellow villager. A number of the manuscripts in this survey show signs of having been owned and used by priests, indicating that the priest may have served as doctor and teacher as well as fulfilling his religious duties.²³ The literacy practices of priests would, therefore, have drawn influences from a range of disciplines. They would have been literate in Latin for religious and possibly educational purposes, such as the teaching of grammar, but may have chosen the vernacular for other purposes.

The relationships between medicine, religion and magic in the Middle Ages were closely intertwined, as is reflected in the number of practitioners who were also in receipt of benefices. This relationship is also illustrated in the tradition of pilgrimage in the Middle Ages. Chaucer included a university-trained practitioner amongst his group of pilgrims, and Batty Shaw makes the observation that pilgrimages were, for many people, as important an aspect of medical care as physical medicine (1992, 4). Medicine and religion were inextricably linked in the Middle Ages, and pilgrimages were events where the two were closest in the popular imagination. Norfolk housed one of the most important places of pilgrimage at Walsingham: 'in one aspect of medieval medicine, that of shrines and pilgrimages,

²² However, some of the larger hospitals, such as St. Bartholomew's in London, have medical texts connected with them, such as the *Breviarum Bartholomei*, compiled by the clerk John Mirfield (Getz 1985).

²³ For example, see BLA, p. 105 and Ha 2374, p. 123

Norfolk made a distinctive contribution not matched by other counties' (Batty Shaw 1992, 4). By the fifteenth century Canterbury had yielded its position as the most visited shrine to Walsingham. Batty Shaw also observes that:

The role of pilgrimages in the life of a Norfolk landed family in the fifteenth century is well illustrated in the Paston letters where their frequency contrasts with the mentions of only two medical practitioners, a physician from Suffolk and another in London but none from Norfolk (1992, 6).

This combination of religion and medicine is reflected in the medical texts which survive. Some are juxtaposed with religious texts, such as TCC,²⁴ while many recipe collections contain religious charms, such as those in Hu 117,²⁵ and many also have magical aspects which seem odd to the modern reader:

For him religion has retreated to the periphery of life, magic has become the preserve of an eccentric minority, and medicine that of an exclusive, and highly paid, professional group. In popular medical charms, however, the three are inseparably united (Gray 1974, 57).

This situation was true not only for charms, but for medicine and religion in general, and even at the higher levels 'natural magic' was employed by physicians. It is therefore no surprise to find that a number of practitioners were also officers of the church, and found no conflict in performing their duties as physicians of both body and soul.

²⁴ p. 192.

²⁵ For the survival of a medical charm which may have associations with St William of Norwich, see p. 321.

University-trained physicians

The majority of practitioners who are recorded as having ecclesiastical benefices were graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, and the majority of those who worked in East Anglia graduated from Cambridge. Although university-trained doctors form the smallest group of practitioners, they are also the group for which we have the most evidence.²⁶ University medical training was dominated by those in Holy Orders until the mid-fifteenth century, when some laymen started to enter the universities.²⁷ The standard of medical education in England was still very poor compared to that of medical schools in continental Europe, and foreign practitioners were dominant at court during the period. Some English scholars chose to study abroad, and the benefits of an Italian or French medical degree could also prove to be both social and financial, as the career of John Argentine indicates. Argentine received his M.D. from Padua, and on returning to England, rose rapidly in both ecclesiastical and royal circles, eventually becoming Provost of King's College, Cambridge.²⁸ As well as graduates from the English universities, a number of physicians from continental Europe found places in noble households and at court. Competition from the Continent was facilitated by the use of Latin and French as the languages of medicine and polite society respectively, and it is likely that this situation helped to preserve the use of Latin in the highest levels of

²⁶ For clarity, I am using the term 'physician' to define those who received at least some medical education at the medical schools of Oxford or Cambridge or in continental Europe.

²⁷ See Getz 1998, 18–19 for examples of the variety of entrants to medical study in the fifteenth century.

²⁸ See *MPME*, 113 for a brief biography of Argentine. He provides a good example of how magical texts could be part of the reading material, and hence the literacy practices, of academic physicians. Klaasen (1998, 7) notes that Argentine owned a number of magical texts, including the Arabic work *Pictatrix*.

medicine. A number of practitioners styled themselves *magister*, but this in itself does not imply that they were qualified in medicine. Masters in other crafts were also sometimes called *magister*, such as Simon the Mason who signed himself such when witnessing a mid-thirteenth-century charter (Stell 1996, 4). An arts degree was a necessary prerequisite to the study of medicine, and to qualify as M.D. could take as long as seventeen years. Medicine was taught as a branch of natural philosophy, so many arts graduates who did not go on to incept in medicine would have been taught the basics of contemporary medical theory. The academic study was taught, as with other subjects, by the scholastic method of *quaestiones* and *disputationes*. The course was not entirely theoretical, but was divided into *speculatif* and *practike* elements, and this is reflected in the required reading for the course.²⁹ This was literate medicine at its most extreme, requiring little practical anatomical knowledge, for example, but rather an ability to read authoritative texts and argue according to scholastic principles. The literacy practices of academic medicine were clearly far removed from those of the rural leech, not only in the use of Latin and complex linguistic structure, but also in the intended uses of the text, which in this case were used for debating theoretical principles, rather than as reference works for practical purposes.

Graduate physicians could command the highest fees and take the most lucrative positions. The highest pay tended to go to employees of the Crown, and a number of practitioners associated with East Anglia were employed by the monarchy at some point in their careers. These include Godfrey Fromond, who was rector of Merston, Norwich in 1347, and was in Edward II's service for several years. John of Glaston, presented to the church of Barrow in Suffolk by Edward

²⁹ See pp. 277 ff. for details of the books on the medical syllabus. For more detail on the

III in 1361, was granted an annuity of £20 for life by the King in 1364. He is described as being ‘constantly at the King’s side’, and was exempted from duties at court in order to prepare ‘medicines for the King’s body’ (*MPME*, 151). In 1484 Walter Leinster was granted £40 per annum for life by Henry VI, and in 1486 was appointed as one of the Royal physicians. This handsome payment followed the granting of an annuity of 10 marks in 1477, which was doubled in 1478, from the bishop of Ely, to whom he was probably medical advisor. He also mentions Elizabeth, Duchess of Norfolk in his will, and is likely to have attended her.

Annuities from ecclesiastical foundations or princes of the church seem to have been quite frequent. Walter Leinster’s payment is a good example, but the benefits of ministering to the church and Crown were not simply a matter of financial transactions. Ecclesiastical benefice, or preferment, was a popular means of reward, and, as Rawcliffe notes, the ‘grateful sovereign... was singularly placed to obtain papal indulgences for the most flagrant acts of pluralism’. (Rawcliffe 1985, 70). Pluralism, the holding of more than one church office at any one time, was officially frowned upon by the church, but it seems that the sovereign could be very influential. In 1348, Godfrey Fromond was granted dispensation from the Pope to hold four offices in addition to those he already held in Norwich and Oxford. Medical practice could also allow a cleric to rise through the ranks of the church very quickly. Both Fromond and the physician John Cobham (*MPME*, 134) were born illegitimate, but were granted a dispensation to take Holy Orders. In 1343 Cobham was made rector of Ellingham in Norfolk, but gave it up out of humility, as he was only a simple cleric. Not only was he readmitted in the same year, but he was also granted plurality, and went on to collect a reservation of a benefice worth

40 marks as a gift from the archbishop of Canterbury, as well as benefices in Salisbury and Shaftesbury. The latter was on the intervention of the Countess of Norfolk, and this suggests that he was her attendant. Cobham had become M.D. by this time, and was one of a list of highly skilled practitioners who attended the noble families of Norfolk in this period.

In 1465 the household records of John Howard, later Duke of Norfolk, showed payments made to the physicians John Clerke (*MPME*, 134) and Master Roger (*MPME*, 308). These payments evidently refer to a bout of sickness suffered by Howard's wife. Clerke was paid 4 marks 'for his costes and reward in lokenge to my lady', and Roger received 40 shillings for the same service. Clerke was also given 16 shillings and 8 pence for 'medesynes ffor my said lady' (*MPME*, 134). Given that a carpenter in the fifteenth century earned 5-6d per day, it can be seen that these medicines were expensive, and it is possible that this is the type of client to whom Mondeville was referring when he suggested the doctor cure them quickly, using expensive medicine, to avoid bad debt and bad feeling:

There is a class embracing those who are notoriously bad payers, such as our nobility and their households, government officials, judges, baillies and lawyers whom we are obliged to treat because we dare not offend them. In fact the longer we treat these people the more we lose. It is best to cure them as quickly as possible and to give them the best medicines (Nicaise 1893, 91).

The potential rewards were great, and the physicians defended their domain fiercely. In 1421 Parliament was petitioned by the university physicians and guild surgeons of London to regulate and limit medical practice:

To ordeine and make in statut... that no man, of no maner estate, degre, or condicion, practyse in fisyk, from this tyme forward, bit he have long tyme y used the scoles of fisyk withynne some universitee, and be graduated in the same. That is to sey, but he be bacheler or doctour of fisyk... And that no woman use the practyse of fisyk (Strachey 1767–77, IV, 158).

Such an exclusive policy was never implemented. It was impossible to enforce, and would have made medical care inaccessible to the vast majority of the population. What is of particular interest in this complaint is that it illustrates the status quo of medical practice, at least according to the perceptions of the physicians. Women were evidently practising medicine, and probably for profit, although they were barred from the higher orders of medical practice, as they were not admitted to study in the universities.³⁰

Surgeons and barbers

Although academic physicians considered the treatment of the whole body to be the preserve of medicine, their actual role was not that of the medical practitioner we envisage today. Preventative medicine was a key part of medieval practice, and wealthy patients had a personal *regimen sanitatis* devised for them, involving diet, exercise, recommendations for sleep, fresh air and various prophylactics such as bloodletting. Physicians also acted as counsellors and spiritual advisors, thereby blending both clerical and medical roles. The mechanics of treatment, such as surgical procedures, however, were viewed as a craft, rather than intellectual skill, and were therefore largely left to the surgeons. The decision of the fourth Lateran Council in 1215 to ban clergy in major orders from any procedure which involved the spilling of blood will also have affected the type of practitioner undertaking

³⁰ The role of women in medical practice will be discussed further on pp. 73 ff.

surgery.³¹ In England, unlike the Continent, surgeons were rarely educated at the universities. Formal education took the form of apprenticeships, often within guild structures, and sometimes within family businesses. Many surgeons seem to have received a good basic education, as the number of surgical books in Latin which survive attests. However, many could, as Rawcliffe observes ‘cope only with material in the vernacular’ (1995b, 132). It may be that surgery was more amenable to the translation process than academic medicine, as it had weaker ties to scholarship and the associated prestige of Latin.

Surgeons were proud of their status as skilled artisans. The renowned surgeon Guy de Chauliac defined the surgeon as ‘a werkman of the helthe of manis body’ (Ogden, ed. 1971 27), and the master surgeon, Thomas Ross, compared the trades of the physician and surgeon: ‘And surgery ys in comparyson to phisik as the crafte of the carpentar ys compared to geometrie’ (Rawcliffe 1995c, 47). However, the later medieval period in particular saw the profession exhorting both practical experience and the study of the written word. Literate surgery emerged from the craft tradition, and the combination of intellectual and practical disciplines can be seen in many surgical works. John Arderne advised that ‘the excercyse of bokes worshippeth a leche’ (Rawcliffe 1995c, 54), and another manual of surgery advised the reader:

Anathomie ys sowgt in dobyll wyse: onn ys techynge of bokys, yf
all yt be profytabyll, yet yt ys not allynges so sufficient as ys the
othyr maner of anathomie. For the partes of the membres may

³¹ Recent scholarship has suggested that the impact of edicts such as these were not as far-reaching as has been suggested in much of the secondary literature. Amundsen 1978 is the most thorough study of medieval canon law relating to medicine and surgery to date, but more work needs to be done in this field.

be better sene with eyne in ded than in letters wretyne onn the boke. Neuer the latter, man ys schorte and slydyng away³², ther for yt ys nedfull to have syght of anothomie wretyn in letters' (MS Harley 1736, quoted in Rawcliffe, 1995, 49).

The move towards the use of written material as well as the traditions of the craft did not only stem from problems with the memory. Bullough suggests that the desire to be seen on an equal footing with the university-trained physicians, whom they imitated in the wearing of long robes, may have slowed the progress in clinical medicine which could have been made by the master surgeons:

Their very learning perhaps served as a handicap because of their attempts to achieve status and recognition equal to their learning or to the university-trained physician... they increasingly neglected their real advantage over the physicians, namely, their better knowledge of anatomy and bodily processes (Bullough 1959, 458).

Bullough also states that there were very few master surgeons practising in England, and that most of the day-to-day medical practice was carried out by the barber-surgeons.³³ Surgery seems to have had a long tradition in Norfolk. Talbot and Hammond note that the earliest known use of the word 'surgeon' in English refers to a 'Ranulf de Morlee' of St Peter Permouthergate, Norwich, in 1288

³² Rawcliffe clarifies this by noting that Chauliac has 'the ymaginacioun is schorte in these thinges' (1995, 49).

³³ This term is anachronistic, as the Barbers and Surgeons Companies did not merge until 1550 (Pelling 1979, 212) and practitioners did not term themselves barber-surgeons; however, it is in common use today to describe early medical practice, and makes the extra services of the barber clearer to the modern reader.

(*MPME*, 267). Norwich introduced a system of municipal licences to practice medicine in the fourteenth century ‘when the Norwich bailiffs licensed barber-surgeons to practice on the recommendation of the officers of their guild. Then after 1405 when Norwich’s four bailiffs were replaced by a mayor the authority to grant a licence passed to the mayor and corporation’ (Batty Shaw 1992, 11). Pelling and Webster observe that in early modern Norwich the surgeons and barbers constituted the largest group of practitioners (1979, 211), and it seems likely that the situation was similar in the later Middle Ages. It should again be borne in mind that this statistic refers to the largest identifiable group, registered with the city authorities and licensed to practice, but the group of part-time unlicensed practitioners who are not recorded is likely to have been much larger. The guild of barbers in Norwich was one of the fourteen main provincial guilds of the barber-surgeons in England and was the only one in East Anglia (Batty Shaw 1992, 9). It is not known when the guild was founded, and this information seems to have been as elusive in the Middle Ages as it is now: ‘when a request was made to the masters and keepers of the guild in 1388 for such information they replied that it was “wherunto the memory of man reacheth not”’ (Batty Shaw 1992, 10). Batty Shaw suggests that it is likely to have been founded in about 1308, and dissolved in the eighteenth century. He also observes that:

After four centuries of service to the people of Norwich and Norfolk all that seems to survive of the Norwich Guild of Barber-Surgeons and its members, apart from its civic records, are a bleeding bowl and some instruments in the Strangers’ Hall Museum and in the entrance to the Briton Arms Coffee House and Restaurant, Elm Hill, Norwich, a pictorial records that two

barber-surgeons, Thomas Alfeyth, 1398, and Nicholas Hart 1465, once lived there (Batty Shaw 1992, 11).

Apothecaries

Both surgeons and physicians prescribed a variety of materials as part of their treatment regimes. These were often supplied by apothecaries, who also imported more exotic ingredients when necessary. The ancestors of present-day pharmacists, but also similar to the modern grocer, apothecaries were often criticised along with physicians for the fees they charged:

Ful redy hadde he his apothecaries
 To sende hym drogges and his letuaries,
 For ech of hem made oother for to wynne-
 Hir frendshipe nas nat newe to bigynne
 (Benson 1987, lines 425–28)

Sometimes also known as spicers (although this could also denote a non-medical variant of the trade), apothecaries provided not only medicines, but also other exotic imports of spices, gums and oils, and even in some cases poisons, as in Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*.³⁴ They also supplied sugar, which was used to improve the taste of medicines, and also for its own curative properties. The most important of the apothecary's imports was theriac, a concoction widely used throughout Europe for almost all ills. It was known as 'treacle' or 'triale' in England, and was so popular that some importers could make their living deal almost exclusively in it (Rawcliffe 1995b, 153). The Pastons were typical in their reliance on theriac as a cure-all, and evidently had a favoured importer, probably in London:

³⁴ See Benson 1987, lines 852–67. For an overview of the history of the apothecaries, see Hunting who discusses the role of the royal apothecary in the Middle Ages (1998, 18).

Please it yow to wete 3at I sende yow by Barkere, the bearer heroff, iij triacle pottes of Geane, as my potecarie swerytht on-to me, and moore-ouyre that they weer neuer onddoo syns 3at they come from Geane; wheroff ye shalle take as many as plesyth yow (John Paston II to Margaret Paston, 1479, about May-June. Davis 1971 I, 513).

Apothecaries, unsurprisingly, often went beyond simply supplying medical goods and treated patients themselves, but, as with other non-university-trained practitioners, such practice was viewed with disdain by the graduate physicians. Legislation banning such practice did not come into force until the reign of Henry VIII, and as late as 1539 a Norwich apothecary was imprisoned for practising surgery (Rawcliffe 1995b, 166). It is likely, given that apothecaries were more numerous and more affordable than graduate physicians, that they were often the first port of call for medical advice for those who could afford their prices. They were expected to have expertise in their trade, and therefore also some medical knowledge and education. It is likely that many apothecaries would have had some level of literacy, and would have made especial use of lists of antidotaria. Conditions for the education of apothecaries were not so rigidly enforced in England as on the Continent, where apothecaries in France and Italy were subject to a system of regulation which covered their staff, training, premises, measures and products. In Paris it was legally required by a statute of 1322 that there be at least one literate person in each apothecary's shop (Rawcliffe 1995b, 155). There is no evidence for such requirements in England, but book ownership and hence literacy amongst apothecaries appears to have been very common. Rawcliffe (1995b, 165) cites the case of Laurence Swattock of Hull, an apothecary who left 'my ij bookes of ffesik called Nicholesse' to his assistant. These books contained versions of the

Antidotarium Nicholai, a collection of recipes arranged in a systematic order, which was part of the university curriculum, but which proved remarkably popular in all areas of literate medicine. Of particular interest is the fact that Swattock owned two copies of the text. It seems to have circulated in a number of forms, and manuscripts such as SJC could contain two or more copies bound together. It was translated into the vernacular frequently, and Swattock may have owned copies both in English and Latin. In Norwich, apothecaries had to undertake an apprenticeship which lasted for up to six years, and can be expected by the fifteenth century to have undertaken study of books as well as practical aspects of preparation.

Women and medicine

Most medical treatment would have been undertaken by the women of the household. This seems to have applied as much to wealthy households such as the Pastons as to peasant families. The long-distance relationships of the Pastons show clearly how medical recipes could be passed on in writing. When John Paston III asked Margery Paston, his wife, for a plaster of *flose unguentorum* for the King's attorney James Hobart, he displays his trust in his wife's remedies: 'I had lever than xl li. ye koud with your playster depart hym and hys peyne', but also requests specific instructions:

But when ye send me the plaster ye must send me writing how it should be laid to and taken fro his knee, and how long it should abide on his knee unremoved, and how long the plaster will last good, and whether he must lap any more cloths about the plaster to keep it warm or not (Davis 1971 I, 628).

It is easy to imagine that Margery's reply may have been copied by, or given to Hobart, and so was passed on in a literate version of 'word of mouth'. The

Paston letters provide information on the practical medical needs of a wealthy family in the region. Whitaker (1993) has made a study of the medical allusions in the Paston letters, which provides many useful references, but the implication that there was a feminist agenda behind the Paston women's mistrust of London physicians is rather anachronistic. Whitaker suggests that the Paston women 'intuitively perceived their displacement as authorities on health maintenance', and adds 'equally evident is their perception of the men who would supplant them: the physicians of London' (1993, 19). However, Whitaker's analysis of the attitudes of the Paston women is not supported by the evidence within the letters, which shows that they did call on local physicians, who may well have been university-trained, when they felt it necessary:

Margaret Paston to John Paston I, probably 1452, 5 November

My vncler Phelyppe comaund hym to yow, and he hath be so seke sith that I come to Redham that I wend he shuld never an askapid it, nor not is leke to do but if he have redy help; and therefore he shal into Suffolk this next weke to myn aunt, for there is a gode fescian and he shal loke to hym (Davis 1971 I, 244).

The attitudes of the Paston women to London physicians may simply have been a provincial mistrust of the capital. Whitaker also makes no mention of John Paston II's 'litill boke of phisike' (Davis 1971 II, no. 751), Countway 19, which indicates a learned aspect to the medical care of the Paston family. A knowledge of theoretical medicine by the female sex is also suggested by Pertelote's speech in

Chaucer's *Nun's Priest's Tale*, when she diagnoses the cause of Chauntecleer's nightmares, and suggests a host of remedies.³⁵

Practising medicine within the immediate family and household was one thing; entering the medical profession was quite another. Women were barred from joining the highest echelons of medicine as they were not allowed to attend the universities. They were, however, allowed to join certain guilds, such as the guilds of barbers and surgeons, and some followed in family traditions of surgery, such as Katherine 'la surgeine' of London, whose father and brothers were all in the same trade. Women's practice was treated with suspicion, and the famous surgeon John Arderne made clear his contempt for women in medicine: 'þe pacient, forso, hauntyng of vsing þe medycineȝ of ladieȝ, as it war by a moneþ, euermore had hymself worse' (Power 1910, 49).³⁶ Although many appear to have made at least a part-time living from medicine, there is a limited amount of evidence for individual practitioners. Proof that women practised medicine comes to a large extent from the disapproval of men, and attempts to curtail the medical practice of women along with other 'charlatans'. In France literacy was one of the key tests for competence to practice (Rawcliffe 1995b, 187). Literacy, meaning in this case, literacy in Latin, would have precluded a great number of women, but also shows the movement, for both academic and litigious reasons, towards literate medicine. This was also applied to women in the areas of the profession which were deemed acceptable; generally midwifery and nursing. That this was accepted practice is evident from

³⁵ See Benson 1987, lines 2923–67.

³⁶ See also Power 1910, 44–6.

the number of manuals of health written for women.³⁷ Gynaecological and obstetrical information are both found in general medical handbooks, such as Hu 117, suggesting that some women had a wider medical practice, or that male doctors did sometimes take an interest in women's health. The true situation is probably a combination of the two. In more rural areas the luxury of employing different practitioners for different aspects of one's health was impractical, and even women from the upper echelons of society seem to have relied on male doctors, such as John Clerke of Nayland by Stoke, Suffolk, who was paid by Sir John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, for ministering to his wife. Whether he only dealt with non-gynaecological problems is hard to say, but it is clear that the treatment of women in general was certainly not a taboo subject. Women were also the primary carers in the hospitals, undertaking tasks from washing linen to basic medical needs.³⁸

Evidence for East Anglian practice³⁹

Literacy practices in the Middle Ages were linked to income, as books were high status, and therefore expensive objects. The cost of books restricted literacy to those who could afford to read, and it is therefore important to understand what kind of income a medical practitioner could hope to earn.⁴⁰ There seems to have been a contractual relationship between medical practitioners and some monastic houses, where the doctor would perform the regular bloodletting, attend sick monks, or inspect urines. Norwich Cathedral Priory had a number of doctors on its

³⁷ For an example, see the gynaecological handbook edited by Rowland (1981), though some of Rowland's information and conclusions should be treated with caution. See Rawcliffe 1995a, 222.

³⁸ See Rawcliffe 1995a, 206–13 for a discussion of women's work in hospitals.

³⁹ For an overview of disease in medieval Norwich and Norfolk, see Rawcliffe 1995a, 18–24.

⁴⁰ See Rawcliffe 1988 for the incomes of medical doctors in the Middle Ages.

rolls. In the 1313–14 records, three medical practitioners are listed as attending the sick monks. These are R. de Heigham, who received 12d (*MPME*, 259), Ralph de Morlee, who was paid 2s (*MPME*, 267) and Thomas the Barber, who was given 2s 6d for his services. In 1344 Geoffrey de Suffield was given 5s for his services, and in the following years the fee was replaced by an annuity of 20s ‘pro labore circa infirmos’ (*MPME*, 54). 20s was also the year’s salary for Master David, who attended monks staying at Yarmouth in 1348, and seems to be a reasonable figure to assume for general attendance. A century later, Master Marck was paid 13s 4d ‘pro inspeccione urine’, at the Cathedral Priory of Holy Trinity and was reimbursed for this service on several subsequent occasions. These less extravagant wages are still substantial compared to the daily rate for most workers, and represent only a part of the doctors’ incomes.

At the lower end of scale evidence for practitioners comes from various sources, and tends to give little information about their income. Some owned land, such as Edmund le leche from King’s Lynn (*MPME*, 40) or Edmund from Narford, Norfolk (*MPME*, 37). Others are listed as freemen of Norwich, but with no further details. The calendar of the freemen of Lynn lists John Frende as having ‘purchased the franchise’ of Lynn. This was apparently a reference to a licence to practice his craft, and may have served as a means of securing a customer base, and hence a reasonable income. It is likely that many lower-status practitioners received similar wages to skilled craftsmen, such as legal clerks.

Medical practitioners such as barbers and apothecaries often plied their trade from a shop base, and so would have had similar status and income as other retail traders. It is difficult to assess the actual rates of pay of local leeches in comparison to other workers, as they would not have received a fixed daily rate.

Many will have been part-time, and may have had a number of sources of income. However, even rural practitioners could do well: John Crophill, who practised at Wix, near Harwich, lists 150 patients in Ha 1735, who were paying 6s or more per consultation, thus earning him what Rawcliffe describes as ‘a competent livelihood’ (Rawcliffe 1985, 67).

Women’s practice in Norwich hospitals has been documented in Rawcliffe’s study of medieval hospitals in the city (1995b). As she observes:

The nurses of Norwich’s two hospitals may well have been as accomplished as the city’s male practitioners (who treated the monks in the Cathedral Priory at considerable expense), and almost certainly inflicted less pain with the herbal medicaments they prepared from ingredients grown in their own gardens. They may, indeed, have attempted minor surgical procedures and have acquired a smattering of theory from the priests and chaplains with whom they worked (1995b, 25).

Although women would have provided the bulk of medical care for East Anglia, as for everywhere else, the surviving manuscripts tell us little about their practice. The Paston letters give the best indication of household medical care for a wealthy family, but the degree of literate medicine practised by women in the region is not clear from manuscript evidence.

In East Anglia, as in the rest of the country, most medical practice was provided in the home, or by empirics such as John Crophill, who were not formally recognised, or who practised on a part-time basis. Even those practitioners who can be identified cannot often be clearly categorised. Getz observes that ‘functionalist descriptions of medieval English medical practitioners-barber,

physician, or surgeon, for example-are of limited utility in understanding the variety of duties a practitioner could perform' (1998, 19). The terms are useful in helping the modern student to grasp something of the variety of types of medical treatment available, but should be used with caution. They cannot be used to establish the readers of medical books with any real clarity, as the limited numbers of practitioners, and the part-time nature of medicine, meant that a very wide variety of people might have recourse to literate medicine. All aspects of the books themselves, including the medical and non-medical texts, the condition and marginalia, must all be used in conjunction with what is known of medical practice to build up a more accurate picture of the readers of medical books in late-medieval East Anglia, and the reasons for their choice of English as a medium for medical knowledge.

As Getz asserts, 'the vast majority of medics operated independently, and, from the educated elite to the tradesperson, often part-time' (1998, 5). This is certainly true of East Anglia, which, judging by the survival of medical books from the region, the prominence of the Norwich guild of barbers and the proximity of Cambridge University, had a lively medical community. However, the variety of practitioners, and the frequent base of medical care in the home should encourage us to look beyond our modern ideas of a medical 'profession' when examining the likely audience for vernacular medical texts. The broad range of levels of education and status of the practitioners and lay people using these books are reflected in the types of book they owned, and this information, together with the other texts which are bound together with the medical works, can be considered against the medical history of the region to provide a much more accurate picture of the audience for vernacular medical texts.

Part II

Chapter 3

The survey

3.1 Introduction: Selection criteria

3.2 The manuscripts

Chapter 3

Introduction: Selection criteria

The choice of one region and one genre for this study allow for a precise focus on the literacy of a finite group of people, and minimises the risk of making broad generalisations. I have already discussed how such small-scale studies are a key aspect of the 'social theory' of literacy, using a focus on practices and events.¹

Source material for this survey has therefore been selected according to the following criteria:

1. The manuscript must contain at least one medical text in English. The definition of medical texts applied here is those whose primary concern is the restoration or maintenance of human health. Therefore works such as the *Secretum secretorum*, which, although encyclopaedic in approach, and covering a variety of subjects, also contain information directly related to the maintenance of health, are included.² The texts need not have been part of the main text of a given manuscript or booklet, but may have been marginal recipes,³ or notebooks bound together with authoritative works.⁴
2. The manuscript must be associated with East Anglia.⁵ For manuscripts to fulfil this criterion, two possible situations are allowed:

¹ See p. 14.

² See Takamiya 38, pp. 269 ff.

³ See Caius, pp. 179 ff, and Pem 21, pp. 222 ff.

⁴ For example, Ha 1735, pp. 117 ff.

⁵ For the purposes of this survey, East Anglia is defined as the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk.

- 2.1. The medical text is written in East Anglian English,⁶ or is in the hand of a scribe known to have been East Anglian.⁷ These texts have been selected primarily from information published in *LALME*, which will be discussed further in this section.
- 2.2. The manuscript as a whole has provenance information which identifies it with East Anglian individuals or families. Very few manuscripts have been selected on this basis alone,⁸ and by including such books I differ here in approach from Beadle, who only considered books written by Norfolk scribes (1991, 102). Inclusion of such manuscripts presents a broader picture of literacy practices in the survey, by allowing for the possibility that texts in a colourless or standardised form of English were produced or used in East Anglia.⁹

Each of these criteria is used to define a finite group of manuscripts and readers for detailed study. By focussing on medical texts I am isolating what is, in effect, a medieval discourse community for medical literature. At the centre of this community are the university trained physicians, with surgeons, barbers and apothecaries roughly central, and lay readers, such as the Pastons, at the periphery. This model seems at first sight to correlate with the classification of texts proposed

⁶ See TCC, p. 192, and Hu 117, p. 204.

⁷ See, for example, Ha 1735, p. 117, which fulfils both criteria.

⁸ Countway 19 has been included on the basis of a palaeographical study of the hand by Ian Doyle, who then identified the manuscript as one written for John Paston. This identification has since been accepted and used by a number of scholars, including Voigts (1985, 1990) and Harley (1982).

⁹ The standardisation of English during this period means that the survey cannot be as comprehensive as might be hoped. The problem of standardisation and 'colourless' language is addressed on pp. 96 ff.

by Voigts (1984), and one of the purposes of this study is to examine whether this correlation proves to be true, or whether ownership patterns and therefore literacy practices were more diverse. Information about the manuscript itself and provenance information provide evidence which may help to explain any variation in these patterns. The selection of East Anglia is clearly practical, as it allows certain manuscripts to be selected or rejected on geographical grounds, using the *LALME*,¹⁰ but the region itself has lately been the subject of increasing interest for medievalists, and the sheer number of manuscripts which survive from Norfolk in particular make East Anglia an ideal place in which to make preliminary studies into medieval literacy.¹¹

Vernacular medical texts

As discussed above,¹² the categorisation of texts adopted here is that which Voigts proposed (1982), which places the texts on a continuum from academic learned works on the one hand, to popular remedy books on the other. The relationship of the texts to what can be known of their readers shows how the distinctions between types of text blurred as more became available in English translation. This expansion led to a shift in literacy practices, so that academic readers read works in English, and those with a lower standard of education, who would previously have been considered *illitterati*, are known to have owned and used learned works. In

¹⁰ The principles which underlie the selection of manuscripts on dialectal grounds are discussed below, pp. 90 ff.

¹¹ See, for example, the essays on medieval East Anglian English in Fisiak and Trudgill, forthcoming. A number of *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts have their provenance in East Anglia, and Beadle's analysis of drama texts from the region also suggests a thriving literate culture. I am grateful to Estelle Stubbs for her discussions of this subject, and for sharing the results of her research with me.

¹² See p. 24.

order that the shift in literacy practices indicated by the East Anglian manuscripts be understood, it is important to outline examples of the types of text which were circulating during this period.

Academic texts are those which were used in the university study of medicine. As I have mentioned above, the academic study of medicine was based on the scholastic method and most teaching was centred on the study and commentary of *auctoritates*.¹³ The medical curriculum in English universities was based on the *articella*, a collection of works of medical authorities and commentaries. This had been developed in the Italian medical schools and was generally adopted throughout western Europe. The original *articella* consisted of the *Aphorisms* and *Prognostics* of the ‘Hippocratic school’; a treatise by Galen, known as the *Ars medica*, *Ars parva*, *Tegni*, or *Microtechnè*; the *Isagoge* of Johannitius (an Arabic introduction to Galenic medicine), and short tracts on diagnosis, for example on pulses or urine. Other works were sometimes added, notably sections from Avicenna’s *Canon*. Only one English language version of the *articella* survives, in MS Sloane 6, but a number of Latin versions remain, and are the subject of an ongoing study.¹⁴ In Oxford and Cambridge other texts which were used if time allowed included *De febris* of Isaac Judaeus and the *Antidotarium Nicholai* (Rawcliffe 1995a, 108). Versions of the *Antidotarium*, and texts based upon it, are found in all types of book, and it is one of the best examples of the spread of university medicine outside academia. Within this survey, versions are found in **Caius 147/97**, **Pepys 878**, **Pepys 1307**, and **Hunter 117**. Other authors who would have been well known to the medical graduate from the English universities are neatly listed in Chaucer’s description of his physician:

¹³ See p. 64 above.

Wel he knew the old Esculapius,
 And deyscorides, and eek Rufus
 Olde Ypocras, Haly, and Galyen,
 Serapion, Rhazis, and Avycen,
 Averros, Damascien, and Constantyn,
 Bernard, and Gatesden, and Gilbertyn
 (Benson 1987, lines 429–34).¹⁵

This long list indicates that the physician was an extremely learned man, and such learning would not have been expected of all graduates in medicine, but it gives a good idea of the variety of medical information available.

The writings of university physicians cannot always be easily placed in the ‘academic’ area, however. The works of Gilbertus Anglicus were very popular, and were widely copied and adapted. Gilbertus is listed along with Hippocrates by Chaucer, and so was held in some regard. He had been a physician to the king in the thirteenth century, and so was evidently of high status. However, his writings, the most famous of which was the encyclopaedic *Compendium Medicinæ*, were not always treated as authoritative works: ‘it would seem that by the fourteenth century Gilbertus was best known as a “surgeon’s physician” and at worst as a collector of recipes and not a medical theorist’ (Getz 1991, lv). Getz suggests that his works, rather than being part of the ‘popular tradition’ had a universal appeal, and certainly the encyclopaedic nature of his works appealed to the late-medieval desire for categorisation and structure. Other encyclopaedic works fall into the tradition of

¹⁴ This project is based at the Wellcome Unit in Cambridge, under the supervision of Roger French.

¹⁵ The accuracy of Chaucer’s portrait of his pilgrim physician, and the relationship of medicine to literature in general during this period is the subject of Ussery 1971.

'books of secrets', which were very popular in the Middle Ages. They contained all kinds of 'knowledge' such as alchemy, philosophy and theology, but also usually contained medical information, and so are included in this survey. The *Secreta secretorum* survives in at least nine Middle English versions,¹⁶ and the version by Johannes de Caritate, the *Privity of Privities*, can be found in Takamiya 38.¹⁷

Surgeries are also a distinct group, for historical, as well as linguistic, reasons. In the early Middle Ages, surgery was not distinct from the rest of medical practice, and most medical texts barely gave it a mention. However, the increase in translations of works by Arabic authors fostered an interest in surgery as a separate discipline, especially the translation of Paul of Aegina. This was used by all the major medical encyclopedists, such as Rhazes and Avicenna, and so in turn influenced the works of surgical writers in the later period. Siraisi notes:

The existence of a body of specialized knowledge preserved in learned sources soon helped to bring about the emergence of literate surgery as a distinct discipline. Once this material was available, Latin literacy became an important asset for working surgeons (Siraisi 1990, 162).

The command of such literature was, as Siraisi observes, a mark of technical competence and hence led to increased social status. However, such command was by no means easy. The translations of Arabic works were often obscure, and the cases described often far removed from the practice of surgeons in Western Europe. For this reason, surgeons started to write their own Latin treatises, a number of which became extremely influential. Early works, such as the *Surgery of*

¹⁶ These have been edited in Manzalaoui 1977.

¹⁷ The origins and influence of these works are discussed in detail in Eamon 1994.

Roger Frugard (c.1170), were still being copied in the fifteenth century. *Caius* contains a Latin version of this work. A number of writers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries also composed Latin works on surgery; Bruno Longoburgo, Teodorico Borgognoni, Guglielmo da Saliceto, and Lanfranc of Milan. Versions of Theodoric's and Lanfranc's surgeries can both be found in *Pepys 1661*. Lanfranc's work was widely copied, and was translated into Middle English, as in *Royal 17C*.¹⁸ As well as the Italian surgeons, the works of the French Henri de Mondeville and Guy de Chauliac were widely circulated. A number of versions of Chauliac's *Chirurgia Magna* survive in Latin and English from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Such translations into the vernacular changed the discipline of literate surgery, and made it much more widely accessible, so that the acquisition of Latin literacy was no longer crucial. Translations became increasingly popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries because of the increasing numbers of a large group of practitioners who were literate in the vernacular but not in Latin. This was true across Western Europe as a whole, and England was no exception. English surgeons also started to compose texts, often in Latin, which were then translated into English. Rawcliffe notes that: 'surgeons who would previously have elected to write in Latin... now recognized that clear, basic instructional manuals in English would assist and inform a far wider readership' (Rawcliffe 1995a, 132). A feature of both the Latin and the English works is an increased emphasis on case studies and anecdotes. These are not peculiar to this type, and are found in commonplace books such as *Harley 2558* (P. M. Jones 1995). However, as Siraisi observes, 'personal anecdote is markedly more prevalent in surgical than in other books'

¹⁸ A version has been edited in Von Fleischhacker 1894. Lanfranc was exiled from his native Milan, and completed his work in Paris, which explains the wider influence of his work in northern France and in England.

(Siraisi 1990, 170). They are also distinguished by their use of illustration.¹⁹ One of the most distinctive, and widely copied, illustrations is that which is found in John of Arderne's *Treatise of Fistula in Ano*. The illustration shows tools which had been designed by Arderne himself, for the operation which earned him his reputation. A good example of this text is MS Hunter 251, which contains a Latin version of the *Treatise*.²⁰

Other types of texts include specific treatises on particular subjects, such as Bernard of Gordon's *De Prognosticatione* and plague tracts, for example the writings of John of Burgundy. These have their origin in university medicine, and so are initially placed in that section according to Voigts' taxonomy, but these, and uroscopies, such as Henry Daniel's *Liber Uricrisiarum*, were frequently adapted quite dramatically to suit new audiences.²¹ The practical, rather than scholastic, nature of these works gives some cause to place them rather closer to the 'popular' end of the scale than their academic origins would initially suggest.

The position of bloodletting texts and astrological medicine is also difficult to define. Both were crucial elements of the training of all practitioners and again, ultimately stem from learned sources. Many have undergone such transformations, however, that it would be unreasonable to place them with their distant relations amongst the learned texts. TCC, for example, contains one short verse text and one short prose text on bloodletting. These are the only medical works in the codex, contain no theoretical information at all, and should be placed at the popular end of the spectrum, which Voigts describes as 'the more open, adaptable tradition of *receptaria*' (Voigts 1982, 44).

¹⁹ See p. 346 for illustration of manuscripts in the survey.

²⁰ See P. M. Jones 1989 for details of Middle English versions of Arderne's works.

The adaptability of the remedy book tradition can be seen in the mixed heritage of many of the texts found in the manuscripts. As has been noted, they can contain sections of works such as the *Antidotarium Nicholai*, or the writings of Gilbertus Anglicus. However, on the whole they are collections of anonymous recipes from various sources, and contain little in the way of medical theory or explanation of disease. As might be expected, the instances of reference to authorities are fewer, though they are still found. Demaitre's study of medical compendia showed that the influence of scholasticism was evident in the language and structure of practical texts, although he did not extend his study to the most 'popular' remedy books (Demaitre 1976). The studies by Hargreaves (1981) and Rand Schmidt (1994) have shown that these remedy books cannot be easily categorised.

The structure of Hu 117 has been discussed in M. C. Jones 1997, and is a good example of the mixed layout and relationship to possible sources found in many of these books. The 'commonplace book' described by P. M. Jones (1995, 1998) may also be placed in this category. These books were the notebooks of practitioners, in which they copied recipes, noted cures and generally added medical miscellanea. Ha 1735 is one such manuscript; it is the notebook of the fifteenth-century Suffolk doctor, John Crophill.²² Harley 2558 has been discussed more recently by Jones, and clearly shows the method of organisation employed by its compiler, Thomas Fayreford (P. M. Jones 1995).

The vernacular medical texts in this survey can all be associated with one or more of the groups outlined above. Within the manuscripts there are also a wide

²¹ See Jasin 1993a and 1993b for discussion of such adaptation.

²² This manuscript has been edited by Ayoub (1994).

range of medical texts in Latin, as well as a variety of works on other subjects.

While these do not form part of the selection criteria for the survey, they are very important for our understanding of the literacy practices of the compilers and readers of these books.

East Anglian manuscripts

The dialect information with which the manuscripts have been selected is derived primarily from information published in *LALME*. I have also had access to unpublished material consisting of questionnaires filled in for manuscripts which were not later included in *LALME*. These manuscripts were all localised to East Anglia, but could not be given sufficiently precise locations within the region to warrant publication in the *Atlas*.²³ In addition to this information I have used Richard Beadle's handlist of manuscripts written by Norfolk scribes (1991, 102), and Dr Beadle has also supplied me with a list of manuscripts localised to the region after the publication of his 1991 article.²⁴

LALME has been very influential in the years since its publication, not only because of the sheer number of manuscripts surveyed, but also because of the theoretical and methodological innovations which lay behind the project. These innovations have been explained in detail in a number of articles,²⁵ and so do not

²³ I am indebted to Dr Jeremy Smith for giving me access to this material, and for many illuminating conversations on the subject.

²⁴ Personal communication, 1997. I am grateful to Dr Beadle for his assistance on this matter.

²⁵ See the introduction to *LALME*, Benskin 1981 and 1991b for the history of the project, McIntosh 1963 for the 'New Approach' to Middle English dialectology which was the basis of the survey leading to the publication of *LALME*, and Benskin 1991a for a clear explanation of the methodological innovation which underpinned the survey; the 'fit'-technique.

warrant detailed examination here. The two main theoretical principles can be summarised as follows:

1. The primary focus was on written dialects in their own right. McIntosh advocated the study of written dialects rather than trying to establish the features of spoken dialects by using written texts. Laing describes his position:

Written texts, which provide the sole surviving material for the historical dialectologist, are not, as has been traditionally argued, mere imperfect reflections of the lost 'primary' spoken language. Written language...should have equal status with spoken language as source material for linguistic study, since both are primary manifestations of an underlying abstract language *system*. (Laing 1989, ix).

McIntosh explained his rationale in an early study (1956) where he suggested that a new assessment of Middle English dialects according to his principles would allow researchers to 'learn a great deal about the history of writing in the vernacular' (1956, 12). It is especially useful for the study of literacy in this period. Concentrating on the written word shifts the focus towards the uses of written language, and therefore literacy within a given community and period.

2. Focus on scribal rather than authorial dialects. In earlier dialect studies there were severe restrictions on the type of material which was considered suitable for analysis.²⁶ The texts used were located on non-linguistic grounds and often had a very restricted range of linguistic material. 'Literary' texts, which contained a far wider range of material which could be analysed, were frequently restricted to the author's holograph. Traditional editing practice can be

considered to be the search for the ‘best text’: that which is closest to the author’s original. It was felt, following Tolkien (1929, 110–11), that copies of texts, and worse still, copies of copies, were corrupted by scribal emendations, and thus were invalid for dialect study, as they did not represent a ‘pure’ dialect, but rather the ‘mixed’ language frequently termed *Mischsprachen*.²⁷ This mixture could not, it was assumed, represent a dialect as the particular combination of author and scribe(s) could only be assumed to be a one-off. McIntosh’s early work took the form of an analysis of scribal practices, where he tried to establish whether scribes were consistent in their translation from the language of the exemplar to their own, or whether the resulting ‘mixture’ was random and unanalysable (McIntosh 1963). His preliminary results, later backed up in a comprehensive study by Benskin and Laing 1981, based on data from the *Middle English Dialect Project*, showed that there were, in fact, three possible options used by copyists:

1. Literatim; the exemplar is reproduced word-for-word with no scribal changes.
2. Translation: the exemplar is converted into the language of the scribe.
3. Intermediate: somewhere between these two poles. (McIntosh 1973, 61; Benskin and Laing 1981, xxix)

Benskin and Laing also distinguished sub-categories, for example, ‘progressive translation’ where, as the scribe becomes more familiar with the language of his exemplar, he translates more into his own language. They concluded that, during

²⁶ Examples of such studies include Oakden 1930 and Moore, Meech and Whitehall 1935.

²⁷ This argument is discussed in Benskin and Laing (1981, 91–93), and also in the introduction to *LALME*.

the period covered by *LALME*, 'Type 2' practice – complete translation – was by far the most common. This finding meant that the distance of a copy from its original text was no longer relevant to a dialect survey. As long as the scribe of the text under scrutiny could be shown to be a consistent translator, the state of the language in copies 'in-between' was irrelevant to the philological value of the copy. A vast quantity of previously unused material was therefore now available for dialectal analysis and mapping. The focus of *LALME* is hence on individual *scribal*, as opposed to *authorial*, usage. This is crucial to the study of vernacular literacy within a region as it localises readers and copyists, not authors. It therefore allows texts to be studied for evidence of actual use and literacy practices of readers and compilers, rather than the composition practices of a limited number of authors.

Two main points regarding the principles of *LALME* are important for the present study, and so merit discussion here. Firstly, *LALME* does not use isoglosses to delineate dialect boundaries, stressing rather a continuum where distributions of forms overlap (*LALME* I, 4a). Further studies of specific areas which refine *LALME* localisations, such as Black 1997, may show that some of the manuscripts selected for this survey are in fact not from East Anglia, but from just outside the region. However, such shifts in localisation would apply to a very few manuscripts, if any, and would not substantially alter the conclusions of this study.

The second issue is raised by both Beadle (1991, 90) and Mills (1998, 187–88). As Mills observes, literary texts 'were always more likely than documentary texts to have been written in a language distinct from that of the place where the copying was actually done' (1998, 187). As can be seen from the manuscripts in this survey, such as **CUL D** and **TCC**, texts in an East Anglian dialect can be found juxtaposed with texts written in other dialects and it is also well known that

manuscripts and scribes travelled from place to place.²⁸ However, as Beadle observes, such movement is likely to have been the exception rather than the rule:

It is natural to think that scribes of Norfolk training would scarcely have persisted in using that area's highly dialectal colouring in their work – a combination, say, of features such as *xal* 'shall', *ryth* 'right', *quat* 'what', *che* 'she', *nyn* 'nor', *hefne* 'heaven' – if they were working anywhere other than East Anglia: readers in London, Durham, or Worcester, would have had considerable difficulty with texts copied in this form, and the scribe, presumably, little employment (1991, 90).

By the same token, marginal notes and added recipes in East Anglian English also indicate that a book, no matter what language the main text is in, was used by a reader whose native dialect was East Anglian, and who chose to use his own 'highly dialectal colouring' for personal notes.²⁹ However, other native East Anglians may have chosen to annotate their texts in a less distinctive language, and as Beadle observes, some Norfolk scribes may, possibly to improve their employment prospects, have begun to write in a more colourless or standardised form of English. The gradual standardisation of English has a direct bearing on surveys such as this, and will be discussed further below.³⁰

It is generally accepted today that the theories underlying *LALME* are correct. Scribal variation is of equal interest as authorial language for scholars in many areas, and the study of written language in its own right has allowed for

²⁸ See *BLA*, p. 111 for an example of a manuscript travelling within North East Norfolk.

²⁹ For an example of such annotation to a Latin manuscript, see *Caius*, p. 179.

³⁰ See p. 96 below.

specific studies, such as the present work, to be done. It was never intended solely as a tool for dialectologists, but also as a springboard for further non-dialectological studies. Indeed, McIntosh went to some pains to emphasise this:

newly acquired knowledge and insights which were the main immediate reward of such work were proving more likely to benefit those concerned with the literature and culture and social structure of medieval England than those primarily interested in the language per se or in linguistics. It is on this basis, I think, that investigations into Middle English dialects will now flourish best (McIntosh 1991, xii).

However, it is not always obvious how it is to be used in practice, and has been the subject of some criticism, primarily because of the problems some researchers have encountered in making use of the information.³¹ To quote Shippey's review, 'The *Linguistic Atlas* is packed with information, but dauntingly hard to use' (1987, 1200). However, the authors and other collaborators have, in the course of the preparation of the *Atlas*, and since its publication, published a number of articles which serve not only to expand the information contained within *LALME* itself, but also to facilitate its use,³² and to make suggestions for further study.³³ One of the most useful recent publications is Mills' essay 'Using the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*' (1998). Although primarily intended for those editing Middle English texts, it is of use to all those intending to use *LALME*. Mills provides a concise overview

³¹ Burton raises some theoretical problems in his review of *LALME* (1991), but these are effectively countered by Benskin's response in the same journal (1991b), and so will not be examined here.

³² Especially Benskin 1991a, which presents a step-by-step explanation of the 'fit'-technique.

of the principles of *LALME* (1998, 185–92), and a brief critique of its shortcomings (1998, 193–94) before proceeding to a step-by-step guide to using the *Atlas* to localise the manuscript being edited.

The problem of standardisation

Whilst *LALME* presents the results of a huge survey, it is by its very nature limited by the language it describes. Manuscripts and texts can only be localised in *LALME* on the basis of combinations of linguistic features which are specific to a particular area of the country. The later part of the period covered by the *Atlas* (c. 1350–1450) also saw the development of dialects which contained fewer distinctive features. With fewer of those forms which Samuels describes as ‘grosser provincialisms’ (1989, 75), the dialects could be readily understood by a wider audience, and therefore be used in a greater number of domains. The extension of the uses of English has been termed ‘elaboration’ by Einar Haugen, and is one of the four steps Haugen considered necessary for a language to be standardised (1997). These steps are selection, codification, elaboration and acceptance. The order of these steps is not strictly chronological: a language can continue to be elaborated before it has been fully codified and therefore fixed. The manuscripts in this survey provide a good example: the translation of medical texts, previously the domain of Latin, into English in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is a clear example of elaboration, yet the East Anglian English in which many of them were written was not the basis for the English which was finally codified and accepted as

³³ For example, those collected in Benskin 1981, and Laing 1989 together with essays and symposium proceedings such as Riddey 1991 and Laing 1994.

our present day standard.³⁴ It is the later period in particular which is problematic in terms of standardisation. As Samuels observes:

in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the main obstacle to the localization of texts on the basis of their dialectal characteristics is a fairly obvious one: the growth of standardization and the displacement of local usage (1981, 43).

Recent work has suggested that the process of standardisation is more complicated than had previously been supposed.³⁵ The concept of a 'colourless' language, where distinctly dialectal forms are dropped in favour of forms which were in widespread use, but were not Chancery or other 'standard'-type forms, is one example of the complexity involved (Samuels 1981, 43). These 'colourless' types of language were the precursors to standardised forms.

The most important work on standardisation remains that of M. L. Samuels, who identified four types of 'incipient standard' in later Middle English (1989,³⁶ 1972).³⁷ Recent work has suggested that these 'standards' may have performed particular functions. Samuel's Type I, also known as 'Central Midlands Standard' seems to have been used heavily in the production of certain types of text at Oxford University. Associated most strongly with Wycliffite writings, it is also found in a large number of medical texts, and it has been speculated that it may represent an

³⁴ See C. Jones forthcoming for the elaboration of English and East Anglian medical texts.

³⁵ See for example, Terttu Nevalainen's recent work on variation in early modern English (Nevalainen 1998).

³⁶ The 1989 article is a reprint of the original, which was published in 1963. As the 1989 version includes corrections, I refer to the later rather than the original version in this study.

³⁷ For a comprehensive overview of the standardisation process in English, see Smith 1992, or Smith 1996, 68–77.

‘Oxford University’ usage, distinct from the surrounding county.³⁸ This is of especial interest to this survey, as the proximity of Cambridge University to Norfolk and Suffolk may explain the high number of medical texts surviving from the region, and a similar ‘university standard’ at the East Anglian university, were it to be identified, would shed much more light on the results of this survey. Type II is also of interest to the student of East Anglian texts, as although it is associated with texts from the Greater London area in the fourteenth century, it has some features commonly found in East Anglia, such as *-ande* for the present participle inflexion, and *perk*, meaning ‘dark’ (Smith 1992, 56; 1996, 69). As Smith (1996, 69) observes: ‘these forms seem to correlate with the pattern of mid-fourteenth-century immigration into the capital, which shows a marked influx from East Anglia’. The Paston family provide an example of the business links between Norfolk and the capital during this period, and so we can expect that many Type II texts may have more than a linguistic association with East Anglia.

However, the information we have at present means that texts in a ‘colourless’ or ‘standardised’ form of English cannot be localised without secure provenance information. The medical and scientific manuscripts in all counties surveyed by *LALME* total 175. This is in stark contrast to the number of medical manuscripts surveyed by Voigts and Kurtz for their catalogue of vernacular scientific and medical manuscripts, which is over one thousand (Voigts 1995; Voigts and Kurtz forthcoming). Even when those texts which fall outside *LALME*’s date parameters are excluded the discrepancy is still very large. Some of this can be explained, especially in the later period, by the gradual shift towards more colourless or ‘standardised’ forms, which cannot be localised, even within a ‘dialect region’ such

³⁸ Black 1998.

as East Anglia, rather than a specific county, with any certainty. When *LALME* is used not just as a tool for dialect study, but also to group manuscripts in a region and so study the 'literary geography' of that region, it cannot, by its very nature, provide all the information about survivals from a particular region. Therefore using dialect studies alone means that we have gaps in studies such as the present, especially in the later period. This study is intended in part to address the problem of localisation presented by those manuscripts written in colourless language, by studying the group of manuscripts which can be localised and establish any patterns in such groups which may assist the localisation of other manuscripts and texts.³⁹

Dialects, elaboration and East Anglian medical books⁴⁰

Even in the Middle Ages, a period of diverse dialects in English, the East Anglian dialects were recognised as distinct. Beadle provides a number of contemporary examples, including the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, which is described in one manuscript as being 'secundum vulgarem modum loquendi orientalium Anglorum' (1991, 92 n.7).⁴¹ There are a number of features which are peculiar to East Anglian dialects.⁴² The use of <x> to signify the modern English <sh> in words such as

³⁹ These patterns may be observed in various types of evidence: ownership (known collectors, bookplates and signatures etc.), palaeography, (establishing the hands of known scribes); textual (texts known to be popular in a given region. For one example, see Beadle 1977) or codicological (types of book related to particular scriptoria. For an example, see Voigts 1990).

⁴⁰ Fisiak and Trudgill forthcoming contains a number of studies of East Anglian English in the Middle Ages.

⁴¹ 'According to the vernacular speech of the East Anglians' (Way 1865, III, 539). The reference and translation are from Beadle 1991.

⁴² There are a (very) few exceptions to this rule, most of which are texts found in neighbouring counties such as Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire. See below for details.

‘xall, xuld’ (shall, should) is almost exclusive to Norfolk and Suffolk.⁴³ Modern English ‘wh-’ words are often written with ‘qw-, qwh-’, which can also be used as a diagnostic feature for East Anglian English.⁴⁴ Such features can be used to locate a text within the region, but the *LALME* questionnaire contains sufficient items to allow for a very precise localisation, sometimes to within around ten miles. A number of manuscripts surveyed for *LALME* could not be located with enough precision to be included in the published *Atlas*.⁴⁵ They could, however, be confidently located in East Anglia, and so have been included in this survey. Where precise locations are given, they are listed in this survey. A new dialect study of these manuscripts using the tagging procedure adopted for the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Medieval English (LAEME)* may well place the unlocalised manuscripts specifically, but that is a study in itself, and beyond the remit of the present work. Further manuscripts have been localised since the publication of *LALME*, and those found in Norfolk, including a number of medical texts, have been appended to Beadle’s study (1991, 102–8). Dr Beadle has also provided me with more recent

⁴³ There are three linguistic profiles in *LALME* which have this feature found outside these two counties:

LP 814 (Lincolnshire) Lincolnshire Archives Office indenture of 20th Sep 1446. ‘xall’ is a minority form; the normal form is ‘schall’.

LP 6180 (Cambridgeshire) Lambeth Palace MS 392 has the minority forms ‘xal’ and ‘xul’ for the singular and plural forms of shall. The usual forms are ‘schal’ and ‘schul’. The singular of should has two standard forms ‘xulde’ and ‘schuld’.

LP 8190 (Bedfordshire) British Library Harley MS 525. ‘xal’ is a very rare form in this manuscript, alongside the normal form ‘shall’.

⁴⁴ See Beadle 1977, Chapter 1 for an overview of East Anglian dialect features, and also the essays in Fisiak and Trudgill forthcoming.

⁴⁵ The sources for dialect information in this survey are listed under individual manuscript entries.

information on manuscripts which can be located in the region.⁴⁶ In this study, therefore, the ability afforded by *LALME* to place manuscripts in a specific location is of limited application. To restrict the survey to those localised in *LALME* would be to have limited the survey too severely, and miss out a number of important manuscripts. However, post-*LALME* research does not only owe a debt to the hours of painstaking analysis undertaken in its production, but also, more fundamentally, to the precedence given to written language in its own right, and to the importance accorded to the language of often anonymous scribes.

The elaboration of English as discussed above has clear implications for vernacular literacy. The use of English in the domain of medicine and science represents a new set of literacy practices; the use of English by those educated in the universities, and the reading of a new genre by those literate only in English. The dialect use of the former group is of particular interest.⁴⁷ Two examples from the surveyed manuscripts illustrate something of the range of practices involved. The language of the Pastons is frequently discussed, and the Paston letters are a mine of information on the use of English by a wealthy Norfolk family. The medical book owned by John Paston II, Countway 19, is not listed in *LALME*. It was copied for Paston by the Westminster scribe William Ebesham. The language of the manuscript has been localised to the East Midlands by Harley (1982, 173). John Paston spent a great deal of time in London, and so used a more colourless form of English than that of family members who remained in Norfolk. His selection of a Westminster scribe indicates that he was not concerned to have his book copied

⁴⁶ Personal communication, 1997. I am grateful to Dr Beadle for his assistance with this matter, and the provision of numerous references.

⁴⁷ The elaboration of English in East Anglian medical books is discussed in C. Jones forthcoming.

into his 'native' dialect. This is hardly surprising, and perhaps what we might expect of a man of some education living in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

However, the example of Hu 509 presents quite different evidence. It was copied by Thomas Westhaugh for his friend John Sperhawke, both of whom were doctors of Canon Law. They can be assumed to have been fluent in Latin, but the book, a version of Gilbertus Anglicus' *Compendium medicinae*, is written not only in English, but East Anglian English, employing, for example, the distinctive *xal* for shall. This raises a number of interesting questions about the choice of English by readers who must have had very high levels of Latin literacy, and the type of English employed at Cambridge University. Both manuscripts show that English was being elaborated into the domain of medicine not only from necessity for those who had little or no Latin, but also out of choice by those for whom Latin was no barrier.

Manuscript listings

Although the physical makeup and contents of the manuscripts in this survey are discussed in the following pages, this section is not intended to be a comprehensive catalogue. For more detailed information on these manuscripts, the reader is directed to the relevant catalogues and indexes, which are indicated at the end of each entry. In some cases, such as the Harley and Sloane collections in the British Library, and the Rawlinson collection in the Bodleian Library, the catalogues are not up-to-date and contain little of the information required by the modern cataloguer. I have therefore supplied basic descriptions of these manuscripts. Information such as quire signatures and more extensive palaeographical discussion have been suppressed for consistency with the other manuscripts and because of constraints of length. Abbreviations have been expanded silently. In the case of manuscripts outside the United Kingdom, I have relied on editions, catalogues and studies of these manuscripts for codicological information.

Related manuscripts

Listings in *MWME* are the basis for this list, and only manuscripts in the survey are noted in this section. Other manuscripts with textual affiliations to the surveyed manuscripts are listed in the Appendix together with some more tenuous relationships between the surveyed manuscripts.⁴⁸ *IMEV*, *IPMEP* and *IMEP* listings are not generally given separate mention, as by and large they are listed in *MWME*. Non medical texts are not generally listed, except in cases such as the works of Lydgate which have some medical content. Affiliations with Latin texts are also not listed. Where a cataloguer has made reference to *TK* these references

⁴⁸ The Appendix is on pp. 382 ff.

are included, but I have not sought out *TK* references for Latin texts in other manuscripts.

British Library Additional MS 12195

The Manuscript

Date	The book can be dated to the reign of Edward IV (1461–1483) from internal evidence
Dimensions	ff. 192. Average sheet size: 147 x 103–8 mm
Collation⁴⁹	Structured in four sections, which include a number of booklets. ii + 188 + ii. f. 16 ins. f. 24 ins. (both parchment inserts) I ¹⁴ (starts f. 3 wants 14 after f. 15) II ¹⁰ (wants ?9 before f. 24) III ⁸ IV ¹² V ¹⁴ VI ⁶ VII ⁸ VIII ¹² (wants 6 and 7 after f. 77) IX ¹⁰ (wants 1 before f. 83, and 10 after f. 90) X ⁸ XI ⁴ XII ⁶ (wants 1 before f. 104, and 3 and 4 before f. 104) XIII ¹⁶ XIV ⁸ XV ⁸ (wants 8, probably blank, after f. 136) XVI ⁸ (wants ?8 after f. 143) XVII ⁸ XVIII ⁶ (wants ?1 before f. 152) [XIX ⁶] XX ¹⁶ XXI ¹⁸
Material	Paper, except for ff. 16 and 24, which are parchment, and were once the wrappings of a booklet, quire II

⁴⁹ The manuscript has been rebound, and the pages remounted on individual pages. This collation is a possible reconstruction by Thomson (1979, 193). Thomson also notes that ‘fols 122–190 have an early foliation in the bottom centre of the rectos: 1–76, wanting 36–41 (a lost quire) and 66 (probably omitted by mistake)’ (1979, 193).

Script and decoration⁵⁰

Two main hands, one that of John Leake of North Creake, and others. None is very well written. No ruling; writing often covers most of the sheet. The second half of the manuscript is all in East Anglian English, in various hands.

1. ff. 3r–15v: Small spiky Anglicana with some Secretary influence
2. ff. 16r–17v, 20v–32v: Br George Burn(ham) (1483–87). Small untidy Anglicana
3. ff. 18r–20r: Small gothic bookhand (s.xv)
4. ff. 33r–58r: Anglicana (s.xv^{2/4})
5. ff. 59r–66r, 67–71v, 73r–96v, 97v, 98r, 99v–105r, 106v–120r, ?121r, 121v:
John Leake (s.xv^{3/4}). Mixed hand
6. ff. 66v bottom, 71r–72v, 82v foot, ?84v foot, ?89v foot, 98v, 99v:
Edmund (Herbard) Scrawled Secretary hand (s.xv^{ex})
7. ff. 59v, 79r, 90v, 96v, 97r 99v, 102v foot, 114v, 115r, ?120v foot, 121r:
Poor mixed hand (s.xv^{ex})
8. f. 120v: s.xviⁱⁿ English or s.xv French, a Secretary and Bastard Secretary hand
8. ff. 122r–135r, 136v–141r, 142v–143v:
Well-written small Anglicana hand with Secretary influence. (s.xv²)
9. ff. 135v–136r, 140r foot, 141r–142r, 142v foot, 144r–184r:
Mixed hand, similar to (9). (s.xv²)

⁵⁰ Detailed palaeographical information is from Thomson 1979, 194.

11. ff. 184r–190v: Mixed hand similar to (9). (s.xv)

Contents

Booklet 1

1. ff. 3r–15v: *Circa testamenta*. Specimens of testaments with explanatory notes. Localisable to Oxford, and likely to have been derived from the teaching of William Kyngesmill

Booklet 2

2. ff. 18r–20r: The office of Saint Gatianus for matins and lauds: an addition to the Carmelite ordinal

In this section there are a number of added notes and short texts, most of which are religious, either prayers or liturgical texts

Booklet 3

3. ff. 25r–28r: *Legenda commemoracionis beate ma (sic) Marie*. Proper readings and prayers, probably for the offices of the Commemoration of Our Lady of Mount Carmel; additions to the Carmelite ordinal
4. ff. 28r–31r: *In commemoracione sancti Thome martiris*. Addition to the Carmelite ordinal for the mass of St Thomas of Canterbury
5. ff. 31v–32v: *Benedictiones beate virginis Marie*. Benedictions for feast of the Virgin and its octave, saints' days, Trinity to Advent, and the evangelists

On ff. 31 and 32 there are several added liturgical notes and a hymn

Booklet 4

6. ff. 33r–58v: *In festo sancti Helyzey prophete ad primas vespas antiphona et psalmi secundum feream 2.* A Carmelite collection, containing the proper for various feasts, including Elisha, the Commemoration of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, St Albert the Carmelite and others

Booklet 5

7. ff. 59r–v: The end of a treatise explaining Hebrew words in the Old Testament
8. ff. 60r–62r: *Hic incipiunt verba latina missalis* Latin/English glossary of words from the Missal, with a short note at the end
9. ff. 62v–64r: Miscellaneous vocabulary with a few grammatical notes
10. f. 64v: Erotic lyric, with music

Several miscellaneous notes added

Booklet 6

11. f. 66r: John Leyland; *Accidence*.⁵¹ MWME 515
12. ff. 67r–71r: Elementary treatise on syntax in Latin

Several notes have been added, including riddling verse, vocabulary notes, and some religious and liturgical material

⁵¹ See Thomson 1979, 44.

Booklet 7

13. ff. 73r–74r: Latin notes and verses on the seven sacraments, ten commandments etc.
14. ff. 74r–77v: *De corpore Christi*. A treatise in Latin on the feast of Corpus Christi. End lost
15. ff. 78r–79r: Latin treatise on the figures of speech. Begins imperfectly
16. ff. 79v–81r: A collection of notes on various topics
- ff. 81v and 82r blank except for rough drawings. Several notes added, including riddles, Biblical figures, liturgical notes and a charm (in English) to identify a thief (f. 82v: *MWME* 356a)

Booklet 8

17. ff. 83r–90r: A Latin treatise on the seven deadly sins, ten commandments, twelve articles of faith etc. Begins imperfectly
18. ff. 91r–96v: A Latin treatise on orthography
- Several added notes in Latin, including (f. 98r) a treatise for a priest on what to do if the consecrated wine is spilt etc. On f. 98v there is a charm very similar to the one added to f. 82v. *MWME* 356a

Booklet 9

19. ff. 122r–124r: Johannis Paulinus, *De corio serpentis*, English translation⁵²

⁵² This is not listed in *MWME*.

20. f. 124r: Charms added in supplement to the Paulinus text, including one in Latin
21. ff. 127v–135r: *The Wyse Book of Phylosophie and Astromye*. MWME 43
22. ff. 135v–136v: Six short medical recipes and two charms, including a wafer charm (MWME 339a) against fevers on f. 136v
23. ff. 136v–139r: Astrological treatise, describing people under the sign of Aries. In other manuscripts, a more complete version of this text is sometimes called *The Book of Destenarye of the 12 Signes*, and forms a continuation of the *Wyse Book* above⁵³
- This section also includes a wafer charm against fevers.
- MWME 339a
24. ff. 139v–145v: 33 medical recipes; 3 recipes for drinks (ff. 139r, 143r); 3 prognostic charms (ff. 141v–142r); 2 formulas for long lasting nights (f. 144r) and the *Maria peperit Christum* charm for difficult childbirth (f. 142v: MWME 347a)
25. ff. 146r–156v: Charm to St William, MWME 345, and 24 medical recipes
26. ff. 157r–184v: *Trotula A*. Gynaecological handbook: *The knowynge of woman's kynde in chyldyng*. MWME 318⁵⁴
- ff. 185r–190v: *The book of ypcocras of deth and of hyf*. MWME 116

Language

LALME I, 223

The only substantial English section in ff. 3r–121v is f. 66r, written by John Leake.

ff. 122r–90v are nearly all in East Anglian English, by several hands.

⁵³ See IMEP V and also IMEP I pp. 5–6.

Provenance

The manuscript is likely to have belonged to the house of Austin Canons at Creake, near Walsingham, north Norfolk. The first section of the manuscript was probably written at Oxford *c.* 1477–78 by a pupil of William Kyngesmill. The second, *c.* 1483–87, was probably written by a Friar of the priory of Burnham Norton, about six miles from North Creake. Thomson suggests that Brother George Burn(ham?) was probably a friar of Burnham, and may have compiled this section (1979, 210). The note on f. 24 referring to Dunton is in his hand. Dunton is six miles south of North Creake and about twelve miles from Burnham. The third section, in the hand of John Leake of North Creake, dates to about the same time. John Leake made a number of references in the commentaries on a number of treatises (f. 83r, f. 96r, f. 100r), and cites himself ‘magister’ on these occasions, suggesting that he may have had a university education. It was later owned by Edmund Herbard, vicar of Toftrees from 1481–91, a few miles south-east of Dunton.

A flyleaf note, possibly in the hand of Joseph Lilly (1841), says ‘This MS when purchased, was lettered “Manuale J(?) (P?) Leke et R de la Laund Monachorum”’.

The manuscript was also owned by W. Herbert in 1770 (see note on f. 2r).

Signs of use

The manuscript is quite dirty and has a large number of marginal notes in various hands. A number of sections are incomplete. Several names are mentioned in the manuscript:

‘Perry’ (f. 4r. s.xv?), ‘Thomas Frost’ (f. 16r. s.xvi?). On ff. 17v and 22r are lists of receipts for payments for masses on behalf of the dead, which include the names: ‘Iohannis Cowper et Margarete’ (f. 17v) and ‘Iohannis de [....] Iohnna (?) et

⁵⁴ See Green 1992, Barratt 1992, 27 and *IMEP* IV, 12–13.

Margarete Codling', 'Iohannis boleyne', 'Roberti Cowper et Katerine' (f. 22r). The following names are found on f. 24v: 'Magister Varid[....?] i', 'Ricardus Rowsse servant', 'fratro Georgeo Burn[...](?)'.

On f. 82v are various notes including: 'M and S madyn mekel mon Qwan X on C heng alon/ Viij is my lemman it ax [] before / Qwhere viij gyrt aboue iij were good þerfore', and a charm to know a thief in East Anglian English, similar to the charm on f. 98v, though in slightly different language. On f. 90r there is mention of 'magistro Falcon incom Norff' et Suff'.

Related Manuscripts

<i>MWME</i> 43:	Pepys 878
<i>MWME</i> 116:	Ha 2378; Sl 340
<i>MWME</i> 318	
<i>MWME</i> 339a:	Ha 1600; W542
<i>MWME</i> 345:	Sl 521; Stk X.90; Hu 117; SJC
<i>MWME</i> 347a:	Sl 521
<i>MWME</i> 356a	
<i>MWME</i> 515	

References

Thomson 1979, 193–211

Harley MS 1600

The Manuscript

Date	1420–50
Dimensions	Pages 135 x 200mm approx. Writing space 90 x 150 mm approx.
Collation	iii (modern) + 46 + ii (modern). Binding is too tight to make out the collation. Catchwords from quires I to IV indicate that these are gathered in eights
Material	Poor-grade parchment. Prickings visible
Script and decoration	One main hand; neat Anglicana formata. Red running titles. Alternate red and blue 2-line initials. Twenty-eight lines per page on average

Contents

1. ff. 1r–41v: Collection of medical recipes in English arranged *de capite ad pedem*.⁵⁵ *MWME* 264. Included in this collection in this manuscript are the following:
 - 1.1. ff. 1r–3r: Table of contents written by the main scribe. Each recipe is numbered, and this number is also written in the margin beside each recipe in the text
 - 1.2. ff. 3v–4r: Prologue and epilogue to recipe collection. *MWME* 265 and 266

⁵⁵ The order of the collection begins as *de capite ad pedem*, but degenerates.

- 1.3. f. 9v: A wafer charm against fevers: *Pater est alpha*. *MWME* 339b
- 1.4. ff. 22r–v: Prognosis charm; to know whether a sick person shall live or die. *MWME* 376h
- 1.5. ff. 27r–v: A recipe for a surgical anaesthetic called dwale. *MWME* 287a
- 1.6. ff. 30r–v: ‘God was born in Bethlehem’ charm against thieves (second derivative). *MWME* 351c
- 1.7. f. 34v: A sage-leaf charm against fevers. *MWME* 338
- 1.8. ff. 35r–v: A number of recipes for *gracia dei*, one of which is said to have been used by the Earl of Herforth (Hereford?). Another, on f. 35v, was said to have been used by a certain Hopkyn in the infirmary of Killingworth⁵⁶
- 1.9. f. 38v: St Tobias charm for a hawe in the eye. *MWME* 376b
- 1.10. ff. 39r–v: A wafer charm against fever: *El, Ehye, Sabaoth*. *MWME* 339a
- 1.11. f. 39v: A Magi charm for the falling evil. *MWME* 336a
- 1.12. f. 40r: *Five wounds of Christ* charm to heal wounds. *MWME* 342
- 1.13. ff. 40r–41r: Charm of St Susan to heal wounds. *MWME* 344
2. ff. 42r–46v: Mixed recipes, added in various hands

⁵⁶ Killingworth is about two miles north of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Language

East Anglian. Analysed for *LALME*, but could not be localised precisely enough within the region for inclusion in the published *Atlas*.

Provenance

Unknown

Signs of use

The text has been carefully arranged for ease of reference by the main scribe, including a table of contents, and marginal reference numbers in red, which related back to this table. The manuscript seems to have been used heavily, or at least incautiously, to judge from the state of the leaves. It is quite badly stained and damaged, and is generally dirty throughout. There is some contemporary marginalia, including a number of recipes in English and Latin on ff. 42r–46v. Many of these are written in a fifteenth-century cursive Secretary hand.

Related Manuscripts

<i>MWME</i> 264:	SI 442; W542
<i>MWME</i> 265:	SI 340; SI 442; W542
<i>MWME</i> 266:	SI 340; SI 442; W542
<i>MWME</i> 287a:	Ha 2378; W408; SI 521
<i>MWME</i> 336a:	Ha 2378; SI 521; W542
<i>MWME</i> 338:	W542
<i>MWME</i> 339a:	BLA; W542
<i>MWME</i> 339b:	W542
<i>MWME</i> 342:	W542
<i>MWME</i> 344:	W542
<i>MWME</i> 351c:	W542

MWME 376b: **W542**

MWME 376h: **W542**

British Library Harley MS 1735

The Manuscript⁵⁷

Date	Booklet 1 s.xv ¹
	Booklet 2 s.xv ² (1456–85)
Dimensions	Composite manuscript in two main booklets which were originally separate.
	Booklet 1 (ff. 1–28). 205 x 150 mm approx.
	Booklet 2 (ff. 29–52). 215 x 150 mm approx.
Collation	ff. ii + 52 + i
	Booklet 1 I–IV ⁸ . Two bifolia missing in quire 2, and a quire missing at the end
	Booklet 2 I ⁸ (wants 1), II ⁸ , III ⁸ (+ 1: f. 50 inserted)
Material	Booklet 1 Medium-grade parchment
	Booklet 2 Paper ⁵⁸

Script and decoration

Booklet 1 One main hand, Hand A: Anglicana formata, with some Secretary influence, such as a single-lobed <a>. Not Crophill's hand.

Decorated by various hands, with one illuminated image.

f. 1r: An illuminated six-line initial O containing a picture of a tree with a snake wrapped around it. The gold touches have mostly worn off.

⁵⁷ See Ayoub 1994 for a full description and edition of this manuscript.

⁵⁸ Watermarks are discussed in Ayoub 1994, 26–27.

f. 2r: An ink drawing of old man with a spade, relating to long life and hard work of child born on the first day of the moon in the text, which is a lunary; the 'Thirty Days of the Moon'. The old man seems to represent Adam, as this name has been added in a marginal note above the picture. Each entry is accompanied by a marginal pen and ink picture. The drawings to illustrate this text are all of the same type, and seem to be fairly amateur in execution, possibly by the scribe, or a marginal hand. Whoever drew them had a keen interest in lechery: wherever this is mentioned in the text, it is noted in the margin, either by a note, a drawing of a penis, or both. The drawings continue until f. 13r, which is where the lunary ends.

Booklet 2 Two main hands

Hand B: Secretary script

Hand C: John Crophill's holograph. Anglicana cursiva. Both of these hands are more cursive and less careful than Hand A

Contents

The entire manuscript is indexed as *MWME* 282

Booklet 1

1. ff. 1–14r: *The Thyrty Days of the Mone*, a zodiacal lunary.

MWME 81

2. ff. 14r–16v: Esdras: prognostications for communities, named after the supposed compiler, Esdra the prophet⁵⁹
MWME 119a
3. ff. 16v–28v: Cookery recipes
- Booklet 2 Crophill's own notebook⁶⁰
4. ff. 29r–36v: Tract possibly compiled by Crophill including:
- 4.1. ff. 29r–30r: Perilous and good days for bloodletting, incomplete at the beginning
- 4.2. ff. 30r–v: 'A rewle of þe xij signis'. Explanation of the relationship between zodiac signs and parts of the body. Unrelated to the text of the same name on ff. 41r–42r:
- 4.3. ff. 30v–31r: Diagram and explanation for the diameter of the earth
- 4.4. f. 31r: The four elements
- 4.5. ff. 31r–33r: Astrological treatise on the seven planets
- 4.6. ff. 33r–v: Treatise on the four elements and qualities
- 4.7. ff. 34r–v: Treatise on the four complexions
- 4.8. ff. 34v–35v: Uroscopy treatise
- 4.9. f. 35v: Latin alchemical recipes for kindling fire in water
- 4.10. ff. 35v–36v: Onomastic treatise (rules for prediction based on the substitution of numbers and letters). *MWME* 130

⁵⁹ See Taavitsainen 1988, 35 for further explanation of this type of text.

⁶⁰ Texts are in English except where noted.

5. ff. 36v–39r: Crophill’s private register – information primarily about debtors of Wix Priory, rather than patients, though these are also listed on f. 37r
6. f. 39r: Astrological notes
7. f. 39v: Geomancy text, including diagrams of geomantic figures and associated zodiac signs
8. f. 40r: A charm to ease the pains of women in childbirth.
Latin
9. f. 40v: Notes on names and birth dates. Onomastic tables
10. ff. 41r–42r: *Rewle of the 12 Synnis*. A prose dietary ascribed to Galen.⁶¹ *MWME* 291
11. ff. 43r–44r: Urine tract
12. ff. 44v–46r: Prognostics based on month and zodiac sign
13. f. 46v: Expenses and medical recipes
14. f. 47r: Note on brewing, and various recipes
15. ff. 48r–49r: Crophill’s poetry⁶²
16. f. 49v: List of medical authorities. Incomplete
17. f. 50r: Formula for calculating the age of the moon on any given birth date
18. f. 50v: Accounts for Alice Davy, the prioress of Wix
19. ff. 51r–52v: Verse treatise on the virtues of rosemary. *MWME* 243

⁶¹ See Braekman 1986, 57–60 for a discussion of this text and related manuscripts.

⁶² See Robbins 1969b. Taavitsainen 1988, 64, 83 n. 5: *TMEV* mentions ‘a sixth MS containing [*Storia Lune*] in H3 [Ha 1735] f. 48a as a “variant by John Crophill”. This entry is erroneous’.

20. f. 52v: 'Three good brothers' wound charm. *MWME* 343⁶³

Language

LALME

Part I LP 4570 Grid 576 294 Norfolk

Part II LP 6140 Grid 597 234 Suffolk

Although Crophill seems to have been based in Wix, the dialects of both hands in this section are from Suffolk, reflecting Crophill's origin, which is likely to have been in Nayland, north west of Colchester.

Provenance

This is perhaps one of the most important manuscripts in the survey, as a good deal of information survives about the owner, and one of the scribes, John Crophill.

Crophill was a part-time medical practitioner, whose main occupation was that of bailiff for Wix Priory, near Harwich, in Essex.⁶⁴

Related manuscripts

MWME 81

MWME 119a

MWME 130: **SJC**

MWME 243

MWME 282

MWME 291: **Royal 17 C; S1 442; S1 521; York; HM 1336**

MWME 343: **Ha 2378; S1 706**

⁶³ This manuscript is not listed under this heading in *MWME*.

⁶⁴ More details of Crophill's life and work can be found in Talbert 1942, Mustain 1972 and Ayoub 1994, 194–200.

References

Ayoub 1994

British Library Harley MS 2374

The Manuscript

Date s. xv (Booklet II *c.* 1472)

Dimensions **Booklet 1**

Page size: 150 x 226 mm approx.

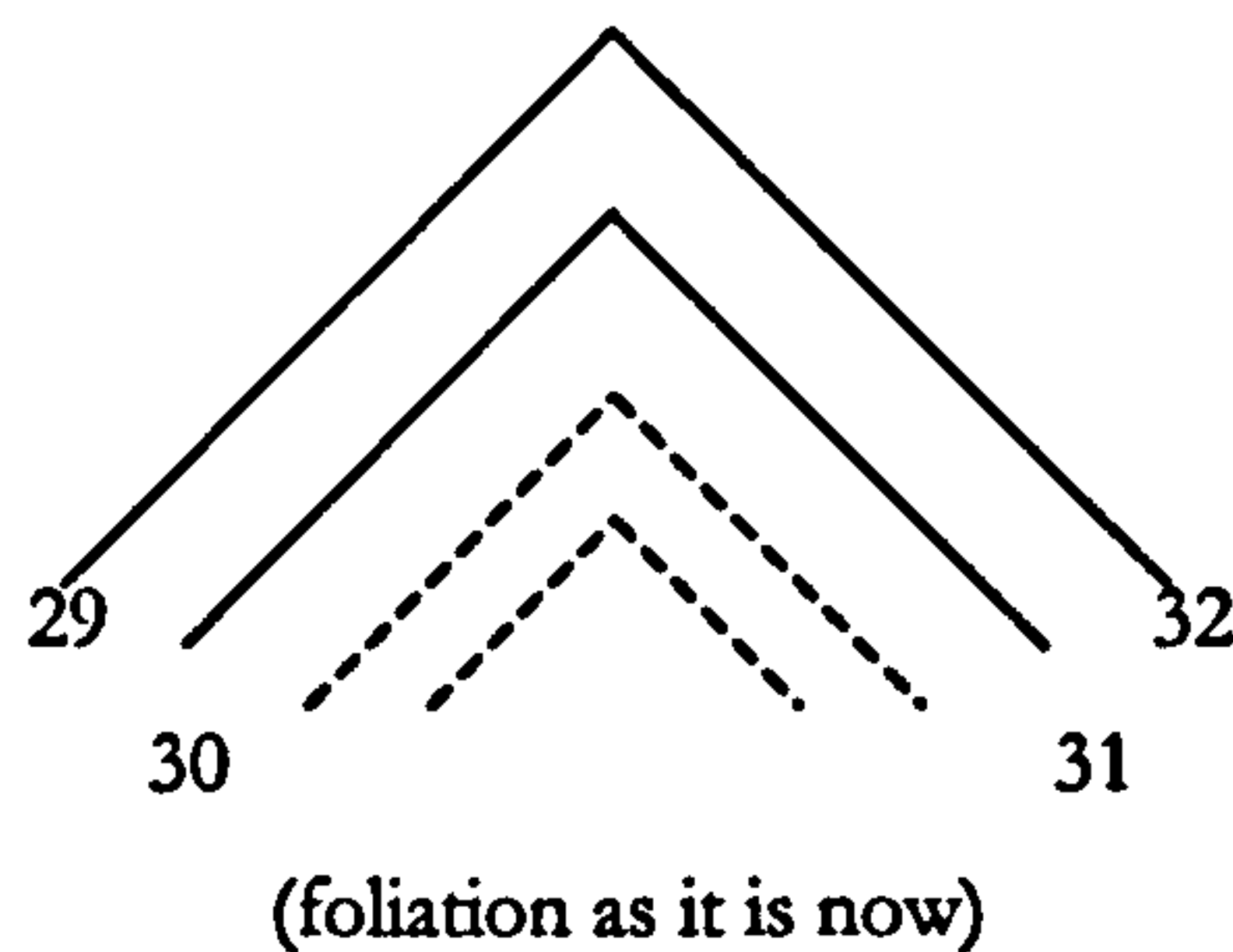
Booklet 2

Page size: 158 x 220 mm approx.

Collation ii (mod) + 28 (paper) + 36 (parchment) + i + iii
(mod)

I–II¹⁴ | III⁴ IV⁸–VII⁸. 2 booklets bound together.

Booklet 1 starts imperfectly. There are probably three quires missing at the start.⁶⁵ In quire III, the first quire of booklet 2, it seems likely that 2 bifolia have been lost.



Material **Booklet 1** Paper

Booklet 2 Poor-quality parchment

Script and decoration

Booklet 1 Hand A throughout. Recipe titles in Bastard Anglicana. Text in a neat cursive Secretary hand

Booklet 2 Hand B: ff. 29v–30r: large sprawling cursive Anglicana
Hand C: ff. 31r–64v: Neat Anglicana formata.
Alternate red and blue 2-line initials and paraph marks

Contents

Booklet 1

1. ff. 1r–4v: Various medical recipes. Latin
2. ff. 5r–10v: Latin and English alphabetical herbal synonyma. Text in four columns. f. 11r originally blank, but also ruled in four columns. Notes added in contemporary hands across the columns
3. ff. 11v–28v: Medical and surgical recipes in English, with a Latin introduction, in no particular order. Complete, with a Latin explicit at the foot of f. 28v

Booklet 2

4. f. 29r: Poem, written in a seventeenth-century (?) hand, apparently written by or about J. D. Fludd. f. 29 was originally blank, and may have served as a cover for this booklet at one point
5. ff. 29v–30r: Added recipes in a fifteenth-century hand

⁶⁵ f. 1r has '42' in a later hand in the bottom right hand corner, which suggests that the present quire I was originally quire IV, if the gathering in fourteens was consistent throughout.

6. f. 30v: A note written by a priest of Rotherham, noting the number of weddings, christenings etc. which took place in his parish in 1472, together with an account of some of his expenses in that year
7. ff. 31r–64v: An English version of the *Antidotarium Nicholai*. Imperfect at the beginning and end

Language

LALME I, 266: East Anglian.

Hand A's work (booklet 1) is listed in *LALME* under 'East Anglia'. Distinctive East Anglian features include the use of <x> for <sh>; e.g. f. 20r. 'xalle'.

Provenance

The note from the priest of Rotherham indicates that the manuscript, or at least Booklet 2, was in his possession c. 1472.

Signs of use

Booklet 1 The pages are well handled, with several splashes. There is contemporary and later marginalia relating to the text, and some doodling. First page(s) missing. f. 1r top margin: 5 dis Novembris A. D. 1723

Booklet 2 Slightly stained. Very little marginalia

Related Manuscripts

This manuscript has not been listed in *MWME*

English versions of the *Antidotarium* Nicholai are found in a large number of manuscripts. Within this survey, it is found in **SJC** and **Ha 2374**. Antidotaria derived from it are found in English in **Pepys 878** and **Pepys 1307**.

British Library Harley MS 2375

The Manuscript

Date	s. xv
Dimensions	Page size: 142 x 224 mm approx.
Collation	i (mod) + i + 111 + i + i (mod). The manuscript pages have been individually mounted because of damage. As there are few catchwords, it is very difficult to establish the quiring. There are catchwords on f. 16v and f. 28v
Material	Paper; badly damaged, probably by water

Script and decoration

One main hand. Small, slightly cramped Secretary script. Page headers underlined in red. Red paraph marks.

Contents

1. ff. 1r–32v: Medicinal treatise (English), discussing diseases of the internal organs. Imperfect

Much of this treatise comes from the chapters on the liver, the spleen, the kidneys and the bladder (ff. 4–19) from the Middle English version of Gilbertus Anglicus' *Compendium Medicinae*. *MWME* 254.⁶⁶ (Getz 1991; lxxv, n. 90). Part of a Middle English gynaecology treatise is also within this section,⁶⁷ and is followed by a Middle English urine treatise

f. 8r, f. 17r originally blank. Recipes added in a fifteenth-century hand

⁶⁶ This manuscript is not listed in *MWME*.

2. ff. 33r–35v: Recipes to make distilled waters, mostly in English
Imperfect. Written on pages which were originally blank
3. ff. 36r–48r: Latin treatise on the elements, humours, seasons etc
4. ff. 48v–53v: Latin treatise on the virtues of herbs
5. ff. 54r: Latin herbal
6. f. 55r: A treatise on the humours ascribed to Bede
7. f. 55v: On clysters and laxatives. Latin
8. ff. 56r–68v: Medical recipes. Latin
9. ff. 69r–70r: *Tabula Salerni*. Tables for diagnosis and prognosis
10. f. 70v: 5 Latin verses on medicine
11. ff. 71r–74v: Verses in praise of Aegidius. Latin
12. ff. 75r–75v: Confectionery recipes in English
13. ff. 76r–82v: *Libellus Johannis de Sancto Projecto; De virtute simplicis
medicine*. (Also known as *Circa instans*; author also known as
Johannes Platerarius). Latin
14. f. 83r: *Ad literas aureas vel Argenteas scribendas*. Recipes for the
making of pigments⁶⁸
15. ff. 83v–88v: Medical recipes. Latin
16. ff. 89r–111v: Astrological medicine. Latin

Language

East Anglian, though it could not be localised precisely enough to be included in the published version of *LALME*.

⁶⁷ Similar to that edited in Rowland 1981.

⁶⁸ Singer 1928, 614, no. 928.

Provenance

Unknown

Signs of use

Water damage evident throughout

Related Manuscripts

This manuscript is not indexed in *MWME*.

Manuscripts containing the Middle English Gilbertus Anglicus, *MWME* 254, within this survey are:

Sl 442

Hu 509

British Library Harley MS 2378

The Manuscript

Date	1400–25
Dimensions	ff. 191. 133 x 215 mm approx.
Collation	ii (mod) + 2 late paper inserts + 184 + i (paper) + ii (mod) I ⁴ (-1; 4 canc.) II ¹⁰ III ⁸ IV ¹² V ¹⁶ VI ⁸ VII ¹² VIII ¹⁰ IX ⁸ X ¹² XI ¹⁰ XII ¹⁰ (-4; 67, 8, 9, 10 canc.) XIII–XIV ⁸ XV ¹⁰ XVI ⁸ XVII ¹⁰ XVIII ¹⁸ . The final quire or quires have a complicated construction. The first four leaves are of a very different material from the last sixteen. There is central stitching after the first four leaves, and the fifth may be an insertion. I have been unable to establish the structure beyond these observations.
Material	Parchment. The outer leaf is very stiff and dirty, and may well have been the outer cover for some time. The parchment is of various grades, sometimes good, occasionally poor.

Script and decoration

ff. 5r–11v:	Large neat Anglicana
ff. 12r–14r:	Distinctive and very neat Anglicana with some Secretary influence in the use of broken strokes
ff. 17r–61v:	Neat Anglicana with red underlining and colour touches on initials until f. 25r

- ff. 62r–v: Well executed Anglicana formata. Two line initial red A
- ff. 63r–117r: Very neat Anglicana (formata?). Four-line initial blue and red <E> and two-line blue and red initials for each entry for the *Antidotarium*. For the Dioscorides text on ff. 110v–113r there is a four-line red and blue initial, and then alternate red and blue initials introducing each new section. Decoration is the same for the herbal
- ff. 121r–129r; 137r–154v: Well written, slightly sprawling Anglicana
- ff. 129v–135v: Smaller Anglicana with Secretary influence. Writing and rubrication deteriorates towards the end
- ff. 155r–168v: Well written spiky Anglicana. Red running titles
- ff. 169r–184v: Small neat Anglicana with red touches and some 2- and 3-line red initials. Script degenerates a little

Contents⁶⁹

- Paper inserts: Table of contents written in the hand of Dr John Covel, Master of Christ's College
1. ff. 1r–3v: Recipes in various hands, as well as John Covel's brief note of the manuscript's contents (f. 1r). Notes on the births of a number of members of the Goodrick family
 2. ff. 5r–6r: English alchemical recipes, including a recipe for metheglyn on f. 5r⁷⁰

⁶⁹ There is both foliation and pagination in this manuscript. In compiling *MWME*, Keiser has sometimes confused the two, as in *MWME* 336a, second version in this MS.

⁷⁰ Singer 1928, 1112 xxxiii, erroneously listed as 1112 xiii.

3. ff. 7r–11v: *De booke of ypcoras*. Astrological medicine. *MWME* 116
4. ff. 12r–15r: Latin herbal, with the final line in English
5. ff. 15v–16v: Recipes added in various hands., including on f. 12r a note on the great plague of 1348, in Latin
6. ff. 17r–61v: English recipes and charms, *MWME* 276, including:
 - 6.1. ff. 29r–v: A magi charm for epilepsy. *MWME* 336a
 - 6.2. ff. 32r–v: A recipe for dwale. *MWME* 287a
7. ff. 61v–62r: Recipes added in two different hands. English
8. ff. 62r–v: Recipe for apostolicon cirugicum in Latin. This may be the beginning of an incomplete treatise or compilation, as it is in a well-executed Anglicana formata, with a 2-line initial <A>
9. f. 62v: Three recipes in two different contemporary hands
10. ff. 63r–110r: *Antidotarium Nicholai* in Latin, including the prologue
11. ff. 95r–v: Remedy for wound in the head. *MWME* 287c
12. ff. 110v–113r: Dioscorides: *Quid pro quo*. Latin
13. ff. 113r–117r: *Nomina herbarum*. Latin/English synonyms of herbs
14. ff. 117r–118r: Petrus Hispanus: *Liber de aquis et primo de aqua preciosa herbarum*⁷¹
15. ff. 118r–v: French charm *Pur sanc etanger dites cest orison*
16. ff. 118v–168v: The following sections have been listed together as *MWME* 276
 - 16.1. ff. 118v–120v: Recipes for medicines. Latin and English, various hands

⁷¹ Singer 1928, 1068x, erroneously listed as 1608x.

- 16.2. ff. 121r–135v: Collection of medical recipes: Imperfect at the end. Contents list ff. 121r–124v. Includes a Saint Blase charm for web in the eye, *MWME* 365b, and a Magi charm for epilepsy. *MWME* 336a
- 16.3. ff. 136r–v: Recipes have been added in blank spaces
- 16.4. ff. 137r–154v: English recipes and charms. This collection probably follows on from 16. 1, as the numbering system continues and the hand is either the same or very similar. Includes the ‘Three brothers’ charm to heal wounds. *MWME* 343a
17. ff. 155r–168v Confectioners’/apothecaries’ recipes
18. ff. 169r–181v: Albertus Magnus: *Secreta* or *Experimenta* or *Liber aggregationis*, including a lapidary section and treatise describing various exotic animals. Latin
19. f. 181v: Johannes Paulinus: *De corio serpentis*. Latin
20. ff. 182v–183v: *Ludi veri regis Salomonis*. Various recipes, including one for gunpowder. Latin
21. ff. 183v–184v: Astronomical and necromantic text in Latin

Language

East Anglian. Analysed for *LALME*, but could not be analysed with sufficient precision to be entered into the published *Atlas*.

Provenance

Very little is known.

Marginal notes include:

f. 5: William Jermyn

f. 114v: Johannes Lundon

Other previous owners between 1579–1608 were various members of the family of Goodrich and Blagg⁷²

f. 61: 'Mary goodriche' in a later hand

f. 5: 'secundum Nicolaum de Spaldyng'⁷³

f. 135v: 'qui scripsit sit benedictus: Amen quod Litlington. Iste liber constat Nicholas Spalding'. Belonged to John Covel

Signs of use

As well as the marginal names, there are a large number of recipes inserted at various spaces in the manuscript in a number of hands:

ff. 136r–v: Mixed recipes added in various hands

f. 29r: Much of the text has been crossed out and written again below in a much later hand

Related Manuscripts

MWME 116: SI 340; BLA

MWME 276

MWME 287a: Ha 1600; W408; SI 521

MWME 287c: SI 521; York

MWME 336a: Ha 1600; W542; SI 521

MWME 343a: SI 706

MWME 365b: Rawl D (similar)

⁷² Singer 1928 vol. 3, no. 1040.

⁷³ Spalding is in Lincolnshire, about 25 miles west of King's Lynn.

British Library Harley MS 2390

The Manuscript

Date	s. xv
Dimensions	148 x 211 mm approx. Frame ruling 106 x 151 mm approx.
Collation	i (mod) + i (paper) + 161 + i (paper) + iii (mod). I ¹² (1, 2 wanting) II–IX ¹² X ¹⁰ XI ¹² XII ¹⁶ (+1; 9 ins.) XIII ¹⁰ (+1; 11 ins.) XIV ⁶ (-1; 6 wanting. Most of 5 torn out)
Material	Paper

Script and decoration

Hand A: . pp. 1–161:	Broad sprawling Anglicana which degenerates. Red colour (except where indicated) touching and paragraph marks in the same hand
Hand B: pp. 146r–156:	Poorly executed smaller hybrid hand

Contents⁷⁴

- pp. 1–30: Treatise on weights and measures. Begins imperfectly. Latin
- pp. 35–44: *Regimen sanitatis*. Latin
- pp. 45–48: Monthly regimen. Latin
- pp. 49–101: *Speculum medicine*. Latin
- pp. 102–111: *De conferentibus atque nocentibus capiti*. Dietary. Latin⁷⁵

⁷⁴ The manuscript is paginated.

⁷⁵ Similar to those ascribed to Arnald of Villanova, Johannis de Toletto or Bernard of Gordon. See Braekman 1986, 65–66.

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 6. pp. 111–16: | Herbal. Latin |
| 7. p. 117 | Names of materia medica. Latin |
| 8. p. 118: | Recipes for plasters. Latin |
| 9. pp. 119–25 | Medical recipes: English and Latin |
| 10. pp. 126–42: | On medicinal simples and their virtues. Latin |
| 11. pp. 142–201 | Medical recipes in Latin, interspersed with the following: |
| 11.1. pp. 152, 160 | Grammatical ‘quaestiones’. English and Latin |
| 11.2. p. 166 | Latin charm against epilepsy |
| 12. p. 201 | On the creation of Adam. Latin |
| 13. pp. 202–6: | Recipes. English |
| 14. pp. 207–10: | Antidotary. Latin |
| 15. pp. 211–34 | Medicinal tract in English and Latin |
| 16. pp. 235–40 | Treatise on urines. Latin |
| 17. pp. 240–58 | Medicinal simples and medical and surgical recipes
English and Latin |
| 18. pp. 259–84: | Governance of Helthe (first 8 chapters only) ⁷⁶
<i>MWME</i> 259 |
| 19. pp. 285–88: | On the six non-naturals. Latin |
| 20. pp. 289–92: | Treatise on the theory of medicine. Latin |
| 21. pp. 293–322 | A book of medicines in English |

⁷⁶ A section of this treatise is edited in Braekman 1986, 47–8. Although Braekman says that this manuscript is in a ‘Northern dialect’ (1986, 46) it is clear from the language of the extract (e.g. ‘xulde’ for should, ‘qwat’ for what) that the text is in an East Anglian dialect.

Language

LALME pp. 59–72; 105–42 analysed

LP 4629 Grid 602 283 Norfolk

Signs of use

This was evidently once a much bigger book, as the beginning and end are both missing. Some marginal notes have been added, a number of which are in later hands.

Provenance

Unknown

f. 1r top margin: 'Ab amico Adamo Scotyer(?) 1596'

Related Manuscripts

MWME 259: S1 989

References

Kiernander 1980

British Library Royal MS 17. C. xv

The Manuscript

Date	1450–75
Dimensions	ff. 135. 145 x 210 mm
Collation	ii (mod) + ii + I ⁸ II ⁸ –V ⁸ ? ⁷⁷ VI ⁸ –X ⁸ XI ¹⁰ XII ⁶ XIII ¹⁰ XIV ⁶ XV ¹⁰ XVI ⁶ XVII ⁸ + iii + ii (mod).

The first section, containing the calendar and some blank ruled pages, may be a booklet. The main section of the book does not seem to be composed of booklets

Material	Parchment; quite thick and rough. On f. 114 there is the remnant of a tab used to indicate a section of the text
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Script and decoration

Two main hands.

Hand A: ff. 10v–117r:	Anglicana cursiva
Hand B: ff. 117v–137v:	Hand of John Raynar. Variable, slightly sprawling Secretary script. Occasional red initials
ff. 1r–5v:	Calendar with illuminated red and blue initials.
f. 9r:	Full page colour illustration of St Francis; poorly executed. Labelled 'ffryer'

⁷⁷ The binding is very tight in this section, and it is difficult to establish collation.

Contents⁷⁸

1. ff. 3r–7v: Calendar
2. ff. 10v–56v: Astrological texts:
 - 2.1. ff. 10r–18v: Treatise on the planets and the four complexions.
English
 - 2.2. ff. 19r–28r: Zodiacal lunary: ‘Off the xij synys’. *MWME* 115
 - 2.3. ff. 28v–41: Zodiacal lunary with biblical motifs
 - 2.4. f. 42r: Mention of a volvelle, but no evidence that one was ever present
3. ff. 43r–45r: Queen Isabel’s dietary. English. *MWME* 260⁷⁹
4. ff. 45r–46v: *De Phlebotomia*. Dietary, ascribed to Galen, in English.
MWME 291⁸⁰
5. ff. 47v–54r: *The Thirty Days of the Moon*. *MWME* 84
6. ff. 57r–117v: Mixed medical notes, including a section on urines, and recipes, including one for ‘gratia dei’ on f. 66r.
7. ff. 77r–84r: *The Vertues off Herbes*. *MWME* 236
8. ff. 117v–137r: English translation of the *Chirurgia Parva* of Lanfranc of Milan. *MWME* 248

Language

Both hands in similar language: Suffolk

LALME

LP 8440 Grid 613 273

⁷⁸ Manuscript foliation has been followed for convenience.

⁷⁹ See Braekman 1986, 61–82 for an edition of this text and list of related manuscripts.

⁸⁰ See Braekman 1986, 57–60 for a discussion of this text and related manuscripts.

Provenance

The second section of the book was written by John Raynar for John Winter:

f.117v: 'Her begynyth A nobyll tretys off surgery afftyr the doctryn and techeng off the nobilman lanefrank which was a doctor off the univercite off mylleyn drawyn off latyn in to Inglysch be me John Raynar. And for as mych that every man ys not expert to rede fysyk ne surgery as it stant after scole materes in latyn I the forseyd have drawn it in to Inglysch at the instans off my specyall lover and frende John Wyntyre as well as my sympill reson & wytt will helpe and satysfy'.

The book also belonged to John Theyer in the 17th century.

Signs of use

Some marginalia:

i¹: 'Fohei Theyer de Cowperhill inxta slone'

f.9: 'per me Franciscum Rede iunioem' (late 16th century)

Related Manuscripts

MWME 84

MWME 115

MWME 236: Pepys 1661; Stk X.90

MWME 248

MWME 260: W408

MWME 291: Ha 1735; Sl 442; Sl 521; York; HM 1336

British Library Sloane MS 340

The Manuscript

Date	s.xv
Dimensions	148 x 221 mm approx.
Collation	iii (mod) + i + 166 + iii (mod). I ²⁰ (1 loose, 20 lost?) ⁸¹ II ²⁰ III–IV ¹⁸ V ²² VI ¹⁸ (all loose and rebound) VII ¹⁸ VIII ¹² IX ¹⁸ X ²²
Material	Paper

Script and decoration

Five main hands:

ff. 1r–36r; 127r–164v:	Hand A: Neat Anglicana cursiva. Light brown ink. 2-line red initials and red colour touches
ff. 36v–38v:	Hand B: Very small neat Anglicana cursiva. No decoration
ff. 38r–78v; 81r–98v:	Hand C: Variable Anglicana cursiva with some Secretary influence
ff. 99r–117v:	Hand D: Small mixed hand
ff. 117v–126v:	Hand E: Similar to D, but less careful, and a wider nib used

Contents

1. ff. 1r–34v: Nicholas Brekendale's lapidary treatise. Latin
2. ff. 35r–36r: Seventy-seven verses on women. Latin

⁸¹ Possibly 18 folios with one inserted.

3. ff. 36v–38v: Anatomy treatise. Latin
4. ff. 39r–63v: Henry Daniel's *Liber Uricrisiarum*. (fragment).
MWME 300
5. ff. 63v–65r: Astrological treatise. Latin
6. ff. 65v–70r: A treatise of medicine and surgery, entitled *Manuale de phisica & cirurgia*.⁸² The first section explains physic and surgery, and the second, on ff. 66r–70r is entitled *Of qualities elementis & humores*. English and Latin
7. ff. 70r–73r: Antidotarium. Latin
8. ff. 73r–74r: Treatise on the colours of urines. Latin and English
9. ff. 74r–75v: Prognostications based on New Year's Day.
MWME 119h
10. ff. 75v–78v: *The book of ypocras of deth and of byf*. *MWME* 116
ff. 79 and 80 are insertions, written in a much later hand
11. ff. 81r–98v: Medical and surgical remedies in Latin and English
12. ff. 99r–v: Astrological medicine. Latin
13. ff. 100r–115r: Latin medical recipes
An English recipe has been added in a contemporary hand at the bottom of f. 114v
14. ff. 115v–117r: Recipe book, with a verse preface, *MWME* 265 and prose epilogue, *MWME* 266
15. ff. 117r–126v: *Curiacione cirorgiales*. Surgical recipes in Latin
16. ff. 127v–166v: Macer; *De viribus herbarum*. Latin
f. 166v is a table of contents for the Macer text

⁸² Title added in a different hand.

Language

LALME ff. 39–83; 92r–93r; 94v–95r; 115v–116r analysed

LP: 8450 Grid: 606 266 Suffolk

Provenance

Unknown

Signs of use

ff. 79v, 81r, 126v–127r are very dirty and almost impossible to read. Several leaves are damaged. ff 80 and 81 are annotated in a later hand (s.xvii?).

Related Manuscripts

MWME 116: BLA; Ha 2378

MWME 119h: Tanner 407

MWME 265: Ha 1600; W542

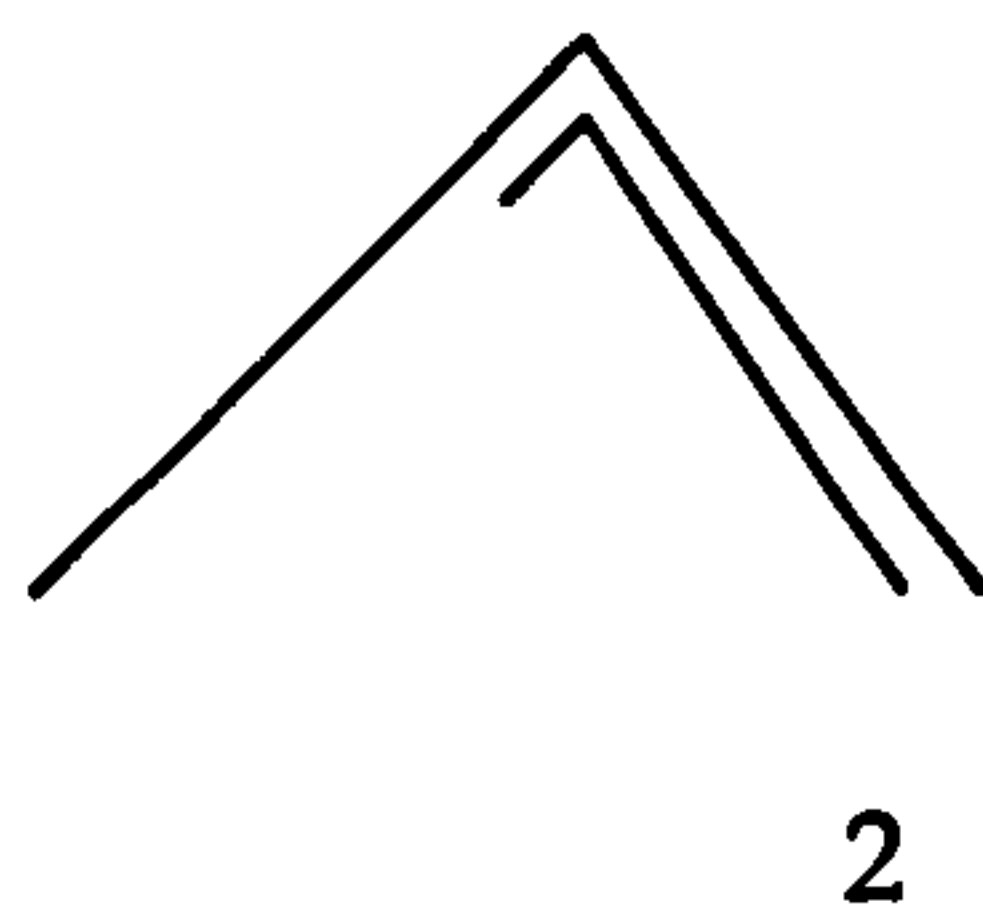
MWME 266: Ha 1600; W542

MWME 300

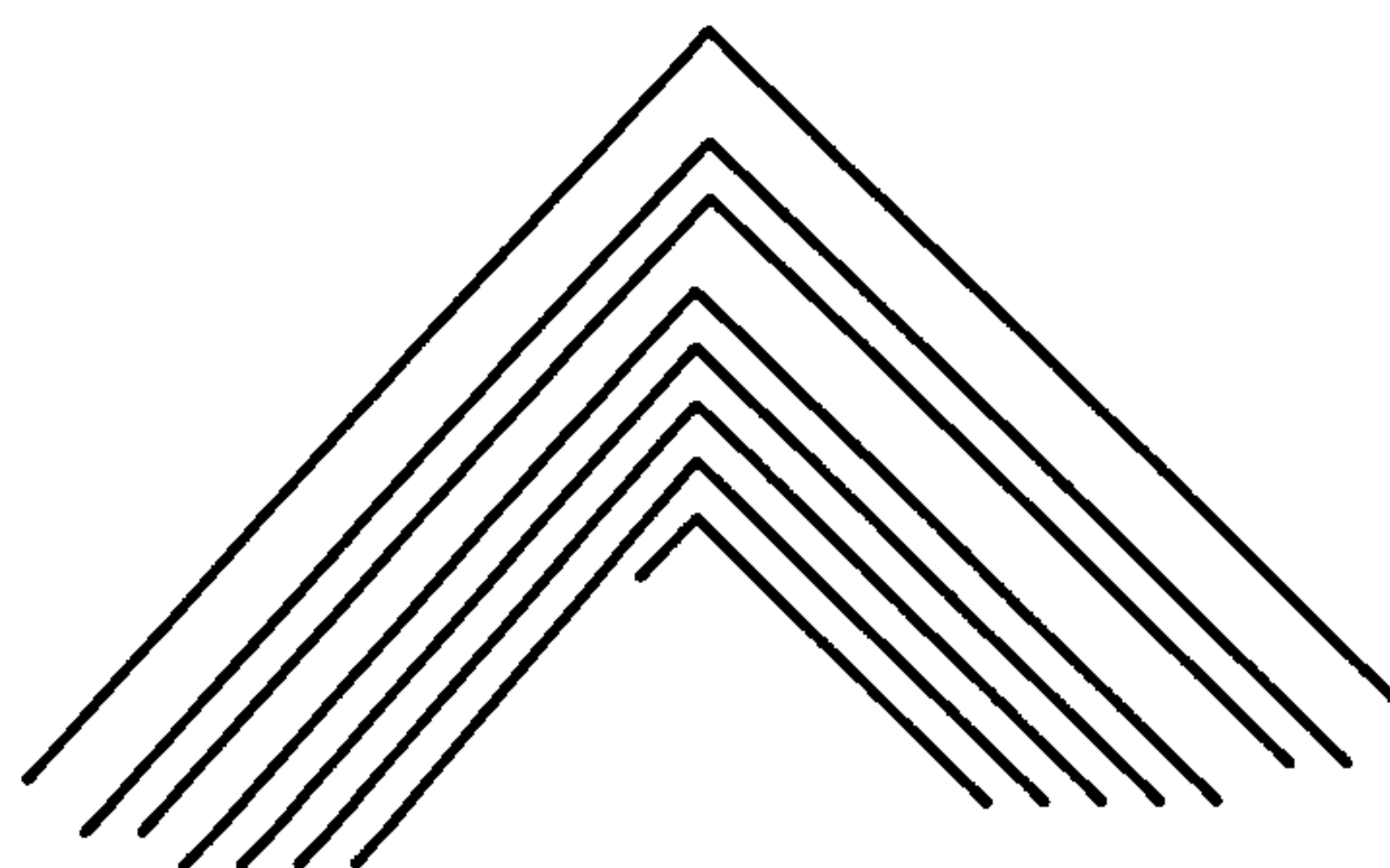
British Library Sloane MS 442

The Manuscript

Date	s.xv ²
Dimensions	ff. 84. 205 x 280 mm approx.
Collation	Composite manuscript: compiled from many booklets in the late fifteenth century. iii (mod) + ii + 74 + i + iv (mod). I ² (+1; 2 ins.) II ⁶ III ³ IV ⁶ V ⁸ VI ⁶ VII ⁸ VIII ⁸ IX ¹⁶ (-1; 5 lost; most of 6 lost) X ⁸ XI ³



I



IX

Material

Paper: the parchment flyleaves are probably the original outer covers, as they are very dirty and stiff.

Script and decoration

Hand A: ff. 6r–23r;

35r–40v;

43r–66v:

Small cursive Secretary with right slanting ductus.

Elaborate capitals, and a very distinctive capital <A>

Several changes of ink. In later sections the titles are written in Bastard Anglicana, and there are scribal marginal notes in Bastard Secretary. Hand degenerates a little towards the end.

- Hand B: ff. 23r–25v: Upright Anglicana
- Hand C: ff. 25v–28r;
32v–34v,
38v: Sprawling Secretary; addition of odd recipes and notes
- Hand D: ff. 28v–32r: Anglicana cursiva; writing slants up the page towards the right
- Hand E: ff. 67r–77v: Neat upright Secretary
- Decoration:
- f. 36r: Zodiac and vein man. Drawn in pen and ink with red labels and indicating lines
- f. 36v: Astrological/bloodletting chart. Ink and rubrication
- f. 37r: Circular chart, possibly a prognosticatory sphere
Yellow and black ink
- ff. 41r–42v: Urine flasks in various stages of completeness:
f. 41 badly damaged; f. 41r: Two complete (ink, rubrication and yellow colouring) with commentaries written in. Four more have been drawn, coloured and labelled
f. 41v: At least seven drawn and labelled. Colours labelled but not filled in

f. 42r: Five drawn and labelled. Yellow colour filled in, but no red outlining

f. 42v: Six drawn in pen and ink but unfinished

Contents

1. Medical and other recipes on flyleaves:

- 1.1. f. 3r: 'Cooking for kny3tnys tabylle & kyngges tabylle'. Culinary recipes
- 1.2. f. 3v: Medical recipes
2. ff. 4r–6r: Rules for grafting and planting. *MWME* 436b
3. ff. 6v–25r: 'An ordinance of pottage': culinary recipes, *MWME* 398a, including extracts from 'Diuersa seruisa'. *MWME* 390b
4. f. 25v: Medical and surgical recipes. English and Latin
5. f. 26r: Draft of a letter concerning a debt, mentioning 'Robart Browke, parson of Stanbryhge, John Fannyng and Robertt Ambroce'
6. ff. 27r–v: Prices of drugs
7. ff. 28r–35r: Medical recipes and the properties of medicines. Latin and English
8. ff. 35v–36r: Bloodletting tract. Latin and English
9. ff. 36v–37v: Astrological notes in Latin and English
10. ff. 38r–40v: Gilbertus Anglicus *Compendium Medicinae*. Incomplete.⁸³
MWME 254

⁸³ Getz notes that this manuscript contains 'the first pages up to the recipe for compound oxymel. It then has scraps from the chapter on apostem to the kidneys' (1991, lxvi n. 90).

11. ff. 41r–42v: Urine tract: ‘Quedam de urinis’. Latin. Mutilated and incomplete
12. ff. 43r–47v: Recipe book, *MWME* 264, prefaced with seventeen verses on medicine on f. 43r. *MWME* 265
13. ff. 48r–61r: Medical recipes. English
14. ff. 61v–63r: Dietary ascribed to Galen.⁸⁴ *MWME* 291
15. ff. 63r–66r: Mixed Latin and English recipes
16. f. 67v–77v: Surgery treatise, damaged and incomplete at the end. Latin
17. f. 78r: Fragment of a Latin hymn together with musical notation
18. f. 78r: The incipit of a Latin antidotarium, now lost

Language

LALME ff. 1r–66v (except ff. 28v–31v line 5)

LP 6021 Grid 590 192 Essex

LALME I, 223 ff. 28v–31v line 5

Language: SE Suffolk or NE Norfolk⁸⁵

Provenance

Owned by Walter Slingsby. On f. 26r the draft of a letter refers to ‘ye persone of Stanbryhge’. There are two Stanbridges in Essex.

⁸⁴ See Braekman 1986, 57–60 for a discussion of this text and related manuscripts.

⁸⁵ This is as printed in *LALME*, but seems likely to be a misprint; the SE and NE should probably be reversed.

Signs of use

A large number of stains and splashes throughout. Several recipes added in fifteenth-century hands

Related Manuscripts

MWME 254: Hu 509; Ha 2375⁸⁶

MWME 264: Ha 1600; W542

MWME 265: Ha 1600; Sl 340; W542

MWME 291: Ha 1735; Royal 17C; Sl 521; York

MWME 390b

MWME 398a

MWME 436b

⁸⁶ This manuscript is not listed in *MWME*. See Getz 1991, xii.

British Library Sloane MS 521

The Manuscript

Date	s.xiv–s.xv
Dimensions	ff. 294. 80 x 123 mm approx.
Collation	ii (mod) + iii (paper) + 275 (parchment) + 12 paper + ii (mod). Binding is too tight to establish collation. The manuscript seems to have been constructed in three booklets: 1: ff. 1r–188v 2: ff. 189r–197v 3: ff. 198r–275v.

Material	Parchment except for the following: ff. 1, 2 paper, '204–219' blank paper inserts, '298–299' paper inserts. Foliation incorrect. The paper inserts seem to have been added for the purpose of making further notes under alphabetical headings.
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Script and decoration

Booklet 1

ff. 8r–188v:	Tiny neat hybrid Secretary/Anglicana Alternate red and blue initials and paraph marks. f. 39r: sphere begun in red but left unfinished. Pages cropped
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Booklet 2

ff. 189r–197v:	Added recipes in various contemporary hands
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Booklet 3

- ff. 198r–232r: Small neat Anglicana formata
Two line red initials at the start of each section. Red
paraph marks and underlined headings in text
- ff. 232r–273r: Smaller Anglicana formata, slightly inconsistent
Decoration as for ff. 198r–232r
- ff. 239r–239v: Anglicana, slightly more cursive than the other hands
in this section. Pale brown ink. Decoration as for ff.
198r and 232r

Contents**Booklet 1**

1. ff. 3r–8r: Medical recipes
2. ff. 8r–20r: *Breve nominale phisicorum*. Latin
3. ff. 20v–23r: *Breve nominale Sarracenorum sive Graecorum*. Latin
4. ff. 23r–25r: Alphabetical herbal synonyma
5. f. 25r: Nineteen verses on the art of medicine. Latin
6. ff. 25r–45r: Aegidius Corbeiensis: *De urinarum judiciis*, together
with a commentary by Gentilis de Fulgineo. Latin
7. ff. 45r–46r: Astrologia. Latin
8. ff. 46r–75r: Petrus Hispanus' *Thesaurus Pauperum*. Latin⁸⁷
9. f. 75r: On the dosing of medicines. Latin
10. ff. 75r–76r: Alchemical preparations. Latin
11. ff. 76v–80r: Medical recipes. Latin

12. ff. 80r–86r: On the preparation of oils and unguents
13. ff. 86r–123r: *Johannis Damasceni*: Medical tract in six books
14. ff. 123r–124r: Formulae for medicines. Latin
15. ff. 124r–128r: *Tractatus de conferentibus et nocentibus*. Dietary. Latin
16. ff. 128r–159r: Johannis Braye: *Practica Medicinae*
17. ff. 159v–160r: Johannis Braye: *Pillule*
18. ff. 160r–187r: Arnald Villanova: *Surgery*. Latin
19. ff. 187r–188r: Index to previous items
- Booklet 2**
20. ff. 189r–196v: Medicinal and other recipes
- f. 197 blank
- Booklet 3**
21. ff. 198v–267r: Recipes. Indexed by *MWME* as ‘Sloane 521 recipes’,
MWME 278. The collection includes:
- 21.1. ff. 198r–232r: Medical recipes. English. This collection includes a
 recipe for the surgical anaesthetic ‘dwale’ (ff. 226v–
 227r), *MWME* 287a
22. ff. 232v–257r: Collection of medical recipes. English (Imperfect)
IPMEP 286.⁸⁸ This text also includes two charms:
- 22.1.1. f. 253v: *Maria peperit Cristum* charm for difficult childbirth.
 MWME 347

⁸⁷ See Thorndike 1923 II, 488–516 for the life and works of Petrus Hispanus, together with a list of some of the manuscripts of the *Thesaurus Pauperum* (1923 II, 514–6).

⁸⁸ The collection as a whole is not listed in *MWME*.

- 22.1.2. f. 255v: Magi charm against epilepsy. *MWME* 336a
- 22.2. ff. 257b–261r: Medical and surgical recipes, arranged *de capite ad pedem*. On ff. 257v–258v there is a remedy for wound in the head (*MWME* 287c),⁸⁹ and a charm to heal a wound with a plate of lead on ff. 260r–v, *MWME* 346
- 22.3. ff. 261b–267r: Preparation of salves and ointments. English
23. ff. 267b–268v: *De Phlebotomia of Galen. MWME* 291⁹⁰
24. f. 268b: Powder for the stone
25. ff. 269r–271r: Astrological tract: *De natura planetarum etc.* Latin
26. f. 271b: The virtues and preparation of Gracia Dei. English.
27. f. 272r–273r: Charm to Saint William. *MWME* 345
28. ff. 273r–275v: Medical recipes added in a later hand

Language

LALME I, 223

Hand A (ff. 198r–232r): SE Norfolk

Hand B (ff. 232r–273r): Norfolk; virtually the same language as Hand A, St

John's College MS 163, though the hands are different.

Provenance

Owned by Gabriel Gostwyk, possibly in the sixteenth century

⁸⁹ See Benskin 1985.

Signs of use

Notes and recipes added in various hands.

Related Manuscripts

MWME 278

MWME 287a: Ha 1600; Ha 2378; W408

MWME 287c: Ha 2378; York

MWME 291: Ha 1735; Royal 17C; Sl 442; York; HM 1336

MWME 336a: Ha 1600; Ha 2378; W542

MWME 345: BLA; Stk. X.90; Hu 117; SJC⁹¹

MWME 346: Stk. X.90; Hu 117; SJC⁹²

MWME 347: BLA

⁹⁰ See Braekman 1986, 57–60 for a discussion of this text and related manuscripts.

⁹¹ The last two manuscripts are not listed in *MWME* 345.

⁹² The last two manuscripts are not listed in *MWME* 346.

British Library Sloane MS 706

The Manuscript

Date	s. xv
Dimensions	140 x 215 mm approx. Writing space 100 x 160 mm approx.
Collation	Constructed in booklets. iii (mod) + 179 + ii + iii (mod) (Catalogue ff. 181, but this includes original flyleaves). Four leaves have been torn out between ff. 170 and 171. f. 87 may be an insertion. The collation is difficult to establish. A possible reconstruction is as follows: I ¹⁰ II ¹⁰ III–IX ¹⁰ X ⁴ XI ⁸ (+1; 9 ins?) XII ⁴ XIII ⁸ XIV ⁴ XV ⁸ XVI–XVII ⁸ XVIII ⁴ XIX ¹² XX ^{6?} XXI ^{10?} XXII ^{6?} Foliation is faulty.
Material	Parchment. The parchment flyleaves were originally part of a document, written in Latin, and dating from the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.

Script and decoration

- ff. 1r–89v: Hand A: Secretary script with Anglicana influences, such as <w>. Well written. At the bottom of f. 20r there is a rubric in Bastard Anglicana.
- ff. 89v–93v: Hand B: Large Secretary script, written with a broad-nibbed pen. Title written in Bastard Anglicana.

ff. 95r–147v: Hand C: Anglicana script. Begins as Anglicana formata, but gradually degenerates to Anglicana cursiva.

ff. 148r–179v: Hand D: Secretary script with some Anglicana features. A little cramped, and adheres less to the ruled frame.

Decoration the same throughout; restricted to the occasional 2-line red initial and red paragraph marks.

Contents⁹³

Booklet 1

1. f. 2r–4v: Treatise on urines; imperfect at the beginning
2. f. 4v–20r: English translation of a commentary on Aegidius Corboliensis' treatise on urines
3. f. 20v: Medical recipes in a later hand

Booklet 2

4. f. 21r–93v: English translation of *De medicinis simplicibus* of Johannes Platearius, also known as *Circa instans*⁹⁴
5. f. 95r: Short treatise on diet ascribed to Hippocrates (incomplete). French⁹⁵
6. f. 96v: *De minor infirmitatibus corporum*. Treatise on the diseases of the body. English

⁹³ The red manuscript foliation is followed here.

⁹⁴ See *MWME* p. 3641 and p. 3643.

⁹⁵ Listed in the Sloane *Index* under 'Hippocrates: Le liures que io Ypocras enoiai a cesar'. According to Pearl Kibre (1982, 166), no Latin version of this text has been found. She describes the prologue, which suggests that the material was presented to Caesar, as 'spurious' (1982, 166).

7. ff. 97v–100r: Of pulses
8. ff. 100r: Herbal: 'For to knowe the ix sauge leuys'
9. ff. 100v–103r: Tract on bloodletting
10. f. 103r–v: Astrological treatise. English
11. ff. 104r–106v: John of Burgundy's *Treatise against the pestilence*. *MWME* 305
12. ff. 107r–127v: Recipes arranged in *de capite ad pedem* order. English
13. ff. 128r–134v: Recipes for the preparation of medicinal waters. English
14. ff. 135r–138r: Recipes for the preparation of medicinal oils. English
15. ff. 138v–147v: Recipes for the preparation of medicinal salves. English
16. ff. 148r–172r: Miscellaneous medical recipes and directions, generally ordered *de capite ad pedem*. Includes on f. 157v a 'Three Good Brothers' charm to heal wounds, *MWME* 343a
17. ff. 127v–179v: Treatise on gathering herbs. *MWME* 246

Language

Not listed in *LALME*. See Beadle 1991. East Anglian; use of the distinctive 'xalt' for *shall*.

Signs of use

The final parchment flyleaf is very dirty and battered, and may have served as an outer cover for some time. f. 5 is almost entirely torn out and has a modern repair.

Provenance

May have belonged to William Malore. On f. 178r. bottom margin: 'Wylliam malore' is written in a fifteenth century hand. William Malore is noted in the *Sloane Index* as being 'of Hutton Conyers, Co. York'. The manuscript was also previously owned by John Cotton (*Sloane Index*, 125).

Related Manuscripts

MWME 246

MWME 305: **Pepys 878; NLM; Countway 19**

MWME 343a: **Ha 2378**

British Library Sloane MS 989

The Manuscript

Date	1400–1450
Dimensions	72 x 92 mm approx. Writing frame 52 x 70 mm approx.
Collation	ii (mod paper) + ii (parchment) + 136 + ii (parchment) + 2 (paper). Foliation begins at 2. Binding is too tight to establish quiring.
Material:	Membrane of originally good quality. Initial flyleaves probably part of a medieval charter. Final flyleaves are from a liturgical text printed on paper.

Script and decoration One hand throughout. Small neat Bastard

Anglicana. f. 1r (foliated as f. 2) has an illuminated 3 line initial <I>, now very faded. Red and blue paraph marks and spaces left for further coloured or decorated initials.

Contents⁹⁶

1. ff. 1r–33v: *The Governal of Helthe.*⁹⁷ MWME 259

⁹⁶ See MWME, p. 3597

⁹⁷ Kiermader notes of Sloane MS 989: 'The state of the text in this manuscript is very interesting. It is obviously from the same original translation as the text in the other manuscripts (the wording in general is too close to theirs to be coincidental), but at times it departs quite radically from the text of the other manuscripts, and there is some evidence that these departures may be an attempt, albeit clumsily, at a revision of the translation with the help of a Latin version. For the most part the alterations to the text are inaccurate, repetitive or redundant additions, but occasionally this manuscript has a word or phrase

2. ff. 34r–35v: *Versus de scola Salerni*. Latin
3. ff. 35v–39v: Regimen. *How a man schuld kepe bisib the iiii times of þe yeer*. English
4. ff. 39v–45v: Theoretical medicine. *Wherof a man is made*. English
5. ff. 45v–51v: Bloodletting tract. English
6. ff. 51v–55v: Perilous days for bloodletting. English
7. ff. 55v–72r: Lunary: *The dispositions of the XXXti dayes of the mone*.
MWME 111
8. ff. 72r–126r: Astrological treatise. English
9. ff. 126r–127r: Prose treatise on lucky and unlucky days. MWME
118
10. f. 129r: New Year's and Christmas Day prognostications:
Christmas Day, prose. MWME 119d
11. ff. 131r–132v: Thunder prognostications. MWME 122b

Language

East Anglian. Analysed for *LALME* but could not be localised with sufficient accuracy to be included in the published *Atlas*.

Provenance

f. 136v has the inscription 'Elizabeth Toms 1651'. No further provenance information is known.

Related Manuscripts

MWME 111

which corresponds exactly to the Latin version but is not in the other reliable manuscripts, and in one of these places the wrong reading in the other manuscripts is the result not of

MWME 118: HM 1336; York

MWME 119d: York

MWME 122b: HM 1336

MWME 259: Ha 2390

scribal error but of an original mistranslation' (1980).

Wellcome Historical Medical Library MS 408

The Manuscript

Date	c. 1450–1550 ⁹⁸
Dimensions	ff. 116. 210 mm x 140 mm (except for ff. 71–85, which are written on smaller sheets, 195 x 135 mm, c. 1500)
Collation	Constructed in booklets. iiii (Parchment. Fragments of Latin text, double-columned, perpendicular to book) + 107 + v (as first flyleaves). I ¹⁴ II ¹⁶ III ¹⁶ IV ⁸ V ⁸ VI ⁸ VII ¹⁴ VIII ¹⁰ . The final quire has several insertions and it is difficult to establish the quiring of this section. Slips have been inserted after f. 92 and f. 100. Sections of the MS have been rebound in the wrong order
Material	Paper

Script and decoration

- ff. 1r–14v: Neat cursive Anglicana-Secretary hybrid, with distinctive elegant capitals within the lines, broad strokes, 1-line red initials, underlining and colour touching
- ff. 15v; 16r–20r, 21r–24r; 79r–86v and additional notes on various pages:
Untidy Secretary hand. The use of different inks suggest that it was added to over time

⁹⁸ There are various hands in this manuscript which date from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

- ff. 25r–46v: Very small cursive Secretary hand
- ff. 47r–70r: Neat Secretary hand
- f. 70v: Possibly the same hand as previous leaves, but much more quickly written and more cursive
- ff. 71r–79r: Small neat but variable Secretary hand
- ff. 79r–107v: Various hands have added recipes

Contents

Booklet 1

1. ff. 1r–v: *De urinis*, missing the beginning. Latin
2. ff. 1v–4r: William Kylinghale: *Coloures urinarum*. Latin
3. ff. 4r–7r: William Bokynham: *Coloures urinarum*. Latin and English
4. ff. 7r–13r: William Bokynham: *De urinis*. Latin and English
5. ff. 13v–14v: *The Dietary of Queen Isabella*. English. MWME 260

Booklet 2

f. 15r blank

6. f. 15v: Non-alphabetical table of contents
7. ff. 16r–20r: Alphabetical table of contents
8. ff. 21r–24r: Medical recipes in English
9. ff. 25r–42r: Recipes for suppositories, clysters etc. in Latin
10. ff. 43r–107r: Medical recipes. Mainly in English, with a few in Latin, including, on f. 66v, a recipe entitled ‘Contra mortem subitaneam in Anglia regnantem anno regni Regis Henrici septimi primo’ (1485)
 - 10.1. f. 47v: Recipe for dwale, a surgical anaesthetic. MWME 287a

11. ff. 71r–75r: *Nomina infirmitatum instrumentorum et medicinarum*. A Latin English glossary of medical terms
12. f. 81v: A receipt for the purchase of a house: ‘Memorandum quod I haue payd for the Hows that I bowth of Jon ffende (?) ffurst payment ii marks and x shillings to ye grey friars’
13. f. 94v: ‘Pro memoria admendanda secundum cuiusdam doctoris hispanici medicentis (?) bristollie’. Medical notes in Latin

Added recipes on ff. 106v and 107r

Language

Not listed in *LALME*

Provenance

The manuscript has associations with Norwich Cathedral Priory. The incipit to the text on ff. 1v–4r reads ‘Hic incipiunt colores urinarum quibus magister Willelmus Kylinghale doctor physice usus fuit tempore suo’. *MPME* 405.⁹⁹

ff. 4r–7r ‘Hic incipiunt colores urinarum per Willelmum bokynhamum de bononia doctorem physice ac cardinalem Romane ecclesie’. Moorat suggests that this line, which suggests that Bokynham was a cardinal, is an error, and should perhaps read ‘ad cardinali’. (Moorat 1962, 277). Bokynham’s second work, on ff. 7r–13r, has the following incipit: ‘Hic incipit quidam tractatus de urinis compilatus per Willelmum Bokynhamum. ecclesie Catholice sancte trinitatis Norwici monachum’.

A William Bokynham is listed in *MPME* (p. 386) from this manuscript, who was a monk at Norwich Cathedral Priory: ‘there was a William Bokynham who incepted

⁹⁹ This manuscript only.

at Oxford 1479–80, and it may be the same man'. Lidaka asserts that 'the claim that he incepted at Oxford is erroneous' (1998, 34).

Signs of use

Flyleaves badly damaged, many leaves stained and damaged

f. 97v: The date 1533 is written in the margin.

Related Manuscripts

MWME 260: Royal 17C

MWME 287a: Ha 1600; Ha 2378; Sl 521

References

Moorat 1962, 276–77

Wellcome Historical Medical Library, MS 542

The Manuscript

Date	1400–25
Dimensions	ff. 131. 300 x 195 mm approx.
Collation:	vi (modern parchment) + 119 + vi (as before). Binding is too tight to establish the quiring. A number of leaves have been lost.
Material	Parchment of reasonably fine quality. Holes have been stitched in several places, such as ff. 64 and 68.

Script and decoration

Same hand throughout. Very neat Anglicana/Secretary hybrid (single-lobed <a>, but Anglicana <w> and 8-shaped <g>). Hand becomes slighter smaller and neater as the text progresses, with more evidence of Anglicana features.

f. 1r. rubric in textura, as are the running titles of the following recipe collection.

First initial T evidently intended to be a three line initial, but is incomplete. No other decoration apart from rubricated initials and textura rubrics. On f. 101r space has been left for a nine line miniature; not likely to be an initial, as the <A> of the first word 'Apud' is there.

Contents

1. ff. 1r–20v: f.1 r: Preface to remedy books. *MWME* 265. English and Latin recipes and charms, *MWME* 264, including:
 - 1.1. f. 4r: Wafer charm against fevers: *Pater est Alpha*. *MWME* 339b
 - 1.2. f. 6r: St Tobias charm for a hawe in the eye. *MWME* 376b

- 1.3. f. 9r: Flum Jordan charm to staunch bleeding. *MWME* 328
- 1.4. f. 10v: Herbal charm 'to know whether a sick person shall live or die'. *MWME* 376h
- 1.5. f. 12r: Charm for lack of sleep in sickness. *MWME* 376f
- 1.6. f. 13r: Wafer charm against fevers: *El, Ehe, Sabaoth*. *MWME* 339a
- 1.7. f. 13v: Magi charm against epilepsy. *MWME* 336a
- 1.8. f. 14v: 'Five wounds of Christ' charm to heal wounds. *MWME* 34
- 1.9. ff. 14v–15r: Charm of Saint Susan. *MWME* 344
- 1.10. f. 15v: 'God was born in Bethlehem' charm against thieves. *MWME* 351c
- 1.11. f. 17v: Sage-leaf charm against fevers. *MWME* 338
- 1.12. f. 18r–v: Recipes for Gracia Dei, one of which cites Lady Beauchamp 'þe erlys wyf of warewyk' as using it, and another 'That þe god erle of hereford usid þat was a nobyl surgean'. The third has the note: 'And þis usit Robert fermorie of kenylworth'
- 1.13. f. 20v: Epilogue to remedy books. *MWME* 266
2. ff. 21r–65v: Constantinus Africanus: *Viaticum* (incomplete). Latin
3. ff. 65v–66r: Pseudo-Galen: *De passionibus puerorum*. Latin
4. ff. 66r–72r: Averroes: *Anatomia*. Latin
5. ff. 72r–75v: Ricardus Anglicus: *Anatomia*. Latin
6. ff. 76r–79r: Medical notes on bloodletting, pulses, urines etc. Latin
7. ff. 79v–101r: *Experimenta secreta et experta*: collection of medical recipes. Latin
8. ff. 101r–108r: Zacharias Salernitanus: *De passionibus oculorum*. Latin
9. ff. 109r–119v: Alphabetical herbal synonyma. *MWME* 247e:
- 9.1. ff. 109r–117v: Latin/English glossary of materia medica

9.2. ff. 118r–119v: Latin/English/French glossary of materia medica
(incomplete)

f. 108v originally blank; notes added later

Language

LALME I, 224.

English to f. 20v. Language apparently of NW Norfolk, but with signs of admixture.

Provenance

Very little is known. The manuscript was evidently in the possession of Peter Sheard in 1609. Bought from the library of William Frazer of Dublin, 14th March 1900, Lot 394.

Signs of use

f. 20v Main hand: an English recipe: 'For to make gyngyrbred'

f. 21r stained and damaged; probably bound separately

f. 24v marginal note. Late hand 'petrus Shearde possessor huius Liber [sic] 1609

f. 64. Hole originally stitched. Thread missing

f. 68. Holes stitched

f. 75r. Peter Sheard – hand as above

f. 92r marginal note in slightly later hand: John Shard

f. 108r. bottom margin. Peter Shearde his Booke off Rose 1609 1609 (on line below)

f. 108v originally blank. Later hand: 1620. A table which contayneth All the mater of the English writen [sic] medicins [sic] before in this Booke 1620. The same hand lists 12 recipes, and the rest of the page is blank.

f. 110v is blank, and the text continues with 'C' on f. 111r. It seems that each letter was intended to start on a different page. It is evidently incomplete, as there is a catchword at the end of f. 119v.

The pages are a little dirty, but there are few clear signs of use, apart from the ubiquitous Peter Sheard. There are odd marginal notes in contemporary and later hands, sometimes giving the English titles to Latin recipes.

Related Manuscripts

MWME 247e

MWME 264: Ha 1600; Sl 442

MWME 265: Ha 1600

MWME 266: Ha 1600

MWME 328: Stk X. 90

MWME 336a: Ha 1600; Ha 2378

MWME 338: Ha 1600

MWME 339a: Ha 1600; BLA

MWME 339b: Ha 1600

MWME 342: Ha 1600

MWME 344 Ha 1600

MWME 351c: Ha 1600

MWME 376b: Ha 1600

MWME 376f

MWME 376h: Ha 1600

References

Moorat 1962, 400–2

Cambridge University Library Dd. xi. 45

The Manuscript

Date	s.xv, c. 1445
Dimensions	ff. 144. 136 x 218 mm
Collation	I ¹² (wants 1) II ¹⁴ III ¹² –VII ¹² VIII ¹² (wants 1–4, 6–7, 9–12) IX ²⁰ X ¹² (wants 1, 2) XI ¹⁶ XII ¹⁶ (wants 10–16). (1 mod) i + 142 (out of 160; 85–88, 90, 91, 93–96, 117, 118, 154–160 lost) (+1 mod) ¹⁰⁰
Material	Paper, except for three parchment leaves in quire XII.

Script and decoration

Booklet 1

ff. 1r–127v: A: Small, very cursive, well-written Secretary

ff. 129r–133v: B: Small very cursive Anglicana

Booklet 2

ff. 133v–134r; 140r–144v: C: Large splayed Anglicana; some Secretary influence in ductus, nib shape and angle, but Anglicana letter forms

ff. 134r–134v D: Similar to A, but more upright ductus; clearer, more spaced out and less cursive

ff. 145r–153v E: Neat Anglicana, rubric in Anglicana formata

¹⁰⁰ Lidaka notes that the pages were numbered after quire 1 lost 2 leaves but before 8 and 10 lost leaves (1998, 42).

Contents

1. ff. 1r–62v: *Thesaurus Pauperum*. Latin¹⁰¹
2. ff. 62v–80v: Gynaecological tract ascribed to Trotula. Latin.¹⁰²
3. ff. 80v–82r: Medical treatise: *Liber de necessariis ad differendum in practica necessaria ad differendum secundum practico*. Latin¹⁰³
4. ff. 82r–84v: Medical treatise: *Libellus magistri cardinalis docens purgare quatuor humores*. Latin¹⁰⁴
5. f. 84v: Johannes Stephanus: *De dosibus medcinarum*. Latin¹⁰⁵

On f. 89 there is part of a treatise, of the same layout as the surrounding texts, most of which has been lost.

6. ff. 89–92: Tract on the human body. Latin
 7. ff. 94–116v: Latin-English herbal synonyma, incomplete. *MWME* 247f¹⁰⁶
- ff. 100v and 102r are blank, and the English equivalents have not been filled in on ff. 103r–105r.
8. 119r–120v: Medical treatise: *Tenebrositas visus*. Latin¹⁰⁷

f. 119r starts with English recipes: ‘ffor a cold stomak’; ‘To make aqua tartary’; ‘ffor a man that hath lost his nature or els is [?] cold in hys body.’ The recipes on f. 119r are written in the same hand, with the same ink and same rubrication as the

¹⁰¹ TK 58.

¹⁰² TK 259 (This MS only).

¹⁰³ TK 495 (This MS only).

¹⁰⁴ TK 971 (3 other MSS).

¹⁰⁵ TK 599 (8 other MSS).

¹⁰⁶ This text is described by Hunt as ‘not entirely reliable, and appears to be a conflation of sources, hence the blank spaces that were intended to be filled and the duplication of quite a few entries’ (1989b, xxx).

¹⁰⁷ TK 1563 (This MS only).

Latin treatises which follow them. It seems likely that these are the end of a short collection which was on the missing folios 117 and 118

9. ff. 121r–128r: Bloodletting tract. *De Flebotomia*. Latin
10. f. 126v: English recipes; starting off in de capite ad pedem order
11. ff 129r–133v: Mixed Latin and English medical recipes¹⁰⁸
ff. 132v–133v are almost entirely in English, and remedies for gynaecological problems predominate
12. ff. 134r–139v: Magical treatise: *Liber de angelis annulis karacteribus et ymaginibus planetarum*. Latin¹⁰⁹
13. ff 140r–144v: Mixed Latin and English medical and alchemical recipes, quite possibly completing Hand C's earlier work
- 13.1. f. 142r: Draft of a letter, in English, written before the recipe text, as this has been pushed into the margins on this page¹¹⁰
14. ff 145r–153v: Incomplete Latin-English herbal synonyma. *MWME* 247f and 247g¹¹¹

Language

Most of the texts of this manuscript are not listed in *LALME*, but it was drawn to my attention as it contains a variety of East Anglian texts.¹¹² There are certainly

¹⁰⁸ TK 31 (This MS only).

¹⁰⁹ TK 1505. Edited in Lidaka 1998.

¹¹⁰ For discussion of this letter see McIntosh 1962, 237–38; Hamel 1990, 345–46 and Lidaka 1998, 33.

¹¹¹ TK 83 (also cf. TK 86). Hunt observes that 'On f. 145r/v the text is written out in long lines with the initial letter of each entry in red, but from f. 146r it is written in single columns alternating red and black (ink of the text) initials. The list ends incomplete at quinquenervia. The entries consist solely of Latin and English (occasionally French) synonyms without the designation gallice/anglice' (1989b, xxxi).

clear examples of East Anglian dialect amongst the recipes; for example, the <x> initial for 'shall' is found on f. 126v.

LALME ff. 131v–133v; 142r

LP 501 Grid 495 381 Lincs.

Signs of use

There are numerous signs of use, such as several marginal notes and a few odd stains. Examples include a pointing hand on f. 23v, marginal notes on ff 23v–24r (which is a section on 'colica passio'). There are also various notes on ff. 28 and 29. A very distinctive nota is found on ff. 38v, 39v and 40r. Some rather misshapen pointing hands are found on f. 45v, and different hands also on f. 58r. In the synonyma on f. 107v another hand has added another definition for *lupinus* ff. 129r–133v: Several contemporary non-scribal marginal notes. On f. 131v there is a pointing hand, initially drawn in black ink (not the same as that of the main text), which has been outlined again by the rubricator, thus suggesting that the rubrication is later than the main text, and occurred after the book had seen some use, if only by the rubricator himself (using dark ink). The hand points to the end of an English recipe and the beginning of the Latin. The marginal note in the same black ink as the original drawing implies that the hand is intended to indicate the Latin recipe.

f. 133v: Hand C has added an incomplete remedy for dropsy, and on f. 134r some odd Latin fragments

f. 140: Severely cropped

f. 142r: The letter is the only non-'scientific' text in the manuscript. It appears to be a draft version, written in a very small Secretary hand

¹¹² Dr Richard Beadle, personal communication, 1997.

at right angles to the page. As it is important for the date and location of the manuscript, this letter has received a good deal of interest, especially as it refers to ‘an Inglische buke es cald Morte Arthur’. It was evidently written before the notes and recipes which surround it, as the writer has had to fit his text around the letter. It also refers to a ‘John Salus’ of Lynn and ‘Syr William Cuke preste of Byllesbye’.

Provenance

At least two of the recipes are ascribed to Edmund Albon, who was a Royal Physician circa 1485 and had strong East Anglian connections.¹¹³ Lidaka (1998) has made a convincing argument against identifying either the author or scribe of the *Liber de Angelis* as the Suffolk Austin canon Osbern Bokenham. Notes throughout the text referring to ‘Bokenham’ suggest that someone of that name was either the author, or compiler, or both, but no firm conclusions can be drawn as regards the provenance of this manuscript on this evidence.¹¹⁴ The letter appears to be more promising. Unfortunately, it is unsigned, but the writer makes reference to staying at the house of John Salus at Lynn (McIntosh 1962, Hamel 1990). A William Coke is listed as a surgeon on Edward IV’s military expedition to France in 1475 (*MPME*, 391). Nothing more is known of him, except that his salary was that of a lesser skilled practitioner. Given that Hamel (1990) dates the letter on f. 142r to around 1445, it does not seem likely that Edward’s surgeon and ‘Syr William Cuke preste of Byllesbye’ were the same man.

¹¹³ I have speculated elsewhere in this thesis that Albon may have had connections with TCC. See p. 355.

¹¹⁴ A William Bokynham is the author of one of the texts in W408, but there is nothing further to connect him with this manuscript.

Related Manuscripts

MWME 247f

MWME 247g: **Pepys 1661**

Voigts has identified this manuscript as similar to those she has defined as the 'Sloane Group' (Voigts 1990; Lidaka 1998, 33). It is therefore likely to be related to **Countway 19** and other non-East Anglian manuscripts.

References

Lidaka 1998

Cambridge University Library, 1856

Cambridge University Library MS Ee.i.13

The Manuscript

Date	s.xv
Dimensions	ff. 150. Average page size: 140 x 200mm
Collation	ii + I–II ⁸ XIII–XIV ¹² XV ¹⁰ XVI ¹⁰ (wants 10) XVII ¹² (wants 12) ii.
	ff. 150 (out of 152: 140, 152 lost)
Material	Paper
Script and decoration	Various fifteenth-century hands
ff. 1r–90v:	Scribe A; small fairly neat Secretary hand
ff. 91r–96r:	Scribe B; small neat Secretary hand with upright ductus
ff. 97r–108v; 109r–124r; 131r–135v:	Scribe C; large splayed Secretary hand with Anglicana features e.g. 8-shaped <g>.
f. 109r:	Scribe D; large Secretary hand
ff. 129v–130v: (and notes within ff. 135v–138r).	Scribe E; large sprawling and virtually unreadable Secretary hand
ff. 135v–138v:	Scribe F; small neat Secretary hand (there are also additions by E. and other hands)
ff. 141r–142r:	Scribe G; Secretary hand
ff. 142v–151v:	Scribe H; Secretary hand

Decoration is limited. On f. 150r there are diagrams of furnaces and retorts

Contents

- ff. 1–91v: Alphabetical herbal. Latin and English

2. ff. 91v–96r: Recipes in Latin and English
- f. 94r virtually blank: small note in another hand
3. ff. 97r–100v: Treatise on urines in English
4. ff. 101v–108v: Miscellaneous English recipes, *MWME* 419b,¹¹⁵ including, on f. 108r, a treatise on betony. *MWME* 244a
5. ff. 109r–124r: *Godfridus super palladium*; a treatise on planting and grafting in English. *MWME* 433
6. ff. 124r–129v: Nicholas Bollard's treatise on trees. *MWME* 434
7. ff. 129v–130v: Recipes for midwifery. *MWME* 327
8. ff. 131r–135v: Miscellaneous recipes on various subjects
9. ff. 135v–138v: Medical recipes. English
10. ff. 139r–140v: Mixed notes in various hands
11. ff. 141r–148r: Recipes for inks, gleyr, book glue, etc. English
12. f. 142r: Note about the destruction of Jerusalem
13. ff. 142v–149v: Albertus Magnus, *Semita recta*. Prose treatise on alchemy. *MWME* 143a
14. ff. 148r–151v: Treatise on the preparation of the Philosopher's Stone

Language

LALME I, 242: Hand A: ff. 1r–91v: analysis from ff. 1r–6v, 26v–31v, 61r–66v. Suffolk

¹¹⁵ Edited in Wright and Halliwell 1841–1843, 163.

I, 219 Hands C, D, E and F: Language much the same throughout. ff. 97
135.

LP 4656 Grid 612 299 Norfolk

Signs of use

It seems to have been a general household book, and was used for odd jottings, such as a note about the destruction of Jerusalem (f. 142r). Signs of medical use include a small pointing hand, contemporary with the main hands, indicating a recipe 'Ad sanandum scabiem'.

Notes in a later hand are found throughout the book. They range in subject widely, and although they demonstrate the continued use of the book (if only as a notepad) through the following century, they provides no evidence for the medieval history of the book.

Provenance

Although there is very little evidence for the early history of the book, a number of texts and marginal notes are written in East Anglian English, often using <xal> for shall, for example, suggesting a continuation of use within the region.

On f. 95v the name 'Thomas' is written twice in the margin in what looks like a contemporary hand. It is also possible that it is a later attempt to copy a medieval hand, and looks like writing practice by the way the letters are carefully drawn in relation to the ruled lines. The only other marginal names are 'John' on f. 139v, which may be fifteenth century, and a later, possibly sixteenth-century, signature of 'John Smythe' on f. 150v. As with the case of the John Smythe who signed his name to **Hu 117** this is such a ubiquitous name that manuscripts cannot be sensibly associated with any one John Smythe without firm evidence. The later hand 'M' is

found throughout the book. His notes range in subject widely, and although he provides evidence for the continued use of the book (if only as a notepad) through the following century, he provides no evidence for the medieval history of the book.

Related Manuscripts

MWME 143a

MWME 244a

MWME 327

MWME 419b

MWME 433

MWME 434

References

Cambridge University Library, 1857

Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, MS 147/97

The Manuscript

Date	s. xiv ^{mid}
Dimensions	86 ff. Average page size: 160 x 240 mm
Collation	Composite manuscript. It seems likely that the two booklets were originally bound separately. A quire is lost after Quire 10, and the text ends imperfectly in the chapter <i>De vulneribus in posteriori</i>
Material	Membrane; fairly good grade

Script and decoration

Booklet 1 ff. 1r–30v:

Anglicana hand, quite well written in two columns. Decoration is minimal, with small blue and red initials and some green colour touching. f. 1 is almost lost, and only the opening words: 'Ego nicho[laus]' remain. The whole section is quite dirty and battered. The edges are damaged on many leaves. On ff. 7 and 21 the outer half of the page missing, and a supplement sheet has been stitched on with blue thread. Marginalia on the lower half of f. 7 was added after the addition of this supplement. On f. 11 there are a number of recipes and marginal notes, before the *Antidotarium Nicholai* continues on 12v; this section of the text is much cleaner and has far fewer annotations. f. 11 appears to be palimpsest; on the recto there are the words *Item pro domino abbate de sento dionisio*. This is evidently earlier than the other items on this page which have been written over it.

Booklet 2 ff. 31r–86v:

Much more elegantly written than Booklet 1, in single column Bastard Anglicana. There are blue and red initials, and spaces have been left for larger decorated initials (e.g. f. 37r). There are also a number of decorated initials in this section. The most distinctive is at the beginning of the section, on f. 31r. This is an initial P on a gold ground. It depicts a man in a red doctor's gown applying a trephine to the skull a patient in blue, who kneels with hands bound behind him, and a serene expression. The trephine has a curved crossbar to turn it. The lobe of the <P> is 9 lines long, and the initial descends the entire length of the writing space, with a small green dragon-like animal at the base. Despite its elegance, the page has suffered from wear and tear. The rubric at the top of the page is almost lost and the whole page is very dirty, as are the outer leaves of the manuscript.

Contents

Booklet 1: ff. 1r–30v *Antidotarium Nicholai*. Latin

Booklet 2: ff. 31r–86v *Rogeri Chirurgia*. Latin

The English contents consist of a large number of added marginal recipes, some contemporary, and others by a later hand, which I have labelled Hand M. M possibly dates from the sixteenth century. Throughout the manuscript there are a number of marginal notes, including one Latin verse, on weights and measures.

Provenance

The manuscript was left to Gonville Hall, now Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, by Walter Elveden, a graduate of Gonville Hall and Doctor of Canon Law whose name appears in the manuscript.

Signs of use

There are a large number of marginal notes in the manuscript, which tell more of the life of the manuscript following the Elveden's death. One hand has written a number of legal notes. This hand is a small cramped Secretary, distinctive as the ink has become orange over time. Included in the writings of this hand are part of the court records of 5 Henry IV (1404) (f. 39r), and a number of notes of actions for debt (e.g. ff. 64r, 74r), some of which involve Johannes Cretynng and Willelmo Attegas (e.g. ff. 56v, 77r). The court records date from early in the fifteenth century, and show that, despite the fact that this book seems to have been the property of Gonville and Caius college since at least 1360, its borrowers were not averse to using as a notebook of sorts when necessary.

The notes in the 'orange hand' are also of interest, as they list a number of names. One of these is *Johannes heuenyngham vicecomes Suffolk* (f. 66r). The Heveningham family was influential in late-medieval East Anglia, and two John Heveninghams, father and son, were known to the Pastons (Richmond 1981, 235).

Related manuscripts

None listed

Magdalene College Cambridge, Pepys MS 878

The Manuscript

Date	s.xv ¹
Dimensions	ff. 192. 168 x 120 mm. The book was cropped to a uniform size late, as some non-scribal marginalia has been cropped
Material	Parchment. Quires VI (leaves 2–7) and VII are palimpsest, with fourteenth-century gothic textura just visible in parts. The original text seems to have been a service book, erased to provide a cheaper copy of medical texts
Collation	I ⁸ II ¹⁰ (+ 1; p. 37–8 ins. after 10) III ⁸ ; IV ¹⁰ V–VI ⁸ VII ¹⁰ VIII–X ⁸ XI ⁸ + one (pp. 191–2 ins. after 8)

Script and decoration

The manuscript appears to have been compiled over a period of time, but the uniform rubrication throughout indicates that it was finally gathered together during the medieval period, and is not a later compilation. It was mainly written by one hand, which does not seem to be that of a professional scribe. Pages 39–41 are written in a smaller hybrid Secretary/Anglicana hand. This hand breaks off mid sentence at the bottom of p. 41 and the text is continued by the main scribe (McKitterick and Beadle 1992). The main scribe makes frequent use of <p> and <3>. The writing varies throughout the manuscript. At best it is an upright Anglicana formata (Quires I, II, VIII–XI), but in other quires the writing is smaller, crowded and more cursive. There are several ink

changes and evidence of fresh starts, which is noted by McKitterick and Beadle (1992: 4), and which support the theory of compilation over time. The rubrication is simple, using two-line initials to mark new sections, and single line initials to mark subsections. Headings are occasionally underlined in red, and on page 108 there is a 3-line ornamented initial.

Contents

1. pp. 1–37: *The Wise Book of Astronomy and Philosophy*, with horoscopes and lunary added. *MWME* 43¹¹⁶
2. pp. 39–54: Urinary. English
3. pp. 54–107: Medical recipes in 2 sections, including the *Liber de diversis medicinis* on pp. 79–80. *MWME* 272¹¹⁷
4. pp. 108–13: *De urinis*. Latin¹¹⁸
5. pp. 113–16: Alphabetical list of medical ingredients. Latin. Typical of the lists based on the *Antidotarium Nicholai*
6. pp. 116–18: List of oils and unguents. Latin
7. pp. 118–21: Properties of oil. Latin
8. pp. 121–25: Medical recipes (about 35). English
9. pp. 125–26: Receipts and notes on the zodiac. Latin¹¹⁹
10. pp. 127–33: Herbal. Latin¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Edited from CUL L.iv.14 by Krochalis and Peters (1975). *MWME* places this text in two sections: ff. 1–16 and 16–34. A number of other page references are different in *MWME*. However, as I have not been able to re-examine the manuscript since the publication of *MWME*, I have retained the pagination listed by McKitterick and Beadle 1992.

¹¹⁷ *MWME* 272 lists this text as being on pp. 59–107.

¹¹⁸ TK 1004.

¹¹⁹ TK 121–22.

11. pp. 133–51: *Circa instans*. Latin¹²¹
12. pp. 152–70: Medical recipes (about 35)
13. pp. 170–6: Recipes appropriate for months and seasons (about 16)
14. pp. 176–78: Herbal,¹²² and a note on freckles. English
15. pp. 178–81: Medicinal notes on the ‘properties of a man’ (English)
16. pp. 181–84: Notes on urine in English (cf. item 2)
17. pp. 184–87: 20 miscellaneous medical recipes (English)
18. pp. 187–92: Plague tract: an English abridgement of Burgundy’s *Tractatus de morbo epidemiae*. MWME 305
19. p. 192: A brief medical recipe and other notes in English and Latin.
3 hands, totalling 6 lines in top and bottom margins

Related Manuscripts

MWME 43: BLA

MWME 272

MWME 305: SI 706; NLM; Countway 19

Language

East Anglian. (McKitterick and Beadle 1992, 5)

Provenance

Very little is known. The author of a recipe on p.160 claims that it cured ‘Ser Wylliam Elemedene’.

¹²⁰ TK 366. This manuscript is those only source listed in TK

¹²¹ TK 84.

Signs of use

The manuscript is quite dirty throughout, suggesting frequent use or careless handling.

References

McKitterick and Beadle 1992, pp. 3–5

¹²² Not in verse, as stated in *IMEV* 2627. This MS is not listed in *MWME*, but contains the text listed as 233.

Magdalene College, Cambridge, Pepys MS 1307

The Manuscript

Date	s.xv ^{2/4}
Dimensions	ff. 64. Average page size: 189 x 128 mm
Collation	i + 64 + i. I ⁸ , II ⁶ , III ⁸ –VII ⁸ , VIII ⁸ (+2, a bifolium, ff. 57–58, inserted after 2).
Material	Parchment

Script and decoration

One hand, Anglicana formata influenced by Secretary. Thorn and yogh are used regularly. Decoration consists of 2-line plain red initials at beginnings of sections; 1-line plain red initials at the beginning of each herb or antidote description on ff. 41r–57r. Quantities in recipes are marked with red dots.

Contents

1. ff. 1r–40v: Alphabetical list of medical receipts. Standard compilation based on the *Antidotarium Nicholai*. English
2. ff. 41r–51r: Alphabetical list of medical receipts. Also based on the *Antidotarium Nicholai*. English
3. ff. 51r–57r: Synonyma herbarum. English and Latin. Ends imperfectly at P with many letters left blank
4. f. 58v: Short medical note in Latin added by another hand
5. ff. 59r–64r: Urinary in English, with section headings in Latin

6. f. 64v: 10 notes on urine added by another hand (same as f. 58 v.)

Latin

Language

Not listed in *LALME*. The language of sections of this manuscript have been shown to be East Anglian in origin in McKitterick and Beadle (1992, 15), including typical features such as <sh> in 'shall' represented by <x>.

Provenance

No indication of provenance

Signs of use

There are virtually no marginalia in this manuscript, save for a couple of faded notes on p. 2. The contents and generally practical, unornamented nature of the book suggest that it was not intended primarily as a status symbol, but as a basic reference work.

Related Manuscripts

The manuscript is not indexed in *MWME*

References

McKitterick and Beadle 1992, 14–15

Magdalene College Cambridge, Pepys MS 1661

The Manuscript

Dimensions	212 x 140 mm. pp. iv + 350 + iv (Paginated by Waterland in ink)
Material	Parchment: fairly good grade
Collation	I ⁸ II ¹⁰ (7 and 8 wanting; + one, pp. 33–4 ins. after 10) III–IV ⁸ , V ⁸ (wants 3–6, after p. 70), VI VII ⁸ , VIII ² , IX ⁶ , X–XIV ⁸ XV XVI ⁸ XVII XXI ⁸ XXII ⁶ (wants 4, after p. 330), XXIII ⁸ . Constructed in five booklets.
Script and decoration	Six hands:
A: pp. 1–34; 109–31; 235–40.	Anglicana formata
B: pp. 35–78.	Initially Bastard Anglicana, gradually becoming Anglicana formata with Secretary influence. At first there are a large number of decorative otiose strokes, but these are lost as the script changes
C: pp. 78–108; 133–211.	Varying Bastard Anglicana
D: pp. 213–35.	Small, quite formal, mixed hand
E: pp. 245–324.	Anglicana formata with some Secretary influence
F: pp. 325–49.	Small Anglicana which varies widely. The Latin sections written in this hand are in a more formal hand, closer to Bastard Anglicana

Apart from quires I, II and IX (all scribe A) the decoration, consisting of blue and red paraph marks, small initials and underlining, is uniform throughout, indicating, as Beadle suggests, that the booklets were brought together at an early date (McKitterick and Beadle 1992, 27). However, some early non-scribal marginalia has been cropped, for example on p. 280, which indicates that the book or individual booklets may have cropped to fit a later binding. Elsewhere spaces have been left for large initials of 5-10 lines. There is a filled 7-line initial on p. 133.

Contents

1. p. 1: Medical recipe. English
 2. pp. 1–34: Medical treatise, 'The Treasure of Poor Men'. Evidently derived from the *Thesaurus Pauperum* of Petrus Hispanus (Pope John XXII, d.1334). English
 3. pp. 35–198: Surgical treatise attributed. to Theodoric and Lanfranc, imperfect. English ¹²³
 4. pp. 198–211: Miscellaneous medical recipes, possibly derived from the writings of Theodoric of Lucca. English
- p. 212 blank
5. pp. 213–29: Notes on unguents. English
 6. pp. 229–30: Treatise on unlucky days. English
 7. pp. 230–35: Miscellaneous medical recipes. English ¹²⁴

¹²³ The defects are listed by Beadle (1992), who suggests that some may be related to a change of scribe, and perhaps to a change in exemplar.

¹²⁴ The first recipe has the same incipit as MS Sloane 15, f. 71r, Lelamour's English translation of Macer.

8. pp. 235–40: Tract on the seven planets and four elements. English¹²⁵
pp. 241–42 blank except for later notes
9. ff. 245–66: Synonymy, mostly herbs. Latin and English. *MWME* 247g.¹²⁶ Ascribed to Johannes Bray
10. pp. 266–86: On the medicinal properties of various herbs. English
11. pp. 286–88: Medicinal properties of rosemary. *MWME* 240
12. pp. 288–308: Metrical herbal. *MWME* 233
13. p. 309: Medical recipe for ‘frensyne as woodnesse’.
14. pp. 309–10: On the virtues of cabbage.
15. pp. 310–24: Treatise on waters and oils
16. pp. 325–49: Miscellaneous medical recipes, including on pp. 333–35 a discussion of the 12 virtues of the skin of adders, derived from Johannes Paulinus, *De corio serpentis*, called here Jon Paulyn.

Language

East Anglian (McKitterick and Beadle 1992, 26).

Provenance

Unknown. The names ‘Gilbert Sherman’ (possibly Shephard) and Peter Codoy appear in the text, possibly in sixteenth century hands.

¹²⁵ On p. 236 there is the line: ‘verbi gratia we arn now in mcccclxxxij’, which, Beadle and McKitterick suggest, is likely to have been carried over from an exemplar (1992: 26).

¹²⁶ TK 83.

Signs of use

Signs of use, such as marginal notes, include a number of drawings, apparently unrelated to the text. On pp. 42–43 there are drawings of faces and animals, and on p. 107 there are a number of small owls drawn in the margins, possibly as an attempt at decoration, or possibly simply the doodles of a bird-loving reader. The final leaf of the manuscript is very dirty and has sustained some damage, suggesting that it spent some time unbound before it was bound for Pepys.

Related Manuscripts

<i>MWME</i> 233:	CUL D; Pepys 1661; York; Stk X.90; Bühler 21
<i>MWME</i> 240:	York; Stk X. 90; Bühler 21
<i>MWME</i> 247g:	CUL D

References

McKitterick and Beadle 1992, 25–27

Trinity College, Cambridge, Wren Library, MS 0.9.28 (James 1440)

The Manuscript

Dimensions	ff. 189. 195 x 270 mm. Page formats vary.
Collation ¹²⁷	Made up of seven booklets. (James) I ⁸ II ⁶ III ⁶ IV ⁸ V ⁶ VI ⁸ VII ⁴ VIII ⁸ (+ 8: 2 canc.) IX ¹² –XI ¹² XII ⁸ XIII ⁶ XIV ⁸ – XVII ⁸ XVIII ⁶ (6 canc.) XIX ⁸ XX ⁸ –XIV ⁸

Material Parchment: better grade in some quires than others. The leaves of ff. 76–78 are very uneven in shape. Some leaves are very misshapen e.g. f.191. On ff. 78v–100r there is some staining, a few odd shaped leaves and large original holes. Otherwise a fairly good grade.

Script and decoration

As the manuscript is made up of booklets, the script varies widely from one to another. It is evident from certain sections, such as ff. 101r–106r, from the collegiate Church of Warwick, that the book was intended to appear elegant. The scripts used in this section are Anglicana formata with right slanting ductus, accompanied by several titles in textura and ornate capitals in black ink. The constitutions for London, on ff. 29r–35v are written in Bastard Anglicana and are again clearly intended to appear prestigious. Other sections are less elaborate, and

¹²⁷ The collation is difficult to establish, as the foliation is faulty, and the booklets may have lost leaves prior to binding.

the medical texts on ff. 142v–143v are written in a plain Anglicana cursiva. They are likely to be quick copies written by a reasonably competent scribe.

Contents¹²⁸

Booklet 1

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| 1. ff. 1r–22r: | <i>De confessione</i> (Latin) |
| 2. ff. 23r–26r: | Life of St Thomas of Canterbury (Latin) |
| 3. f. 26r: | On Adam (Latin) |
| 4. f. 26r: | Note on Holy Water (Latin) |
| 5. f. 26v–28r: | Story of the Cross (Latin) |
| 6. f. 28v: | Lists: Kings of England listed from William I to
Henry VI
Date of Agincourt
No. of towns etc. in England
Descendants of Edward I |

Booklet 2

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| 7. ff. 29r–35r: | Set of constitutions for London, ending with a list of
the principal feasts. (Latin) |
|-----------------|---|

f. 35v blank

Booklet 3

f. 36 blank

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| 8. ff. 37r–46v: | <i>Meditaciones Bernardi</i> . Latin |
| 9. ff. 47r–54r: | <i>Liber de Aseneth</i> . Latin |

¹²⁸ Manuscript foliation is followed, though it is faulty in places.

10. ff. 54r–54v: Notes on the Council of Lamheth (Lambeth?).
Latin
11. f. 54v: Memorial verses on the days of creation etc. Latin
12. ff. 55r–55v: On vows. Latin
- f. 56r blank. f. 56v is a fragment of a roll: an inventory in French of suits of hangings etc.
13. ff. 57r–77r: The story of the twelve sons of Jacob, translated into Latin from Greek by a Bishop of Lincoln
14. ff. 77v–78v: Memorial verses and notes. Latin
15. ff. 78v–100r: *Elucidarius*. Latin
- ff. 100r–100v: Notes added in various hands

Booklet 4

16. ff. 101r–106r: *Foundatio Collegi de Warwick per Thomam de Bello Campo*
f. 106 v: Verses added in another hand

Booklet 5

17. ff. 107r–141v: On the vocabulary of the Mass. Latin
Between ff. 134 and 135 a small slip of membrane has been inserted; writing perpendicular to pages.
18. ff. 141v–142r: Constitutions of Clarendon (Latin)
19. f. 142v: Verse 'On Phlebotomy' (English). *MWME* 288
20. f. 143r: Prose on suitable times to let blood.
f. 143v blank

Booklet 6

21. ff. 144–150v *Disputatio inter Proirem di molesti et Spiritum Guidonis.*
Latin
22. ff. 150v–151r Latin adverbs with English equivalents
23. f. 151v: Reasons for hearing mass. Extract from Augustine's
De Civitate Dei. Latin

Booklet 7

24. ff. 152r–188v: Revelations of St Brigid of Sweden. Latin
25. ff. 188v–189v: *Disputatio inter lazarum et diuitem.* Latin
26. ff. 189v–190v: *Disputatio inter corpus et animam cuiusdam diuitis quam vidit quidam religiosus in sompnis.* (Poem: Walter Map?).
Latin
27. ff. 190v–191r: *Liber Mundi:* short poem. Latin
28. f. 191v: *Exhortacio sacerdotum.* Latin

Language

The language of the bloodletting texts, ff. 142v–143r, is clearly East Anglian, using 'quat' for *what*, and 'xal' for *shall*.

Provenance

This book was the property of the Collegiate church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, (MLGB 194) Warwick, but as there are virtually no marginalia, it is difficult to trace the travels of the manuscript, either as a whole or in booklets. The medical texts are found at the end of Booklet V in the manuscript. Although the booklets contain texts on similar subjects, it is possible that they spent some time circulating independently before being bound in their present state, and that only booklet V

spent any time in East Anglia, the last blank leaves being used to jot down some bloodletting texts. The other contents of Booklet V are a Latin explanation of the language of the Mass and the Constitutions of Clarendon, neither have which have specific associations either with Warwick or East Anglia.¹²⁹

Signs of use

f. 162r: 1 marginal note - non-scribal but contemporary. Latin

Related Manuscripts

MWME 288: **Rawl D; NLM**

¹²⁹ See p. 355 for a speculative discussion of the provenance of this manuscript.

St John's College, Cambridge, MS B.15 (James 37)

The Manuscript

Date	s.xiv and s.xv
Dimensions	ff. 162. 197 x 146 mm approx.
Collation ¹³⁰	Composite MS. I ¹⁰ II ¹⁰ III ¹² IV ¹² (7 canc.) V ¹⁰ VI ⁴ VII ⁸ VIII ¹⁸ (13 canc.) IX ¹² (+2) X ⁸ XI ⁸ (5–8 gone) XII ⁶ XIII ¹² XIV ¹² XV ¹⁰ XVI ¹² ii + 160

Material

Booklet 1	Paper to f. 4, then parchment. The final leaf is dirty and damaged, suggesting that it may have served as the outer cover for some time
Booklet 2	Paper
Booklet 3	Parchment

Script and decoration

Booklet 1

Writing is inconsistent.

ff. 1r–47r: Hand A: Anglicana with Secretary features, which degenerates badly 11v/12r to 13r and then either picks up again or (more probably) changes to Hand B (single lobed <a>; reversed <e>; distinct <y> with tail curved to the left). f. 13r–13v A; at 14r–16v hand reverts to

¹³⁰ Revised collation in annotated copy of James 1913, in St John's College Library.

B. From then on it is A again until f. 47. The rubricator has single lobed <a>, but otherwise is more similar to A in aspect.

- ff. 47v–48r: Hand C: Anglicana, with very upright ductus.
- ff. 49r–52v: Hand D: Secretary influenced Anglicana. Double-lobed <a>, reversed <e>, slanting ductus, rather splayed.
- f. 52v, f. 53r: Hand E: Cursive, spidery Secretary.
- f. 53r: Hand F: Anglicana, which is compact to begin with, but becomes broader and looser by the end of the text.
- f. 53v–54v: Hand G: Bastard Anglicana, with many Textura features. The Latin texts in particular are very close to Textura.
- ff. 55r–55v: Hand H: Cursive Anglicana/Secretary hybrid, with Anglicana <w>, 8-shaped <g>, single lobed <a>.

Booklet 2

This section is written in a variety of hands, some very similar, which do various stints, and also add recipes and notes. The foliation is very complicated, suggesting that several leaves, and perhaps quires, are missing.

Booklet 3

ff. 1r–51r: Textura

Decoration includes a 7-line initial A with a figure of Christ (?) holding an orb on f. 7r, and a 5-line initial A on f. 9r depicting a teacher (?). Initials in the text are 1-line, but extend above and below the line, and at the beginning of sections there are 3 and 4-line decorated initials.

Contents

Booklet 1:¹³¹

1. ff. 1r–47r. Collection of medical recipes in English, beginning imperfectly, including:
 - 1.1. ff. 23r–v: Charm of St William. *MWME* 345¹³²
 - 1.2. f. 23v: Charm to heal a wound with a plate of lead. *MWME* 346¹³³
2. ff. 29r–31r. Short version of the *Antidotarium Nicholai*. English
3. ff. 31–34r. Alphabetical herbal. Latin
4. ff. 34r–34v. Price list for gums, salts etc. Latin¹³⁴
5. ff. 34v–47r. Recipes in English and Latin
6. ff. 47v–48r. Latin recipes
7. ff. 49r–51r English receipts; for inks, gleyr, dyes, gummed water etc.
8. ff. 51v–52v Divination by numbers. English¹³⁵
9. f. 53r Carta Redemptoris. English¹³⁶
10. f. 53v Prognostication sphere with Latin explanation
11. ff. 54r–54v Prognostics for the year. Latin

¹³¹ Booklet I, ff. 1r–47v, is very closely related to Hu 117, and may be a direct copy of it.

¹³² This manuscript is not listed in *MWME* 345.

¹³³ This manuscript is not listed in *MWME* 346.

¹³⁴ This list is on an otherwise blank page at the end of a quire in Hu 117, and, though written in the same hand, is in different ink, and is evidently a later addition. The version in SJC, however, immediately follows the herbal, is written and rubricated in the same way as the preceding text and as the next series of recipes, which immediately follow it (with no gap) on f. 34v. In Hu 117 this is at the end of quire V. I have argued elsewhere (M. C Jones 1997, 7) that quires I–V were compiled at different times and from different sources than VI–VII (though copied by the same scribe). The conflation of the texts in SJC therefore suggests that it was copied after the booklets of Hu 117 were combined.

¹³⁵ See Burnett 1988, 167.

¹³⁶ *IMEV* 2004. See also Spalding 1914.

12. ff. 55r–55v Prayers; Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary; Creed. Verses on love.
English
13. f. 56r Unlettered diagram: possibly another sphere
14. f. 56v Verses: 'Abuses of the Age'. First in Latin: 'Munus fit
index frano est meractor in orbe'. The verses are translated
into English halfway down the page, and indicated by
marginal note by the scribe: 'Anglice'¹³⁷
- f. 57r: Added recipes in various hands
- f. 57v blank*

Booklet 2¹³⁸

15. ff. 3r–6v Alphabetical herbal in English, beginning imperfectly
16. ff. 6v–8v: On the signs of life and death, followed by medical recipes,
including a version of the 'Tres boni fratres' charm. Latin,
followed by one English recipe in the same hand
17. ff. 9r–10v: Medical recipes and charms in English and Latin
18. ff. 10v–11r: *The boke of Ypocras*. Short regimen tract with verse
introduction. English. *MWME* 302a and 302b

¹³⁷ *IMEV* 906

¹³⁸ For ease of reference, the manuscript foliation has been followed here, as it is usually clearly marked. The foliation is faulty, however, suggesting that several leaves, or indeed quires, have been lost. Foliation starts again in this section, at f. 3, showing that it was once an independent booklet, with the first two folios lost. There appear to be several omissions, as the foliation runs from ff. 1–43, with at least one folio missing or wrongly labelled between ff. 12 and 16 (foliation is cropped) then numbering omitted for one leaf, (probably f. 44r) followed by 99. The foliation then runs from ff. 99–107, then f. 38, followed by ff. 141–3. f. 143v is therefore the end of this booklet, which is composed of 57

19. ff. 11r–19r: Medical recipes in English and Latin. Various hands
20. ff. 19v–21r: Latin treatise on urines. Lower half of f. 21r blank
21. f. 21v–44v?: Medical recipes in English, including recipes for aqua vitae (f. 23r) and gracia dei (f. 24v). On f. 44v the text has been heavily scored out
22. ff. 99r–107v: Medical recipes in Latin. One hand
23. ff. 138v–143v: Medical recipes in English. One hand

Booklet 3¹³⁹

24. ff. 1r–6v Calendar, including a dedication to the church at Norwich under September 24.
25. ff. 7r–39v *Antidotarium Nicholai* in English, including the prologue.
26. ff. 40r–51r Latin herbal
- f. 51v: recipes added in a contemporary hand.

Provenance

Very little is known. Note on pastedown: Ex dono Magistri Gent Ecclesiaie Burbrooke in Essexia rectoris huiusque Colligii alumni [...?]

Booklet 1

f 37v: 'Pouder of lif y^t frere John Bacheler mad & 3af it men drinkyn for y^e feueres & for enpostemes'. This same John Bacheler recipe occurs in Hu 117, and possibly

folios. f. 44v? is very dirty, and may have been the end of a booklet at one point. ff. 99–107 may also have formed an independent unit.

indicates an original local practitioner, but is of no use for the provenance of this manuscript, as it can be shown that Hu 117 was an ancestor of this manuscript.¹⁴⁰

Signs of use

Booklet 1

ff. 1–47r Several marginal <x>'s in red/brown crayon. Odd marginal notes in various hands.

f. 26r Pointing hand, indicating recipe against dropsy.

f. 28r. Pointing hand—away from 'ffor bolninge of leggis'

f. 57r Additional medical and other receipts. English, various hands

ff. 52v, 53r Notes added in a very wobbly hand on perilous days.

f. 47r 2 recipes in different hands. 1 untitled, 1 'for to make her that merrys gr...' cropped and faded.

f. 48v 1 recipe added, otherwise the page is blank. Different hand.

Booklet 2

Several marginal crosses next to recipes. Recipes added in various hands.

Booklet 3

f. 7r, 51r: 'Liber M. Tomsun' in a slightly later hand.

f. 11r: 'Robert Marrow' in a later hand.

¹³⁹ Some foliation has been added on occasion in a modern hand, suggesting that the foliation again begins at 1, and that this section may have been bound with the other two at a late date.

¹⁴⁰ See note 134, p. 199 above.

The text has been indexed in a contemporary, though much less formal hand to the table of contents on ff. 8r–v. It is likely that this section was bound with the others at a late date, as M. Tomsun's signature dates from a later period, probably the sixteenth century, but is only found in this section of the book.

References

James 1913

Glasgow University Library, Hunterian Collection MS 117/T.5.19

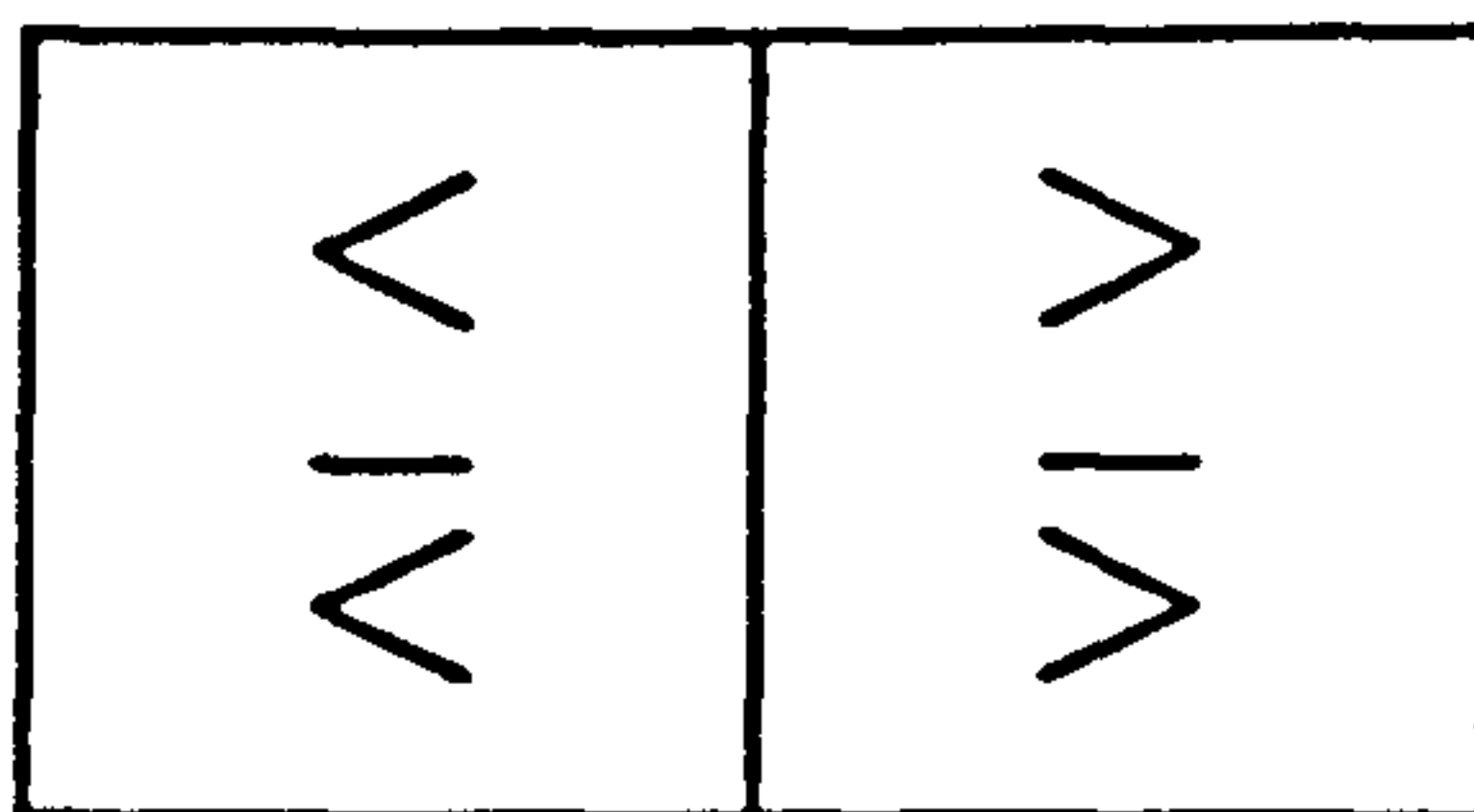
The Manuscript¹⁴¹

Date	1400–30
Dimensions	Average 224 x 144 mm
Collation	I–V V–VII ⁸ . Hair facing hair and flesh facing flesh throughout.

Material

Membrane of varying quality; quires VI and VII are of a finer grade than I to V. All are sheets of poor- to medium-quality, with varying grade within quires. The first quire has the widest variance in sheet size and shape and is the most damaged. f. 1r. is very dirty and difficult to read. The other quires are more uniform and show less evidence of damage, although the manuscript shows signs of wear and tear throughout. Leaves arranged with hair facing hair and flesh facing flesh. There is a crack or cut in f. 13 and staining on f. 6v. and f. 7r. There are several small original holes and possible rodent damage at the edges.

Medieval binding; crimson leather, heavily worn, over bevelled oak boards; cover turned in with mitred corners and pasted down, with one leaf originally a pastedown on each board. Probably original sewing (no puncture marks across quire hinges visible, but the binding is very tight). Boards attached with straps drawn through and pegged in V I V style as in diagram below.



¹⁴¹ A more detailed description of this manuscript can be found in M. C. Jones 1997, 39–46

Projecting bands on the spine, which has been rebound. Boards are taller (but not wider) than the leaves of the book, which, together with the pattern of the pegged straps, suggests that the binding dates from the fifteenth, rather than the fourteenth century.¹⁴² Evidence of clasps on the cover; marks on the right hand edge of the front cover and two corresponding holes in the centre of the back cover.

Script and decoration

One main hand: Good quality Anglicana formata, heavily but consistently abbreviated. Running titles either rubricated or underlined in red, occasionally marked by red paraph marks. Frequent scribal direction to rubricator; usually executed. In quires IV–VII; recipes are indicated by large red initial. Two initial <T>s are missing from f. 42v. No marginal apparatus. Decoration is limited to small amounts of red colour touching on capitals within the text, and rubricated initials which occupy two lines. On f. 28v a small (4-line) diagram has been obliterated.

Contents

Booklet 1

1. ff. 1r–34v: Medical recipes and charms in English and Latin including:
 - 1.1. f. 28r–v: Charm of St William to heal wounds. *MWME* 345¹⁴³
 - 1.2. ff. 28v–29r: Plate of lead charm to heal wounds. *MWME* 346¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Pollard (1976, 61) suggests that the practice of projecting boards did not begin until the mid-fifteenth century, slightly later than the date suggested by palaeographical evidence in the book.

¹⁴³ This manuscript is not listed in *MWME* 345.

¹⁴⁴ This manuscript is not listed under *MWME* 345. The diagram on f. 28v has been obliterated.

- 1.3. f. 33r: Latin prayer: *Contra febre*
- 1.4. ff. 33r–v: ‘Uncorrupted wounds of Christ’ charm to heal wounds.
MWME 341a
2. ff. 34v–36v: Condensed version of the *Antidotarium Nicholai*. English and Latin
3. ff. 36v–40r: Herbal. Latin with an English title: ‘To knowen all herbes & gumms & tres & stones & frutes of qwhat vertu þei ben & in qwhat greup fisyk’
4. ff. 40r–v: Price list for salts, gums and other pharmaceutical ingredients.
Latin

The lower half of f. 40v is blank, with additions by later hands.

Booklet 2

5. ff. 41r–55v: Recipes and other medical notes in English, including:
- 5.1. .f. 46r: Short text on bloodletting
- 5.2. f. 48v: Latin prayer
- 5.3. ff. 48v–49r: English charm

From ff. 55v–56v there are a number of additions in contemporary and later hands, some of which are also recipes and others which appear to be notes.

Signs of use

Frequent marginalia; some contemporary *notae* from scribe and rubricator. Notes in later hands of varying dates throughout. Often the notes are repetitions of key phrases in the title, usually the ailment. Other marginal notes include ‘Good’ by a number of recipes. Two pointing hands in different styles; one with ruffled cuff (f. 21r pointing

away from the text) and one plain (f. 7r). ff. 55 and 56 have a number of extra recipes and notes in later hands.

Front flyleaves: i¹: 'A great collection of Recipes, or medicines in English' in William Hunter's hand.

Below, in a fifteenth-century hand: lxi de foliis et vi quat[er]miones

i³ : Pencil autograph: Rx of John Smythe

f. 2r. Bottom of page: Richardus nix possedet hunc librum medicine

f. 54r. Bottom of page: Ricardus nix postfidet hunc librum medesine

Back flyleaves: a number of personal names, all in the same hand: george tybye;

Adame Stavaness; Jon Bowton; R. Jenkins. Also on back pastedown: John shalle not tarye there telle

Richard Nix was Bishop of Norwich 1501–1535. The identity of the other owners or readers has not been established.

Language

LALME

LP 4622 Grid 637 304. Norwich

Provenance

There is little evidence of early ownership. The manuscript was owned by Richard Nix, who was Bishop of Norwich 1501–35. There is no sale record for this manuscript in Glasgow library records, although there are sale details of another manuscript owned by Nix in the same collection; MS Hunter 251. This is a fifteenth century manuscript containing Latin versions of John Arderne's works, suggesting that Nix may have had some interest in collecting medical texts. There are a number of names in the manuscript, including mention of the manuscript being the property of John

Smythe, but no more is known of him. It is not known exactly when this manuscript came into William Hunter's possession.

Related manuscripts

MWME 341a: SJC

MWME 345: SI 521; BLA; Stk X.90; SJC¹⁴⁵

MWME 346: SI 521; Stk X.90; SJC¹⁴⁶

References

M. C. Jones 1997, 39–46.

Young and Aitken 1908

¹⁴⁵ Both Hu 117 and SJC are not listed in *MWME* 345.

¹⁴⁶ Both Hu 117 and SJC are not listed in *MWME* 346.

Glasgow University Library MS Hunter 509/ V.8.12

The Manuscript

Date	c.1460
Dimensions	ff. 176. Average 176 x 129 mm. Small variations in leaf size of up to 1 mm vertically, 4 mm horizontally.
Collation	i ⁴ (paper); ii ² (marbled paper) I–XXII ⁸ iii ⁴ (paper); iv ² (marbled paper). Last 4 ff. originally blank.

Material

Parchment of quite good quality. Some original holes. Difficult to tell hair from flesh sides as the material is scraped very finely; however, on the evidence available, the pages seem to be arranged so that hair faces hair and flesh faces flesh. f. 1r is badly stained, and there are stains found throughout the book, but otherwise it is in reasonably good condition. There is evidence of cropping at the top of the pages, for example f. 113v.

Script and decoration

One main hand, that of Thomas Westhaugh. The script is a good example of Secretary, though a number of distinctive Anglicana features are used consistently throughout. The ductus has the characteristic ‘splayed’ appearance typical of Secretary, with tapering descenders, especially on <f> and long <s>, and broken strokes used frequently. The <a> graph is the characteristic single-lobed Secretary form. Final <s> has a number of forms, including the Anglicana ‘sigma’ form, and the Secretary ‘small B’ or ‘c+3’ form. The looped ascenders of <d> are also typical of Secretary hands. Anglicana features employed are <w>, <h>, and sometimes

the diamond-lobed '8-shaped' <g>. There is no decoration. Rubrication is confined to ff. 63v–65v, and consists of underlined page headings, 2-line initial F on f. 64r, paragraph marks, and colour touching on some initial <A>s in this section.¹⁴⁷ There was evidently intended to be a similar pattern of rubrication in other sections of the book: there are spaces left for initials on ff. 12r, 55v, 57v, 58v, 62v, 98r, 99r and others, which indicate how the whole book was meant to look.

Contents¹⁴⁸

1. ff. 1r–172v:¹⁴⁹ English translation of Gilbertus Anglicus' *Compendium Medicinae*. MWME 254¹⁵⁰, comprising:
 - 1.1. ff. 1r–5v: Treatise on the four humours, elements, qualities, directions and ages of man
 - 1.2. ff. 5v–16r: Uroscopy; further discussion of complexions; preparations to be made by the doctor before visiting a patient, including bodily and spiritual cleanliness
 - 1.3. ff. 16v–172v: Sections devoted to illnesses, their signs, causes and cures, in roughly a *de capite ad pedem* structure:

¹⁴⁷ It is difficult to establish why this section alone was rubricated, as it crosses a quire boundary, does not start or end at a quire boundary, and also begins and ends in the middle of a sentence.

¹⁴⁸ The manuscript foliation is probably medieval, but is faulty. It begins twice, so that f. 3 is also marked '1'. Both ff. 19 and 20 are marked '17'. f. 131 is not labelled, so that f. 130 is labelled 127, and f. 132 is marked 128. ff. 166 and 167 are both labelled 102. In this description I have used the correct, but unmarked, foliation.

¹⁴⁹ MWME follows the faulty foliation system of the manuscript.

¹⁵⁰ Although described as 'Unknown Author's System of Physic' in the Young and Aitken catalogue, the contents of this manuscript have been identified as the Gilbertus treatise by Getz (1991, xii).

- 1.3.1. ff. 16v–18v: Headache
- 1.3.2. ff. 18v–31v: Other diseases of the head; mostly mental illnesses and neurological disorders such as epilepsy.
- 1.3.3. ff. 31v–47v: Eyes
- 1.3.4. ff. 47v–55v: Ears
- 1.3.5. ff. 55v–60r: Nose
- 1.3.6. ff. 60r–72v: Mouth, teeth and throat
- 1.3.7. ff. 72v–91v: The chest and lungs
- 1.3.8. ff. 91v–98r: Heart
- 1.3.9. ff. 98r–133v: Stomach, thirst and ‘sickness of the ears’
- 1.3.10. ff. 133v–143r: Liver
- 1.3.11. ff. 143v–150v: Spleen
- 1.3.12. ff. 150v–162r: Kidneys; inc. stone and diabetes
- 1.3.13. ff. 162r–164r: Siphac: the peritoneum
- 1.3.14. ff. 164r–169v: The penis
- 1.3.15. ff. 169v–172v: The ‘ears’: haemorrhoids, boils, clyster etc.

f. 173r blank

2. ff. 173v–174r: Remedy for migraine in a different hand

ff. 174v–175v blank

3. f. 176r: Added notes, such as ‘Ego sum bonus puer cum deus’

4. f. 176v: Mixed recipes in various hands

Language

The language is East Anglian, indicating that this is likely to have been Westhaugh’s native dialect.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Richard Beadle, personal communication, 1997.

Signs of use

Fairly frequent marginalia, some by the main scribe. Several pointing hands in various styles.

Fifteenth century hands:

- f. 174r: Iteme I Robart beuerley haye wretten all yis book &c.¹⁵²
- f. 176v: ffor ye stoon & strangurye or colyke per D. W. Watman
 liber magistri Johannis Sperhawk
 Sperhawk Semper secundum post obitum magistri thome westaw si
 superviuat
 Per sepigeram id est ryngworme per fratrem [?] J. stamford
 Amen quod Robart beuerley

Provenance

The early history of this manuscript is unusually well documented.¹⁵³ It was written by Thomas Westhaugh in the mid-fifteenth century, and given to John Sperhawke. In Sperhawke's will he bequeathed the book back to Westhaugh, and also insists on this on a flyleaf note: 'Sperhawk semper secundum post obitum magistri thome westaw si superviuat'.¹⁵⁴ The book was eventually bequeathed by Westhaugh to Syon abbey, by

The book is also annotated by one Robert Beverly thus: 'I Robart beuerley haye wretten al yis boke etc.' This assertion was noted by Ian Doyle as being 'patently untrue'¹⁵⁵, however, it is of some interest. There is a surgeon named Robert Beverly, listed as working in London in the early sixteenth century (*MPME*,

¹⁵²Noted by A. I Doyle as 'patently untrue', in an addendum Young and Aitken 1908.

¹⁵³ The ownership and history of this manuscript are further discussed on pp. 358 and 359.

¹⁵⁴ f. 176v.

292), and another who graduated from Cambridge (*BRUC*). The likelihood of one of these being the same Robert who wrote the ‘patently untrue’ note is impossible to establish without more information than is available at present.

Related Manuscripts

MWME 254: SI 442; Ha 2375¹⁵⁶

References

Young and Aitken 1908

¹⁵⁵ Young–Aitken 1908.

¹⁵⁶ Ha 2375 is not listed in *MWME* 254. Getz notes that it contains a fragment of the Gilbertus treatise (1991, lxx, n. 90).

Oxford, All Souls College MS 81

The Manuscript¹⁵⁷

Date	s.xv. Some sections 1474.
Dimensions	208 x 143 mm ¹⁵⁸
Collation	ii (modern) + 247 + ii (modern). I ⁶ (+1 leaf ins. after 2) 1 leaf (f. 8) II ⁴ III–VI ⁸ , 1 leaf (f. 45), VII–VIII ¹⁰ , IX ⁸ (wants 1–2, 7–8) 1 leaf (f. 70) X–XVII ¹⁰ XVIII ¹⁰ XIX ¹⁰ (wants 3, 4, 6–8) XX ⁸ XXI ¹⁴ XXII ¹⁶ XXIII ¹² (wants 8, 9) XIV ¹⁶ XV ¹⁰ XVI ⁸ Constructed in booklets
Material	Paper, except in quires II–XIX, where the centre leaves are parchment
Script and decoration¹⁵⁹	Seven main hands:
A	ff. 1r–1v; 7r–7v: hybrid Secretary/Anglicana. Red initials, paraphs, underlining, and linefillers
B	ff. 2r–7v: ¹⁶⁰ Anglicana, s.xv ⁱⁿ
C	ff. 9r–164v: David Ragor's hand. Bastard Anglicana
D	ff. 166r–172r: Bastard Anglicana
E	ff. 174r–187v: Anglicana formata influenced by Secretary

¹⁵⁷ Description largely from Watson 1997.

¹⁵⁸ All codicological details here are from Watson 1997, and have been further verified by my own examination of the manuscript.

¹⁵⁹ Palaeographical detail is also dependent on Watson 1997, though the letters here do not correspond to those used in his description of the hands.

¹⁶⁰ B's section is inserted between ff. 1–7. See Watson 1997, 164–65 for detailed description.

- F ff. 188r–f. 231v: Anglicana influenced by Secretary by one hand
- G ff. 232r–232v: Anglicana. F and G are both the hand of Simon Schryngham
- H ff. 233r–234r: Anglicana influenced by Secretary
- I ff. 234v–239r: Anglicana influenced by Secretary, a different hand from H
- J ff. 240r–241r: a rough Anglicana
- K f. 241v: Secretary

Contents

- | | | |
|----|-------------------|--|
| 1. | ff. 1r–1v; 7r–7v: | English medical recipes |
| 2. | ff. 2r–7v: | Latin medical recipes |
| 3. | ff. 3r–3v: | Thepericus, bishop of Cervia (?): treatise on medicinal waters. Latin ¹⁶¹ |
| 4. | ff. 9r–9v: | Fragment of <i>De corio serpentis</i> . Latin. See f. 39v below ¹⁶² |
| 5. | f. 10r: | Fragment of Walter of Odington, <i>Icoedron philosophiae</i> . Latin ¹⁶³ |
| 6. | ff. 10v–12v: | Hermes, <i>Secreta</i> . Latin ¹⁶⁴ |
| 7. | ff. 13r–18r: | Description of technical terms needed to consult astronomical tables. Latin ¹⁶⁵ |

¹⁶¹ TK 122.

¹⁶² Not f. 46r, as stated in Watson 1997, 165 (the reference on p. 166 is, however, correct).

¹⁶³ TK 77. Copy of the last page of the text in BL MS Add. 15549.

¹⁶⁴ TK 1112. The text is continued in BL MS Add. 15549.

¹⁶⁵ TK 53. This manuscript only.

8. ff. 18r–31r: Richard Lavenham, *De causis naturalibus (Solutiones xvi quaestionum)*. Latin¹⁶⁶
9. ff. 31r–32v: Astrologia. Latin¹⁶⁷
10. ff. 33v–37v: Lunary. Latin
11. f. 38r: Fourteen lines on the movable, fixed and common stars. Latin
12. f. 38r: Three verses, beginning ‘Sequitur ordo et numerus sperarum’. Latin
13. f. 39v: Seven lines on the feast of St Matthew. Latin
14. f. 39v: Johannes Paulinus, *De corio serpentis*. Latin¹⁶⁸
15. ff. 42r–44v (9r–v): Treatise on natural science. Latin. Text continues from f. 44v to f. 9r but breaks off incomplete on f. 9v.
16. f. 46r: Mixed medical and non-medical recipes in hands other than those of the main scribes, including two recipes by John Halle. Latin and English¹⁶⁹
17. f. 47r–65v: Medical astrologia: on the influence of the signs of the zodiac on the cure of ailments. Latin¹⁷⁰
18. ff. 66r–69v: On the seven planets and their astrological influence
Latin¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁶ TK 407, although this manuscript is listed under TK 628(8). Watson notes that the TK 407 text contains an introduction lacking in this manuscript, hence its anomalous entry (1997, 165).

¹⁶⁷ TK 946.

¹⁶⁸ TK 295 with different incipit.

¹⁶⁹ IMEP 4, 3.

Twenty leaves lost after f. 69

19. f. 70r: Conradus de Hildensee or Hildenser, *versus de secretis alchimiae*. Latin¹⁷² Leaf originally blank; this text added in another contemporary hand. A recipe has been added in another hand at the bottom of the page
20. ff. 70v–71r: Alchemical recipes in another hand. Latin and English
21. f. 71v: ‘Pro spasmo’. Latin. This is an addition in David Ragor’s hand, and refers to a cross reference on f. 105r
22. ff. 72r–105r: Johannes de Rupescissa, *De quinta essencia* (shorter version). Latin¹⁷³
23. ff. 105v–118r: ‘Seven herbs by Alexander Africus in the tomb of Kyranides’. *MWME* 142a
24. ff. 118v–137r: Alkandrinus, *De iudiciis*. Latin¹⁷⁴
25. ff. 137v–157v: Astrological medicine. Latin¹⁷⁵
26. ff. 157–162r: Lunary. Latin¹⁷⁶
27. ff. 162v–163v: Astrologia. Latin

Two stubs follow f. 163

¹⁷⁰ TK 1070. This manuscript only. Ascribed in the incipit to Arnald of Villanova, but this text is not to be found amongst Arnald’s works. Thorndike 1959, 39–40.

¹⁷¹ TK 588.

¹⁷² TK 230.

¹⁷³ TK 1416. See also Jacob 1956–57.

¹⁷⁴ TK 342.

¹⁷⁵ TK 795. This manuscript.

28. ff. 164r–164v: Astrologia. Latin. Added in a contemporary hand on a leaf which was originally blank
- f. 165 blank
29. ff. 166r–172r: *Somniale Danielis*. A dream interpretation handbook. Latin¹⁷⁷
30. f. 174r: Medical recipes in Latin, Welsh and English
31. f. 174v: Urinary prognostications. English
32. ff. 175r–185v: John Metham, *Treatise on Palmistry*. MWME 137¹⁷⁸
33. ff. 185v–186r: English medical recipes
34. f. 186v: Dream interpretation. On the interpretation of dreams using the letters of the psalter.¹⁷⁹ A recipe and medical notes are written around the margins
35. ff. 187r: Medical and culinary recipes. Six English recipes, two Latin, one Welsh and one French
36. ff. 188r–204v: Rhazes (Pseudo-Aristotle, also attributed to Avicenna), *Physionomia iii*¹⁸⁰
37. ff. 205r–211v: *Expositio Danielis prophete super somnia*. Latin.¹⁸¹ The text is continuous despite the cancellation of leaves 8 and 9 from quire XXIII

¹⁷⁶ TK 835. The explicit includes the date 1474.

¹⁷⁷ Edited by Martin 1981.

¹⁷⁸ Edited by Craig 1916 from this manuscript. Watson's foliation followed here.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. the shorter Latin version ff. 211v–212r.

¹⁸⁰ TK 495.

¹⁸¹ Edited by Martin 1981. Cf. shorter copy item 29.

38. f. 211v: Six lines of Latin prose, 'Sompnia ne cures nam fallunt sompnia plures ... Quod Simon Schryngham'
39. f. 211v: English medical recipes
40. ff. 211v–212r: On the interpretation of dreams using the letters of the psalter. Latin¹⁸²
41. f. 212r: On the daily progress of illnesses and their chances of recovery¹⁸³
42. f. 212v: Medical recipes: 3 in English and two in Latin
43. f. 213r: Johannes, *Summa chiromantie*¹⁸⁴
44. ff. 232r–232v: Four blank concentric circles, possibly a prognostic sphere with text below: ii Ex quo ad statum pertineat homini...(seven lines).¹⁸⁵ Pen-trials (?) in the centre include 'stella veneris Stell', and 'Thomas' three times
45. ff. 233r–234r: An index of 229 personal names (of apostles, popes, rulers, saints, and others) in alphabetical order
46. f. 234v: Four prayers in English, with popish references erased
47. ff. 235r–239r: Treatise in English on heraldic blazoning
48. ff. 240r–241r: Alchemical recipes. English
49. ff. 241v–242v: Legal documents:
- 49.1. f. 241v: A copy (s.xv^{ex}) of an indenture made 18 February 1 and 2 Philip and Mary (1555) between Sir John

¹⁸² Cf. English version, item 34.

¹⁸³ TK 1238.

¹⁸⁴ TK 1299. This manuscript.

¹⁸⁵ See Watson 1997, 169–70 for further details.

Williams, knight, Lord Williams of Thane, of the one part and Lewes ap John ap Phe' (Philip) of the Parish of Nantmell, co. Radnor, of the other part, concerning a lease for twenty-four years of a messuage called Rosse yr abode and other land in the parish of Nantmell¹⁸⁶

49.2. f. 242r: In the same hand, a lease for ninety-nine years from Richard [Talley], abbot of the monastery of Strata Florida, Cardiganshire, to Edward Bedo of tenements called Oroghe y lan, y ddolvawr, and yr kryngwin in Comoteyddor [Cwnteuddwr], 3 May 1520

ff. 243r–247v are blank

Language

East Anglian¹⁸⁷

Provenance

Belonged to Thomas Moyle.

f. 185v 'Iste liber Constat Thome moyll filio Johanni Moyll Armigero'. Thomas Moyll died in 1560 and was Speaker of the House of Commons after having trained at Gray's Inn. Watson observes that 'the hand, s.xviⁱⁿ, is perhaps late enough to permit that identification' (1997, 168). Some marginal notes probably in the hand of Dr John Dee (d. 1608).

¹⁸⁶ See Watson 1997, 170.

¹⁸⁷ Richard Beadle, personal communication, 1997. See also Watson 1997, 171.

f. 174r: 'John Hubbert' in a fifteenth century hand. Watson suggests that he may have been the owner of this section of the manuscript, and possibly the following two sections (1997, 168). Several hints of a Norfolk connection in the manuscript suggest that Simon Schryngham may have been he who was rector of Walcote, Norfolk, in 1487.¹⁸⁸

ff. 239r–v: Pen trials: 'Nouerint uniuersi per presentes me Johannem Gryme de Ranworth in Comitatu norff. concessi et dedi et hanc presenti carta mea confirmaui Johanni Priori de Ingham in Centum solidis monete legalis angliae'

Watson suggests that the prior named is probably John Saye, the last prior before the dissolution of the Trinitarian house; see *VCH Norfolk*, II, 412.

f. 46r: Top margin 'John halle ys a gud felow'

Related Manuscripts

MWME 137

MWME 142a

References

Coxe, 1852

Watson 1997

¹⁸⁸ Blomefield, IX, 351

Oxford, Pembroke College, MS 21

The Manuscript

Date	s.xiii ^{ex} –s.xv ^{med}
Dimensions	110 x 154 mm approx.
Collation ¹⁸⁹	2 booklets (I–XX s.xiii ^{ex} ; XXI–XXIII s.xv ^{med}) ¹⁹⁰ ii + 278 + ii. i (mod) + i (paper) + I–II ¹² III– V ⁸ VI ¹² VII ¹⁶ (wants 13) VIII ⁸ IX ¹² X ¹² (wants 3–6 after f. 97) XI–XII ¹² XIII ⁸ XIV ¹⁰ XV– XVI ⁸ XVII ¹⁴ XVIII ¹⁶ XIX ⁸ XX ¹⁰ XXI–XXII ⁸ XXIII ¹⁶ XXIV ¹⁰ XXV ¹⁴ (wants 11–14 after f. 262) XXVI ¹⁶

Material

Parchment except for booklet II (ff. 242–78) which is paper. Bound in parchment, which Ker suggests is from the seventeenth century (*MMBL* III, 693). Small ‘thumb index’ strips of parchment at the outer edges of the leaves indicate new sections.

Script and decoration

Booklet 1

ff. 1–17: Textura

¹⁸⁹ Following *MMBL* III, 693.

¹⁹⁰ It is likely that there are further booklet divisions within booklet I. However, as this is solely composed of Latin texts I have not examined this section with a view to establishing booklet structure. See *MMBL* III, 693 for details of the variation between quires in this section.

One 4-line blue and red initial, and a number of 2
line blue and red initials

ff. 18r–198, 200–241v:

Neat Anglicana

ff. 18–241: 2-line blue and red initials

Booklet 2

ff. 256–78:

One main hand. Small Anglicana cursiva. No
decoration, although spaces have been left for small
decorated initials

Contents

Booklet 1

1. ff. 1r–17v: Constantinus Africanus: *De stomacho* (title added in a
later hand). Latin
2. ff. 17r–36v: Johannes de Sancto Paulo: *De simplicibus medicina*.
Latin¹⁹¹
3. ff. 37r–48r: *Anatomy*. Latin
4. ff. 48r–v: On the humours. Latin
5. ff. 49r–60v: Ricardus Anglicus: *Regule urinas*
6. ff. 61r–78r: John of Toledo: *Regimen sanitatis*
7. ff. 75r–78r: Galen: *De spermate*¹⁹²
8. ff. 78r–79r: ‘Vilis est materia de qua forma detur humane’.
Twelve four-line stanzas. Latin

¹⁹¹ This text is also known as *Circa instans*. The author also known as Johannes Platearius, or Johannes de Sancto Projecto.

¹⁹² Fragment; source of Ashmole 399.

9. ff. 79v–95v: Petrus Musandinus: On the preparation of food and drink for the sick
10. ff. 96r–97r: Recipes for plasters, beginning imperfectly. Latin
Recipes added in Latin on f. 97r. ff. 97v, 98r blank
11. 98v–174r: Ricardus Anglicus: *Signa pronostica infirmatum*
12. ff. 174v–174r: Short Latin poem on signs
13. ff. 176r–189r: *Trotula Major*. Gynaecological treatise. Latin
14. ff. 189v–192r: *Practica Archimathei*. Latin
15. ff. 192r–195v: *De urinarum*. Latin
16. f. 195v: On the advantages of being a doctor. Latin
17. f. 195v: Urine colour chart
18. ff. 196r–198r: Herbal. Latin
19. ff. 198v–199r: Medical recipes in various hands, including the main scribe. Latin
20. ff. 200r–221r: Walter Agilon¹⁹³ *Dosys medicinarum secundum magistrum waltrum*
21. ff. 221r–225v: *Regimen sanitatis*. Latin
22. ff. 226r–227r: *Ars medicina laxativum*. Latin
23. ff. 227r–241v: Dietary. Latin
24. ff. 242r–255v: Marbodius: On minerals. Latin
25. ff. 256v–270r: Recipes in English and Latin, including:
- 25.1. f. 256r: English recipe for the plague¹⁹⁴
- 25.2. f. 270v: English remedy for toothache¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ See *MPME*, 271 n. 15.

¹⁹⁴ See *IMEP VIII*, 77.

¹⁹⁵ See *IMEP VIII*, 77.

26. f. 271r–278v: English recipes: for dyes, glue, an ointment for cold hands and feet, a remedy for thirst, a laxative, and one for hair growth¹⁹⁶

Language

A number of the recipes on ff. 256–278 are in East Anglian English, such as the recipe for hair growth on f. 278v¹⁹⁷

Provenance

Unknown

Related Manuscripts

This manuscript is not listed in *MWME*, and I have not found any parallels to the English texts within the surveyed manuscripts.

References

MMLB, Vol. III, 689–93

¹⁹⁶ See *IMEP* VIII, 77.

¹⁹⁷ Richard Beadle, personal communication, 1997.

Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS C. 299

The Manuscript

Date	s.xv
Dimensions	ff. 53. 130 x 210 mm approx.
Collation	Possibly constructed in booklets. i (mod paper) + iii (parchment) + I ⁸ II ⁶ III– V ⁸ ?VI ⁸ + iv (parchment) + i (mod paper)

Material

Medium-grade parchment with some oddly-shaped leaves. Quire VI is of much thinner parchment, and may have been a later addition. This quire and the final flyleaves are described in the Rawlinson catalogue as flyleaves.¹⁹⁸

Script and decoration

One main hand. Neat Anglicana formata with some Secretary influence such as single-lobed <a>. Decoration consists of a 3-line capital <A> in blue on f. 4r, as well as 1-line red initials and some red running titles and paraph marks. Some 2-line blue initials are scattered throughout the rest of the text. On f. 2r (flyleaf ii) there are some uroscopy diagrams and notes.

Contents

Booklet 1

- ff. 4r–42v: Medical recipes and charms in English, arranged *de capite ad pedem*

¹⁹⁸ Modern foliation is given in pencil and includes flyleaves. For convenience, it is this foliation which has been adopted here.

Booklet 2

2. ff. 43r–46v: Recipes added in various hands

Language**Booklet 1**

LALME

LP 4647 Grid 604 313 Norfolk

Signs of use

The final flyleaves are filled with additional recipes in various hands. There are marginal notes in various contemporary hands, mostly repeating the titles of recipes, and occasionally testifying to their efficacy: f. 4v: ‘for echyng. This is þe best medycyne what place ben it’. On f. 51v is a wax seal, and a later drawing of a horse with the initials W. R.

Provenance

A note on the Battle of Barnet (f. 1r) mentions one John Roberts, coroner of Middlesex, of Nesden in the parish of Willesden, who died on the 11th September 1476. There is also mention of his son Thomas. The name ‘Robart3’ is written several times in a fifteenth-century hand.

The name ‘Thomas Warde surgeon at St Andrews Undershaft’ is also found on these leaves. There are three surgeons called Thomas Warde listed in *MPME* (p. 358), though the first two entries probably refer to the same man. This Thomas Warde was at the Battle of Agincourt as a surgeon in the medical staff of Thomas Morestede, chief surgeon to Henry V, and, if he is the same man as the Westminster surgeon of the second entry, may well have remained in Royal service. It is,

however, the third entry which is probably of most relevance to this manuscript. This Thomas Warde was also a Westminster surgeon, but is known to have been practising c. 1451, closer to the date of this manuscript. He also has Middlesex associations, as with the earlier references to John Roberts, as he gave all his goods and chattels in the region over to Robert Fleming and others, presumably as security against debts he owed to them. He was also one of the petitioners for the formation of the Fellowship of Surgeons, and was a member when the Fellowship was established (*MPME*, 358).

Related Manuscripts

This manuscript is not listed in *MWME*

References

Macray 1878

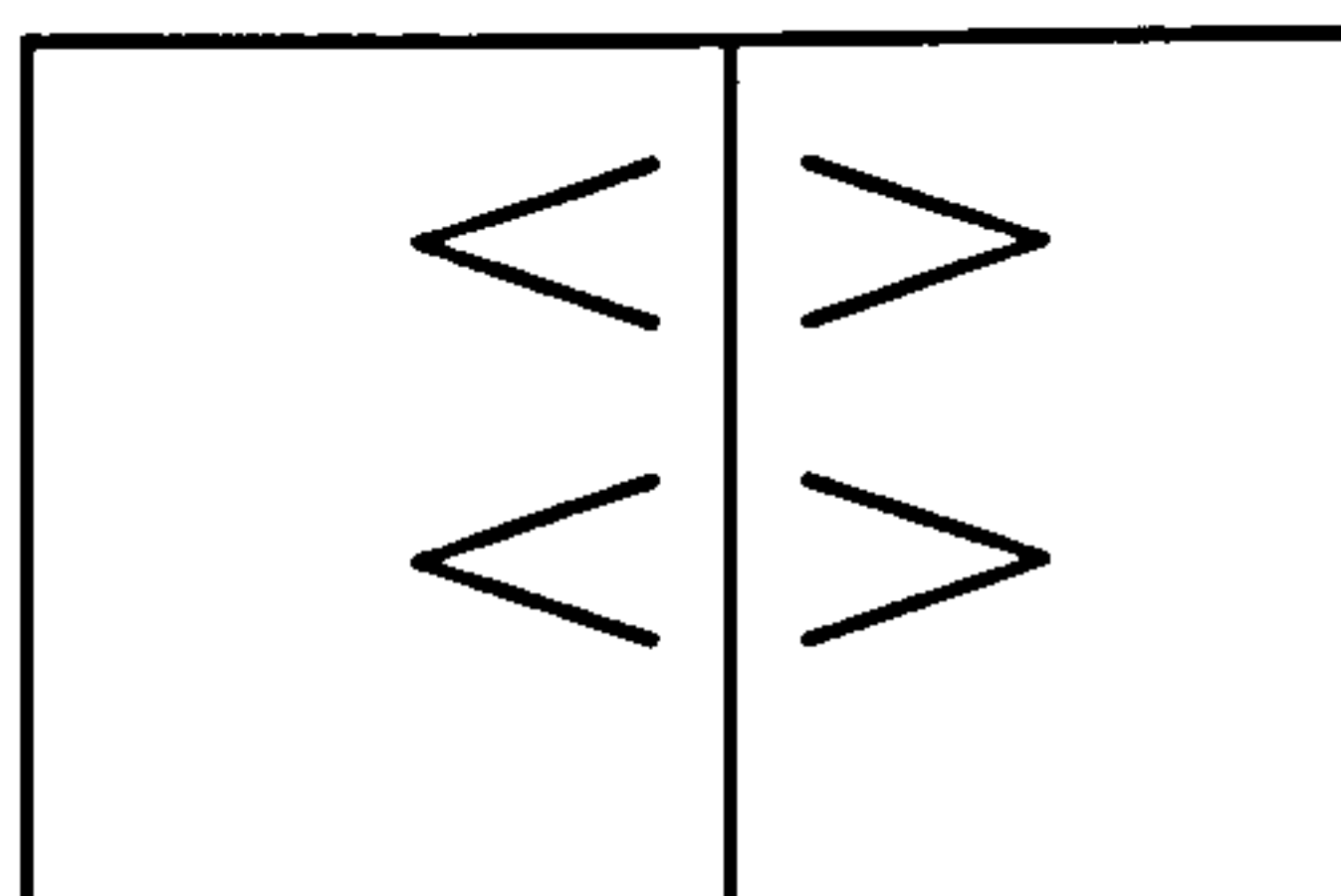
Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D. 251

The Manuscript

Date	1425–50
Dimensions	ff. 124. 106 x 160 mm approx.
Collation	Difficult to establish. A possible reconstruction is: ii (later) + ii + I ¹² (12 canc.) II ¹⁰ (8 canc.) III–IV ¹² V ¹² (2, 11 lost) VI ¹⁶ (14 canc.) VII–VIII ¹⁸ IX ¹² (+1; 2 ins.) + ii. Constructed in three booklets

Material

Parchment. Medieval binding. Bevelled wooden boards covered in white leather (mitred corners, pasted down). Thongs drawn through and pegged as in the diagram below, suggesting a date between 1350–1450 (Pollard 1976, 57, fig. 6):



Clasp still present, also made of white leather. 4 raised bands on the spine. 1 parchment bifolium has stitched on to the front cover (one side has been pasted down). This bifolium was originally a later chronicle.

Script and decoration

Booklet 1

ff. 1r–13r: Small neat Bastard Anglicana. 3-line red and blue initials introduce each month in the calendar, but each of these has

been smeared or damaged, even when the rest of the text has not been affected

ff. 13v–16r: Numbers in the same hand as the calendar. Text in small neat Secretary hand

Booklet 2

ff. 21r–50r: Very small Anglicana, variable in places. Small red initials and some red marginal pointed hands

ff. 50v–52v: Small compact Anglicana, with shorter ascenders and descenders than the previous hands

Booklet 3

f. 54r: Vein man drawn in pen and ink, with red arrows a little blue ink to represent the ground. Notes added in an untidy Anglicana formata

ff. 54v–56r: Untidy Anglicana/Secretary hybrid. Left-slanting ductus. Verses indicated in red

ff. 61v–66r, 68r: Cursive Secretary hand, slanting up the page. Rubric in Anglicana formata

ff. 68v–117r: Larger Secretary hand. Red initials and underlining. Possibly more than one scribe

f. 117v: Spiky Secretary hand

Contents

Booklet 1

1. ff. 1r–13r: Calendar with astronomical tables
2. ff. 13v–14v: Description of the calendar. Latin
3. ff. 15r–16r: Tables including astrological charts

4. f. 16v: Astrological table added to an originally blank page
ff. 17r–20v originally blank. Recipes and notes added

Booklet 2¹⁹⁹

5. ff. 21r–29r: Recipes for various medical compounds. Latin
6. ff. 29r–31v: Bloodletting treatises. Latin
7. ff. 32v–35v: Various medical notes. Latin
f. 36 blank
8. ff. 37r–43v: Medical notes, including a monthly regimen. Latin
9. ff. 44r–v: The virtues of bloodletting. Latin
10. f. 41v: Uroscopy treatise. Imperfect at the end, possibly missing one bifolium. Latin
11. ff. 42r–45r: Treatise on fevers and their remedies. Imperfect at the beginning. Latin
12. ff. 46r–50r: Medicines for various parts of the human body. Latin
13. ff. 50v–52v, 53v: Medical recipes in French and Latin

Most of ff. 52v and 53r are blank save for a few added notes

Booklet 3

14. f. 54r: Vein man with English notes
15. ff. 54v–56r: Poem on bloodletting. *MWME* 288
16. ff. 56v–59r: Medical recipes with a table of contents on f. 56v. Latin
ff. 60 and 61r originally blank. A recipe appears to have been started on f. 60r
17. ff. 61v–66r: *De urinis*. Latin

ff. 66v–67r blank. f. 67v probably originally blank. Recipes added in a fifteenth-century hand

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 18. f. 68r: | Three medical recipes. English |
| 19. ff. 68v–76r: | On the virtues of waters. Latin |
| 20. f. 76v: | Saint Blase charm for web in the eye. <i>MWME</i> 365a |
| 21. ff. 76v–117r: | John of Bordeaux/Burgundy: <i>Practica phisicalia</i> . English recipes, including: |
| 21.1. f. 82r: | Charm for the cough. <i>MWME</i> 376c |
| 22. ff. 117v: | On the four complexions of man. Latin |
| 23. ff. 117v–118v: | Five English recipes |

Language

LALME I, 151²⁰⁰

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| ff. 51v–53v (ff. 54v–56r): | East Anglian |
| f. 63r (f. 68r): | East Anglian |
| ff. 72v–113r (ff. 76v–117r): | Apparently SE Norfolk |
| ff. 114v–115v (ff. 117v–118v): | Norfolk |

Signs of use

Booklets II and III have evidently been cropped a little to match Booklet I. All leaves are quite dirty, and there are several marginal notes and added recipes throughout. There are pen trials on ff. 19v and 20r.

¹⁹⁹ This seems to have been part of another manuscript at some point, as it is foliated from 176–211.

²⁰⁰ The foliation followed in *LALME* is different from that followed here.

Provenance

On the first flyleaf is written in a fifteenth-century hand: 'Iste liber pertinet ad me Robertum Hoar'.

f. 20v 'Nycolas Stelle ys the honner of this boke', also 'Per me Rogerum Steffanum' and 'To my trusty frynd Eyrgaued J Gumforyed' in different hands. (s. xvi)

Related Manuscripts

MWME 288 **TCC; NLM**

MWME 365a

MWME 376c

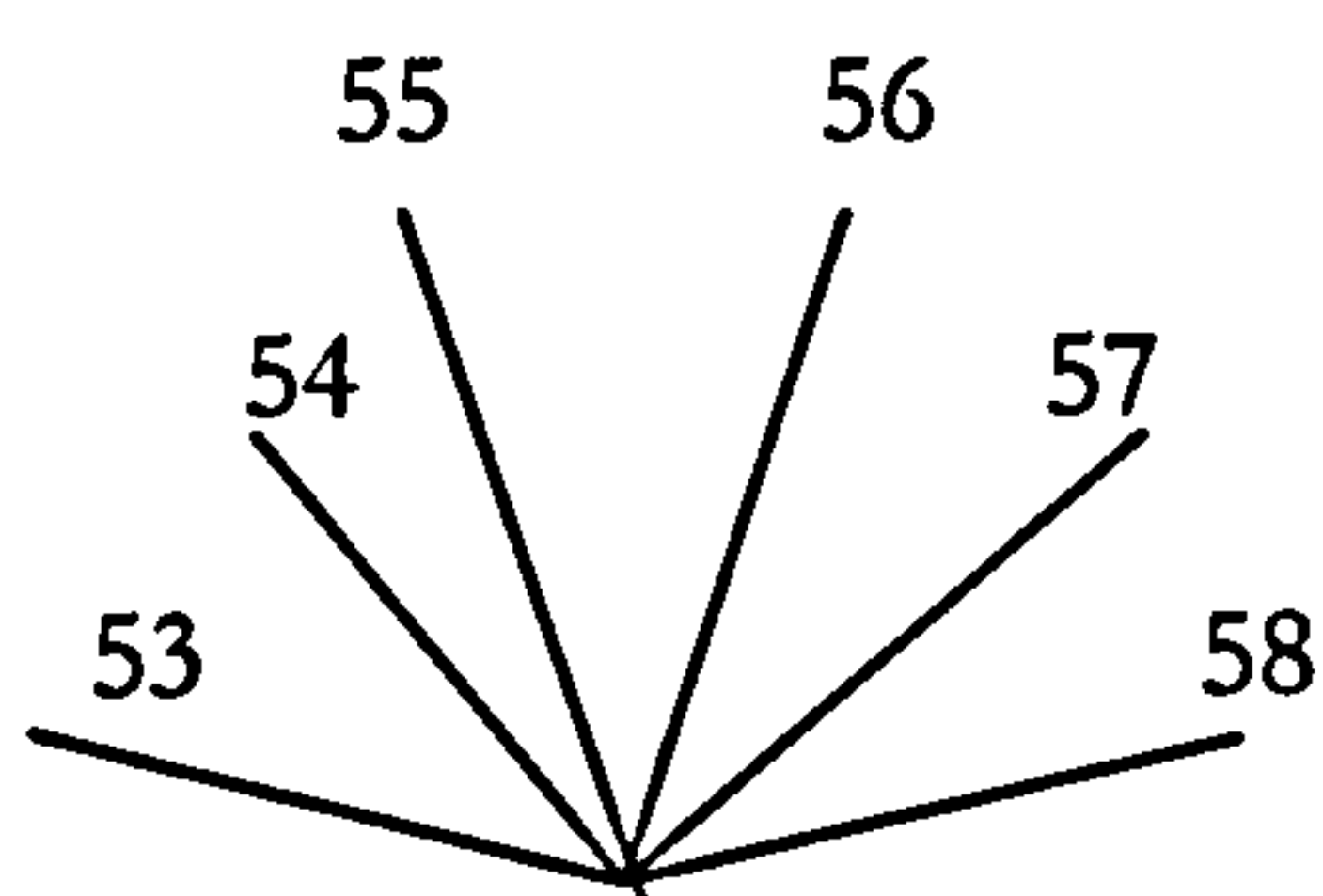
References

Macray 1893

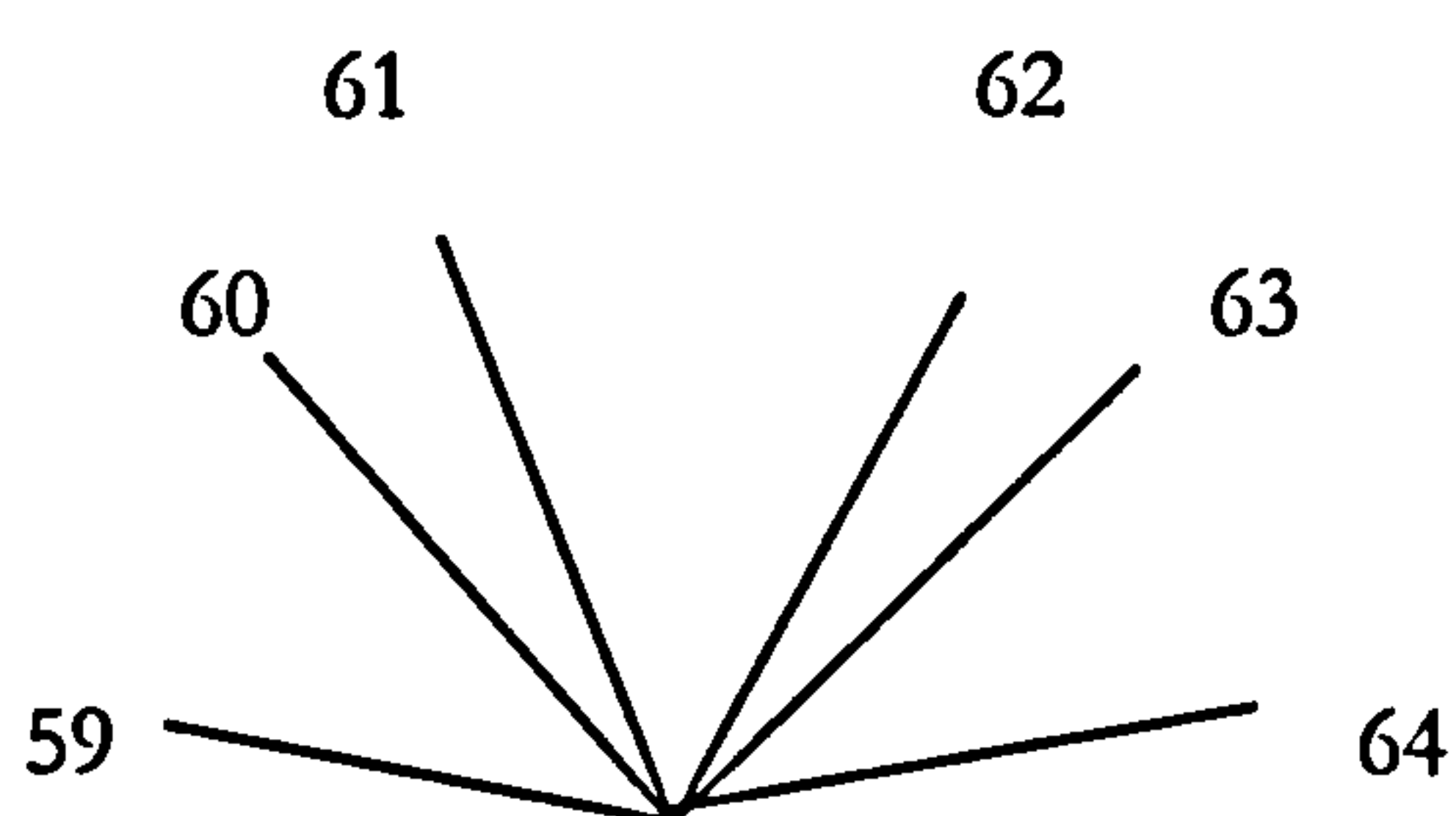
Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 407

The Manuscript

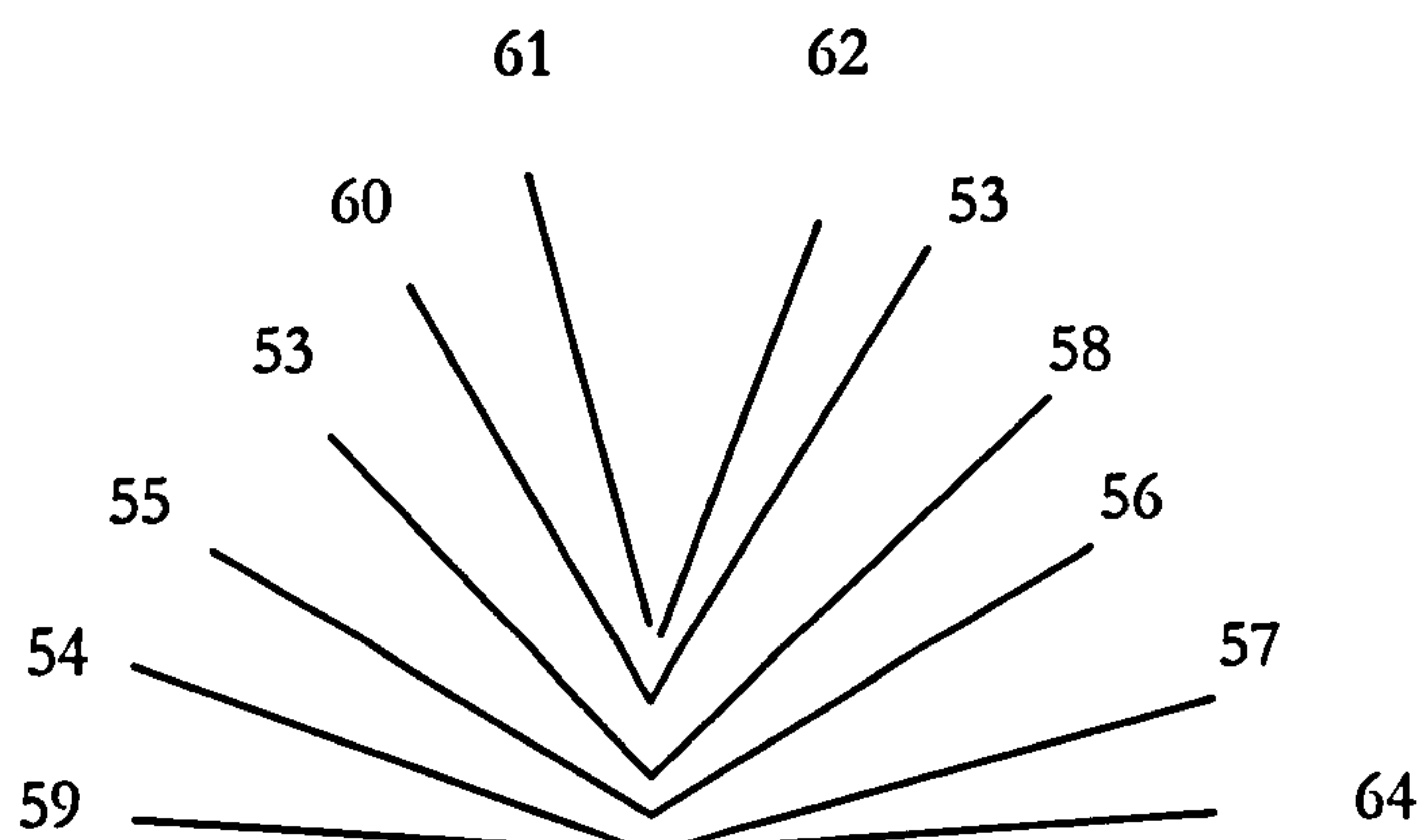
Date	s.xv ²
Dimensions	216 x 145 mm
Collation	I-II ¹⁶ III ⁸ IV ² V ⁴ VI ² VII ⁴ VIII-IX ⁶ Quire V lacks original leaves. According to Louis, the ordering of leaves in quires VIII and IX is probably not original: 'the leaves were disordered by an antiquarian at an early date' (1980, 4). Louis suggests the following reconstruction:



Present quire 8



Present quire 9



Hypothetical quire 8

Material**Paper****Script and decoration**

One main hand.²⁰¹ Neat, rather variable Anglicana, with some Secretary features.

Very little decoration, but spaces apparently left for decorated capitals on ff. 21r; 22r, 25v, 28r, 29v, 30r and 42r.²⁰² All but one of these appear in quire II, which, as Louis (1980, 14) notes 'appears to have been compiled for a social organisation'.

On f. 24r is a 7-line decorated I. Red underlining and colour touching in parts of the manuscript, but no consistent pattern of decoration.

²⁰¹ See Louis 1980, 7–11 for a thorough discussion of the scribe of this manuscript.

²⁰² Louis suggests that these were left for illuminated capitals (1980, 13), but without further evidence, we cannot say if illumination was ever intended, or whether the capitals were simply to be decorated.

Contents²⁰³

1. ff. 1r–7v: *Statim panis et seruisie*. Assize of bread and ale. Latin to f. 6v, then English.
2. ff. 7v–8r: Weights and measures. Latin
3. f. 8r: Sum of Peter's Pence in England. Latin and English
4. f. 8r: Fires in Norwich and Acle. Latin
5. f. 8r: An epitaph. Latin
6. f. 8r: The hexachords. Latin
7. f. 8r: Family notices. Latin
8. f. 8v: *Ad faciendam iusiurandum ad inquisitionem*: oaths administered to jurors. English and Latin
9. f. 8v: *Articuli curie*: articles of courts leet. Latin
10. f. 9r: The manner of doing homage and fealty. English
11. f. 9r–10r: Record of court proceedings. Latin
12. f. 10v: French numbers
13. f. 10v: Latin proverbs
14. f. 10v: Cipher disclosing the location of a silver cup
15. f. 10v: English verse: *The drops of Christ's blood*²⁰⁴
16. f. 10v: Directions for finding changes of the moon. *MWME 77*
17. f. 10v: Latin verse: *De etate virginis Marie gloriose*
18. f. 10v: The Ember Days. Latin
19. f. 11r: Terms for food rents. English
20. f. 11r–v: Charges to peace officers. English

²⁰³ I have listed the contents following Louis, who has arranged them according to his reconstruction of quire VIII.

²⁰⁴ *IMEV* 3443.

21. f. 11v–13r: Directions for bloodletting. *MWME* 297
22. f. 13r: Various taxes. Latin
23. f. 13r: ‘*Ter quinquagenos cantat*’ Latin verse on the number of psalms
24. f. 13v–14r: Latin numbers
25. f. 14r–v: Lands of the manor of Acle. Latin
26. f. 14v: Concords. Latin
27. f. 14v–15r: Charm for the fever. Latin
28. f. 15r: *Pro morbo caduco*. Latin remedy for epilepsy
29. f. 15r: Procedure for divination, including a charm to know a thief,
MWME 356e
30. ff. 15r, 16v: Recipes for ink, glue and tempering. *MWME* 417
31. f. 16r: ‘Ffor the axis’: remedy for the access (an intermittent fever).
Latin
32. f. 16r: Churchwardens accounts. English
33. f. 16r: Receipt of the flock of Acle
34. f. 16v: Death notices of members of the Reynes family. Latin
35. ff. 17r–v: Rome-skot de Acle. Assessments for Peter’s Pence. Latin
36. f. 17v: Precepts in verse. English
37. f. 17v: ‘Lord Ihesus Cryst, Goddes saue on Lyve’. English prayer
38. f. 18r: The sacraments of the Church. Latin
39. f. 18r: Death notices of the Rector of Acle. Latin
40. f. 18r: ‘Lex is layd adown’ English ‘abuses of the age’ verse²⁰⁵
41. f. 18r: Three virtues. English
42. f. 18r: A sum. Latin

²⁰⁵ *IMEV* 1870

43. f. 18r: Calculation of net distances. English
44. ff. 18v–19r: A series of triads. English
45. f. 19v: Distances between celestial bodies. Latin
46. ff. 20r–v: The *Trinubium* of St Anne. English
47. ff. 20v: ‘*Et tuus Anna pater...*’ Latin
48. ff. 20v: Summary of the lineage and family of St Anne. English
49. ff. 21r–29r: The life of St Anne. English
50. ff. 29v–32r: Two miracles of the Virgin. English
51. f. 32r: Stanza on three worthies: Arthur, Charlemagne and David.
English
52. f. 32r: ‘The root of wisdom’. English
53. f. 32v: A nine worthies pageant. English
54. f. 33r: Notes on St Paul’s, Westminster Hall and Westminster
Abbey. English
55. f. 33r: The London address of William Stone, skinner. English
56. f. 33v: Streets in London. English
57. f. 33v: Three itineraries: Acle–London; London–Wales; Norwich
Tyntarn, Wales. English
58. f. 34r: Notes on the zodiac. *MWME* 77
59. f. 34r: ‘ffor the fallyng euyll’. Latin remedy
60. f. 34v: Changes of the moon. Latin
61. f. 34v: Miscellaneous list of biblical names: apostles, saints and
angels. Latin
62. ff. 35r–v: Religious enumerations. English
63. f. 35v: The signs of death. English
64. f. 35v: ‘Flee sin and be merciful’. Verses against sin. English

65. ff. 36r–v: Charm received by the Popes. English explanation and Latin charm. *MWME* 362
66. f. 36v: ‘This Christian life’. English
67. f. 36v: *Memorare novissima tua*. English
68. f. 37r: List of statutes. Latin
69. f. 37v: Geographical statistics. English
70. f. 38r: Proceedings at Norfolk County Court. Latin
71. f. 38r: Formula for restoration of lands. Latin.
72. f. 38v: ‘What world is this?’ English
73. f. 38v: ‘Old age and a young wife’. English
74. f. 38v: Notes on Adam. English
75. f. 39r: On Rome. English
76. f. 39v: ‘From Acle to Caunterburi’. English
77. f. 39r: *Septuagesima*. English
78. f. 39v: ‘The IIII Knyghtis þat rechyd Sepulture’. English
79. f. 39v: The Rector of Blofield. Latin
80. ff. 40 r–v: List of tenancies. English and Latin
81. ff. 40v: A recipe for feed for doves. English
82. f. 41r: ‘þe presentacyon of þe Lordys of Venysse’
83. f. 41v: *Hundredi Norffolchie*. English
84. ff. 42r–43r: *The woman recluse and the wounds of Jesus*. English
85. ff. 43v–44r: *The speech of delight*. English
86. f. 44v: Epilogue to a church play. English
87. ff. 45r–47v: Fragment of the fifteen signs of the last Judgement. English
88. f. 48r: Obituaries of the rectors of Acle. Latin
89. f. 48r: Obituary of John Fastolf. Latin

90. f. 48v: Instructions for prayer with Rosary beads. English
91. f. 48v: *Reges colonie*. Latin
92. ff. 49r–50v: Four contracts. English
93. f. 51r: ‘Nails of Christ’ charm: multipurpose measurement charm.
MWME 367
94. f. 51v: Major events in the history of the world. Latin
95. f. 52r: Battles in the Wars of the Roses. English
96. f. 52r: Satirical poem: ‘A fryer, an heyward, a fox’. English
97. f. 52r: *Fratres Carmeli navagant*. Satire, ciphered and censored in this manuscript.
98. f. 52v: ‘Man vnkynde’. English poem²⁰⁶
99. f. 52v: *Hac non rade via*. Exhortation to say the Ave Maria. Latin.
100. f. 52v: A visit by the lord of the manor. Latin
101. f. 52v: The seven liberal arts. Latin
102. f. 59r and 54r: A royal grant and inspeximus. Latin
103. f. 54r: The positions of Arabic numerals. Latin
104. f. 54r: ‘Tothake’. Latin remedy
105. ff. 54r–55v: Taxes levied for support of archers. English
106. ff. 53r–v: Prognostications according to the Dominical letter. *MWME* 119h
107. f. 53v: Prognostications according to thunder. Latin
108. f. 53v: Total of taxes collected at Acle. English
109. ff. 60r–v: ‘Weyghtis and mesuris’. *MWME* 428
110. f. 60v: *Clericus mercati*. English

²⁰⁶ *IMEV* 2507

111. f. 61r: 'Charge to the Maysteris of euery craft'. English
112. f. 61r: Benevolence of William Calthorpe to Edward IV. English
113. f. 61v: The religious significance of the numbers 1–12. Latin
114. f. 61v: Calendar notes. Latin
115. f. 61v: *Nomen ordines*. Names of the types of angels. Latin
116. ff. 61v–62r: 'Walsyngham' notes and a miracle. Latin and English
117. ff. 56r–v; 58r–v and 62r–v: Formulas for legal documents. Latin
118. f. 57r: *Portis*. Port tax. Latin
119. f. 57v, 64r: List of archbishoprics. Latin
120. f. 64v: 'A cisio-jauns'. Versified calendar. Latin

Language²⁰⁷

East Midlands (Louis 1980, 39)

LALME I, 152

Intermittent English on pp. 15–37; language of S. central Norfolk

Provenance²⁰⁸

The manuscript was compiled and owned by Robert Reynes. Reynes seems to have been a Reeve in Acle, which lies midway between Norwich and Great Yarmouth in Norfolk. He is known to have bought a tenement in 1469, and was still alive in 1505. He appears to have acted as an officer of judicial courts, and even as a 'petty police officer' (Louis 1980, 29).

²⁰⁷ The language of the manuscript is discussed in detail in Louis 1980, 39–93.

²⁰⁸ See Louis 1980, 27–39 for a discussion of Reynes and the community of Acle.

Signs of use

The manuscript evidently functioned as a personal miscellany and notebook.

Recipes and charms have been added on odd pages, and there are several references to the village of Acle.

Related Manuscripts

MWME 77

MWME 119h: **SI 340**

MWME 297

MWME 356e

MWME 362

MWME 367

MWME 417

MWME 428

References

Louis 1980

York, Cathedral Library, MS XVI. E. 32 (Killingholme MS)

The Manuscript

Date	s.xiv ^{ex} –xv ⁱⁿ
Dimensions	180–88 x 122–35 mm
Collation	iv + 173 +iii. I ⁶ II ⁶ (+1 ins. after 6) III–V ¹² VI ¹⁰ (wants 1–3 before f. 50) VII–VIII ¹² IX–XI ⁸ XII ⁸ (wants 1, 2 before f. 105) XIII ⁸ (wants 1 after f. 117) XIV ⁸ XV ⁶ (wants 1, 3, 5) XVI–XVIII ⁸ XIX ⁸ (wants 2, 6) XX ⁶ (+1 ins. after 5) XXI ⁸
Material	Parchment. Some leaves stitched, such as f. 110, f. 152

Script and decoration

Various hands, mostly writing in clear Anglicana.

ff. 14r–78v:	Current Anglicana
ff. 81r–108r; 111r–144v:	Anglicana formata
ff. 109v–110v; 145r–173v:	Bastard Anglicana
f. 173v:	Textura

Decoration is not consistent throughout:

ff. 14r–78v; 129r–144v:	2 and 3-line red initials
ff. 81r–108r	2 line blue initials, 1-line red or blue initials
f. 108v:	Zodiac man, poorly drawn in black and red ink
f. 164v–165r:	Pictures illustrating instructions on the making of turpentine, including drawings of various stills and vessels
f. 166r:	Marginal drawing of a cow upside-down under storm clouds

f. 167r: Circular urine chart, with a small amount of gold illumination colouring one of the vessels

Contents

1. f. 1r: Added notes in various hands:
The reigns of Kings from Alfred until Henry IV
Outbreaks of plague in 1348, 1361, 1367, etc.
Insurrection in 1381
2. f. 1v–5v: Recipes and charms in English and Latin , including:
 - 2.1. f. 1v: Latin verse text on the use of a Pythagorean sphere for prognostication²⁰⁹
 - 2.2. f. 3r: Ananizaptus charm for epilepsy. *MWME* 337
 - 2.3. f. 4r: English notes on perilous days
 - 2.4. f. 5v: Recipe for sealing wax
3. f. 5v–6r: Middle English translation of the Sphere of Pythagoras treatise on (cf. f. 1v).²¹⁰ *MWME* 131b
4. ff. 7r–12v: Astronomical calendar. Names added later in the column for saints
5. f. 13r: Table of lunar eclipses from 1414–1450
6. f. 13v: Table of solar eclipses from 1411–1462
7. ff. 14r–78v: Medical recipes
8. ff. 79v–80: Added recipes and charms in English and Latin
9. f. 80v: Text added later, forming the beginning of the index to the following text

²⁰⁹ See Voigts 1994, 1, n. 3.

10. ff. 81r–108: Medical treatise. ‘This tretyse byfore wryten is compyled of þe tretyses of arystotel Galyene and of ypocras and of oþer leches of salerne. Magister Willelmus Leche de Kylingholme²¹¹
- Leaves missing before f. 105
11. f. 108v: Zodiac man; English notes
12. f. 109r–v: Zodiac table and the beginning of an explanatory text in English
13. ff. 109v–110v: Discussion of perilous days on which to let blood. *MWME* 118²¹²
14. f. 110v: Latin charm
15. ff. 111r–112r: *De Phlebotomia* of Galen. *MWME* 291²¹³
16. ff. 112r–114r: *Nomina barbarum*. Latin and English glossary of herbs
17. ff. 114r–116v: Herbal recipes. English
18. ff. 116v–117v: Phlebotomy text: ‘On the virtues of letting blood’. *MWME* 118²¹⁴
19. ff. 118r–119r: Prognostications: Christmas Day, prose. *MWME* 119d
20. ff. 119r–120r: *A Tretys of Diverse Herbis*.²¹⁵ *MWME* 233
21. ff. 120r–121r: Henry Daniel’s treatise on the virtues of rosemary. *MWME* 240

²¹⁰ See Voigts 1994, 124, n. 5.

²¹¹ The name is written in blue ink, probably by the main scribe.

²¹² Misprinted as York Minster XVI. E. 2 in *MWME*.

²¹³ Cf. similar texts in *TK* 867–68.

²¹⁴ Misprinted as York Minster XVI. E. 2 in *MWME*.

²¹⁵ See Powell 1987 for a discussion of this text.

22. ff. 121v: Chiromancy: drawing of a left hand with English explanations of lines. *MWME* 139
23. ff. 122r: ‘Of her þ’ is euene and fayr be tokynys dwellyng’: treatise defining personality on the basis of physical characteristics.
24. ff. 123r–125v: Dream interpretation: *The dream book of Daniel*. *MWME* 127
25. f. 125v–v: Recipes against flies
26. ff. 126r–129r: Recipes and charms. f. 126r rubbed and hardly legible, including:
- 26.1. ff. 128v–129r: Charm to heal a wound with a plate of lead. *MWME* 346
27. ff. 129r–144v: Recipe collection ascribed to Galen. Includes the following:
- 27.1. Charms, crossed out ff. 141v–142r and 143v–144r, including:
f. 144r: Latin version of the charm to heal a wound with a plate of lead and a prayer of the five wounds in French.
28. ff. 145r–165v: Recipes, including 54 lines in red ff. 162r–163r on the virtues of Aqua vitae perfectissima. English

Single leaves missing after ff. 153 and 156.

29. ff. 166r–170r: Colours of urines; diagram followed by an explanation in English
30. ff. 170r–173v: Remedies and charms for fevers. English, with Latin charms on ff. 172v–173v
31. f. 173v: Astrological predictions. Latin

Language

LALME

I, 224: ff. 108v–117v, 122v–125r, 145v–end: East Anglian, north-west Norfolk.

ff. 126r–128v:	Nottinghamshire
ff. 129r– 144r:	Shropshire or north Herefordshire
ff. 81r–108r:	Probably Leicestershire English, but signs of mixture. Leics.
ff. 118v–121r:	Language of NW Derbyshire.

Provenance

Very little is known. On f. 108r is the note ‘Magister Williams leche de kylingholme’. Killingsholme is in Lincolnshire, 10 miles north-west of Grimsby.

Signs of use

Lots of marginalia in contemporary and later hands. Most marginal notes repeat key words in the titles of recipes, and occasionally add recipes. Several corrections by the rubricator (e.g. ff. 71v, 72r).

f. 22r, f. 156r:	Marginal drawings of tongues
f. 59v:	Two pointing hands in different styles

Other pointing hands found on ff. 92r, 96r, 101v.

Related Manuscripts

<i>MWME</i> 118:	S1 989
<i>MWME</i> 119d:	S1 989
<i>MWME</i> 127	
<i>MWME</i> 131b	
<i>MWME</i> 139	
<i>MWME</i> 233:	Pepys 1661; Stk X.90; Bühler 21
<i>MWME</i> 240:	Pepys 1661; Stk X.90; Bühler 21

MWME 291: **Ha 1735; Royal 17 C; HM 1336**

MWME 337: **Stk X.90**

References

MMBL IV

Harvard University, Countway Library MS 19

The Manuscript²¹⁶

Date	s.xv ^{3/4} c. 1468
Dimensions	ff. 71. 140 x 95 mm
Collation	I ²⁰ II ²⁰ III ¹⁶ IV ¹⁸ (wants 3) ²¹⁷

Material

Paper, thick but uniform.²¹⁸ Binding is a cover of stiffened parchment, which is folded (front and back) slightly over the right edge. The manuscript is described by Linda Voigts as ‘a small, handsomely written paper codex in pristine condition’. (1985,12)

Script and decoration

One hand, identified by A. I. Doyle as the Westminster scribe William Ebesham. Brown ink. Blue initials, red letters, capitals and underlining. Fifteenth-century Secretary script with some Anglicana features. On ff. 16v–19r there are drawings of twenty uroscopy flasks. On f. 57v there is a full page illustration of a zodiac man.

Contents

1. ff. 1r–13v: *Manipulus medicinae*. On digestive and laxative medicines. Latin²¹⁹

²¹⁶ I have not been able to examine this manuscript in person. The physical description is from Harley 1985, Voigts 1985 and 1990.

²¹⁷ Updated collation from Voigts 1990.

²¹⁸ Watermark is a crown above a shield with two vertical bands, the ‘Arms of Valencia’, similar to Briquet 2064 (Voigts 1985, 87).

²¹⁹ TK 982.

2. ff. 14r–19v: *Practica urinarum*. English uroscopy treatise. MWME 301
3. ff. 19v–20r: *Expositiones colorum urinarum*²²⁰
4. ff. 20v–22r: Latin recipes for ‘aqua mirabilis’, including *Puluis diureticus & contra ventisotatem* (or *Puluis Walteri*). Latin²²¹
5. ff. 22r–31v: *Tractatus nobilis de Regimine Sanitatis*. Latin²²²
6. ff. 32r–33r: *Tractatus de mirabilibus aque*. Latin²²³
7. ff. 33v–43r: *Tractatus Magistri Johannis de Burgundia de epidemia*.
Latin²²⁴
8. ff. 43r–49r: *Tractatus Johannis de Barba*. English version of the
John of Burgundy/Bordeaux plague tract. MWME 305
9. ff. 49r–54r: *Exhortatio bona contra morbum pestilenciam*. Latin version of
John of Burgundy/Bordeaux plague tract²²⁵
10. ff. 54v–55v: *De conditionibus septem planetarum*. English treatise
on the physiognomical and behavioural traits conferred
by planetary signs. MWME 46
- f. 56r blank
11. ff. 56v–59r: *De signis sumptis per lunam in quo signo zodiaci sit*.
Discussions of astrological signs. Latin²²⁶
12. ff. 59v–63v: *Tabula ad inveniendum planetam*. Latin.

²²⁰ TK 235.

²²¹ TK 1325.

²²² TK 135.

²²³ TK 7.

²²⁴ TK 488.

²²⁵ TK 431.

²²⁶ TK 80.

Language

East Midlands (Harley 1985, 173)²²⁷

Provenance

A. I. Doyle suggests that this is the 'litill boke of phisyke' copied by William Ebesham for John Paston II.²²⁸ Ebesham charged twenty pence for the book, but evidently had difficulty receiving payment, as he had to ask for it on at least two occasions (Davis 1971 II, letters 751; 755).

²²⁷ This manuscript is not listed in *LALME*.

²²⁸ This identification was made in private communications, as noted by Voigts 1990, 55, n. 25.

Related Manuscripts²²⁹*MWME* 46*MWME* 301*MWME* 305: Pepys 878; SI 706; NLM**References**

Harley 1985

Voigts 1985

Voigts 1990

²²⁹ This manuscript is related to the 'Sloane Group' identified by Voigts (1990). The six main 'Sloane Group' manuscripts are:

Sloane MSS 1313; 2320; 2567; 2948.

Voigts uses Sloane 2320 as the 'core' for the texts contained in the group.

In addition, Voigts identified four other smaller manuscripts, including **Countway 19** as 'half-sisters, or at least cousins' to the main group (1990, 27):

Countway 19, Sloane 3566; BL Add. MS 19674; Trinity College MS O. 1. 77 (1102).

Of particular interest is the fact that it is these three manuscripts, physically less similar to the core group, which have the greatest textual affinity with Sloane 2320: 'Countway 19 contains all twelve texts and tables in the order seen in Sloane MSS 2320 and 3566 and no additional texts' (Voigts 1990, 32).

Voigts also identifies five more manuscripts as 'the second generation of a family that has grown prosperous' (1990, 27). These are:

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 336/725

Takamiya MS 33 (described as a twin to the Caius manuscript)

Wellcome Historical Medical Library MS 784

BL Add. MS 5467

Oxford Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C. 815

Huntington Library, MS HM 1336

The Manuscript²³⁰

Date	s.xv ^{med}
Dimensions	216–19 x 145 (167–178 x 110) mm
Collation	i (mod. parchment) + i (medieval parchment) + 36 + i (mod. parchment) + i (medieval parchment) I ¹⁰ II ⁸ III ¹² (wants 6, 7) IV ⁸ . Quire III is of separate origin to the rest of the manuscript. It has no leaf signatures, ruling or red decoration, and is written by a different hand
Material	Parchment. The flyleaves, which once formed the wrappers of the book, are from a late s.xiv or early s.xv English liturgical book, possibly a missal

Script and decoration

A single hand for all items except 4, identified on f. 36r as that of Symon Wysbech, student of canon law at Cambridge.²³¹ Wysbech wrote in an Anglicana script, and the manuscript is decorated with 1-line initials (item 2) slashed in red, rubrics, paragraph marks and line fillers in red. On f. 13 there is a rough sketch of two faces.

²³⁰ I have not been able to examine this manuscript in person. Details from Dutschke 1989, II, 562–64.

²³¹ Wysbech is not identified in *BRUC*.

Contents

1. f. 1r–v: Two recipes, probably the end of a collection now lost
2. ff. 1r–2r: Latin/English herbal glossary, with approximately 130 entries
3. ff. 2v–18v, 29r–34v : A series of about 230 recipes and charms, including a number of non-medical recipes, for pigments, inks and rat poison, amongst others. Includes on ff. 34r–v a prose treatise on lucky and unlucky days, *MWME* 118
4. ff. 19r–28v: This is a quire from another manuscript, which begins and ends imperfectly, and has lost the central bifolium. It now contains approximately 168 recipes, arranged *de capite ad pedem*. There are also some magical recipes, including methods for preparing egg-white ink legible only by candlelight, how to make a chicken seem dead, how to make a man seem headless, and how to make white crows. The latter part of the text lists beneficial herbs and harmful behaviours for different parts of the body. English
5. ff. 34v–35r: ‘Of thundrynge in diuersis tymis of ye 3ere’. Prose prognostications from thunder. *MWME* 122b
6. f. 35r: ‘How diuerse 3eres oftyn fallyn thorw chonging of dais’. Prognostications based on the calendar, known as the ‘Kalends of January’. *MWME* 119j

7. f. 35r: 'Good dais to be lat blode'. Bloodletting tract.
English
8. ff. 35r–v 'In ye 3ere arn xxxii perlouse dais'. Perilous days:
astrological medicine. English
9. ff. 35v–36r: Diet and bloodletting ascribed to Galen. 'How ye
xalle be gouernd euey month in ye 3ere'. *MWME*
291

Language

LALME

I, 219, ff. 1r–18v, 29r–end

LP: 618

Grid: Not entered on maps

Norfolk

I, 242 ff. 19r–28v:

Language from extreme S Central Norfolk or just over the Suffolk border

Provenance

Wysbech wrote most of the volume for Robert Taylour of Boxford in Suffolk. f. 36r: 'Explicit good gouernanse quod symen. Nunc scripsitotum pro christo da michi potum. Iste liber constat Roberto Taylour de Boxforde. Omnibus omnia non mea sompnia dicere possum. Quod Symon Wysbech scholaris cantabrig inceptor canonum et legens sive studens in iure canonica. Symon Wysbech studens in iure canonico. Hec predicta scripsit benedictur deus.'

Related Manuscripts

MWME 118: **Sl 989; York**

MWME 119j

MWME 122b: **Sl 989**

MWME 291: **Ha 1735; Royal 17 C; Sl 442; Sl 521; York**

References

Dutschke 1989, II, 562–54

National Library of Medicine MS 514 (*olim* 4)

The Manuscript²³²

Date	s.xiv ^{ex} – s.xv ⁱⁿ
Dimensions	205–20 x 130–5 mm. ff. 117
Collation	Unknown. The manuscript seems likely to be comprised of booklets, given the variety of hands and dates which Mayer (1939) observes and blank leaves such as ff. 109v and 110.
Material	Paper

Script and decoration

A variety of hands, writing in brown ink. Decoration consists of red initials, titles, colour touching, underlining and paragraph marks through much of the manuscript. A facsimile of f. 16r is attached to Mayer 1939 before p. 381. The hand on this page is a cursive hybrid script, with Secretary <a> and <e>, but Anglicana <w> and some 8-shaped <g>s. There are also some hooked <g>s throughout the text. Both <p> and <th> are used.

Contents

1. ff. 1r–14r: Herbal synonyma²³³
2. ff. 14r–16r: List of herbal names in English²³⁴
3. ff. 16r–17r: Poem on bloodletting. *MWME* 288²³⁵

²³² I have not been able to examine this manuscript in person, so the description comes from Mayer 1939 and Schullian and Sommer 1945.

²³³ Not listed in *MWME*.

²³⁴ Not listed in *MWME*.

²³⁵ Edited in Mayer 1939, 388–90.

4. ff. 17r–18v: Plague tract attributed to John of Burgundy. *MWME* 305
5. ff. 18v–46v: Medical recipes. English²³⁶
6. ff. 47r–57r: Treatise on urines, illustrated with coloured urine flasks on f. 47r²³⁷
7. ff. 57v–60v: Treatise on the urines of a man or woman. Includes the following lines ‘construyd and mad construyd and mande be the wysest clerk of phisyk of ynglonde and translat out of laten in to englis be the demawnd of the Kyng’ (Mayer 1939, 383)²³⁸
8. ff. 60r–62v: Medical recipes. English²³⁹
9. f. 63r–v: *De Phlebotomia of Galen*. Monthly regimen²⁴⁰
10. ff. 64r–67v: Lydgate: *Dietary* (*MWME* vol. 6, 34)
11. ff. 65r–66v: Lydgate: *Stans puer ad mensam*. English poem on good table manners (*MWME* vol. 6, 171)
12. ff. 66v–67r: Lydgate: *Doctrine for pestilence* (*MWME* vol. 6, 36)
13. f. 67r: Prayers and incantations, including a ‘Job’ charm against worms. *MWME* 370c
14. ff. 67v–75r: Medical recipes in English, copied by John Shorn or Shorne²⁴¹

²³⁶ Not listed in *MWME*.

²³⁷ Not listed in *MWME*.

²³⁸ Mayer does not give a folio reference for this quotation.

²³⁹ Not listed in *MWME*.

²⁴⁰ The *De phlebotomia* is *MWME* 291 but this manuscript is not included in its list.

However, Mayer states that the text is ‘essentially the same as “p.200” on page 63 of *Henslow’s Medical works*’ (1939, 383). Henslow 1899, 63 contains transcriptions from BL Egerton 2852 (*olim* Henslow MS A), which is listed in *MWME* 291.

15. f. 75v: Botanical text (incomplete)
16. f. 76r: Astrological treatise. Latin²⁴²
17. f. 76v: Magi charm against epilepsy. Latin
18. f. 76v: Fragment of Pope Clement's Mass against instantaneous death
19. ff. 77r–81v: Medical recipes and charms. Latin and English²⁴³
20. ff. 82r–88v: English medical recipes, similar to those on ff. 18v–46v
21. ff. 89r–92v: Constantinus Africanus' *De urinis*. Latin. (ff. 91 and 92 are in the wrong order)
22. ff. 93r–94v: *De urinis mulierum*. Latin
23. ff. 95r–108v: Latin pharmacological notes²⁴⁴
24. ff. 109r–111v: Recipes against phlegm. English and Latin. Incomplete
f. 110r and most of 109v blank
25. ff. 112r–114v: *Of the elements*: English alchemical tract, incomplete
26. ff. 115r–117v: *The booke of alkamy*. English alchemical tract, incomplete²⁴⁵

²⁴¹ Mayer notes that on f. 73r, Shorn asks for prayers 'for his merits in copying the prescriptions' (1939, 385). One of the recipes is described as 'the erllys medycyn of Bokyngham Syr Thomas wodstoke þe kyngs sone þat now was duke of Glocestre þe which is now ded'. Mayer also observes that Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, died in 1397, showing that this section of the text was written after that date (1939, 385).

²⁴² Mayer suggests that this section of the manuscript was copied circa 1320.

²⁴³ Not listed in *MWME*.

²⁴⁴ Mayer (1939, 386) suggests that this may be the notebook of a medical student.

²⁴⁵ This is not listed under *MWME* 205 'the book of Alkamy'. It may be an incomplete version of Singer *Alchemy* no. 365, but is not listed in this work as it is not in a British or Irish collection. Without examining the text it is impossible to come to any conclusion at this stage.

Language

LALME, I, 60

East Anglian

Beadle 1991

Provenance

Owned in 1873 by Dr Thomas Windsor. Medieval provenance is unknown, but see ff. 67v–75r, which were copied by John Shorn or Shorne.

Signs of use

Folios damaged: ‘frayed and often fragmentary’ (Schullian and Sommer 1945, 246)

Related Manuscripts

IMEV 3848: **TCC**

MWME 288: **Rawl D; TCC**

MWME 305: **Pepys 878; Sl 706; Countway 19**

MWME 370c

MWME vol. 6, 34

MWME vol. 6, 171

References

Mayer 1939

Schullian and Sommer 1950

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Bühler MS 21

The Manuscript²⁴⁶

Date	s.xv
Dimensions	150 mm x 190 mm approx.
Collation	I ⁶ (wants 1) II ⁶ (wants 2, 3) III ⁸ IV ⁸ (wants 7, 8) V ⁸ (wants 3) VI–VIII ⁸ IX ⁸ (wants 8)
Material	Parchment. Bound in medieval binding of leather over oak boards, in a brown morocco case

Script and decoration

Various fifteenth-century hands

f. iiv: Coloured emblematical drawing (crown with spiral branches beneath, containing grotesques and mottoes)

Contents

Flyleaves: iii–vi:	Verses, proverbs and medical recipes in English and Latin.
vii–ix blank	
1. ff. 1r–14v:	Calendar: use of Norwich Cathedral; table for finding Easter; tables for finding Lunar (1429–1479) and Solar (1429–1462) eclipses
2. f. 15r:	Recipe ‘ffor the tothe ache’: remainder of leaf blank. <i>MWME 287v</i> ²⁴⁷
3. f. 16r–v:	English prose treatise on urines

²⁴⁶ I have been unable to examine this manuscript in person. All codicological details are from Bühler 1961, p. 285.

²⁴⁷ *MWME 287v* places this text on ff. 26v–45v.

4. ff. 17r–25v: Computus manual. Latin
 f. 26r blank
5. ff. 26v–45v: English metrical herbal. *MWME* 233²⁴⁸
6. ff. 45v–49v: English metrical medical treatise. *MWME* 261
7. ff. 50r–52v: Henry Daniel’s prose treatise on rosemary in English.
MWME 240

Language

LALME I, 224

Norfolk

Provenance

East Anglia, probably Norwich. Bühler finds evidence in the calendar text:

‘Pointing directly at Norwich is the entry for September 24 “Dedicacio ecclesie Norwicensis”. Providing further evidence for the Norfolk origin of the calendar is the notation for the feast of Little St. William of Norwich. This entry (“Passio sancti williami norwicensis”) also confirms the fact that, in the fifteenth century anyway, the feast of St William was celebrated on March 24; the *Acta Sanctorum* and other authorities now cite the following day’ (1961, 287).

iiiv: Three names in the same hand: Thomas Cotfold, Johannes Rothe, Robertus Halle; also signature of Johannes Landes. Bühler notes that ‘none of these Norfolk individuals can be identified’ (1961; 294, n3), but gives no explanation as to why he assumes they are from Norfolk.

iiir: Signature of Johannes Wylton.

²⁴⁸ Bühler notes some errors in this listing (1961, 297 n. 24).

Signs of use

Notes added on flyleaves

Related Manuscripts²⁴⁹

MWME 233: Pepys 1661; York; Stk X.90

MWME 240: Pepys 1661; York; Stk X.90

MWME 261: Stk X.90

MWME 287v

References

Bühler 1961

²⁴⁹ In his comparison of the texts in this manuscript and those containing related texts, Bühler states that:

A line-by-line comparison reveals that the new manuscript [MS Bühler 21] stand in close relationship to [BL Add. 17866], though it is slightly longer and (here and there) seems to offer more satisfactory readings (1961, 293).

Stockholm Royal Library MS X.90

The Manuscript²⁵⁰

Date	1400–1450
Dimensions	150 x 230 mm approx.
Collation	i (parchment) + 108 + i (parchment). Fourteen quires gathered in eights. ²⁵¹
Material	Thick paper, except for leaves 4–5 (pp. 7–10), which are parchment. ²⁵²

Script and decoration

Four hands:

Hand A: pp. 1–91; 12, 104; 29–216, 30.²⁵³

Hand B: pp. 91; 13–93; 24²⁵⁴

Hand C: pp. 93; 25–30²⁵⁵

Hand D: pp. 95; 1–104; 28²⁵⁶

Pages 95–104 have been dyed red. Headings and references in the sections written by hand A are in red

²⁵⁰ I have not been able to examine this manuscript in person. The physical description of this manuscript is taken from Brodin's edition (1950).

²⁵¹ The structure of the manuscript is complex, and it seems likely that it has been rebound incorrectly, confusing the ordering of the pages. Brodin gives a detailed discussion of the structure (1950, 42–54).

²⁵² The paper has four different watermarks: Briquet 15046, bull's head; 11959, a boat; 10622, a pair of spectacles; 15021, another bull's head (Brodin 1950, 33). The paper can be placed within the dates 1428–1446.

²⁵³ Jenkinson 1927, Plate I no II; Plate XXXV Nos. IV and V. Johnson and Jenkinson plate XXXa).

²⁵⁴ Jenkinson 1927, plate XXII, 1455.

²⁵⁵ Jenkinson 1927, plate XXII, 1455.

²⁵⁶ Johnson and Jenkinson XXVII; XXXIV. Cursive Secretary hand.

Contents²⁵⁷

1. pp. 1–18: Prose recipes in English (around 70) with four Latin recipes at the end. *MWME* 262
2. pp. 18–32: *The Vertues off Herbes*. Description of medicinal plants and their virtues. *MWME* 236
3. pp. 32–5: Prose recipes in English (around 23), mainly for diseases in the head, *MWME* 262, including on p. 35 an Ananizaptus charm for the falling evil in English. *MWME* 337
4. pp. 35–47: Verse recipes in English. *MWME* 261. Includes, on p. 46 St Nicasius charm against the pox. *MWME* 364
5. pp. 47–8: Eight prose recipes. *MWME* 262. Includes on p. 47 a sage-leaf charm against fevers, in English. *MWME* 338
6. pp. 49–80: *A tretys of diverse herbis*. *MWME* 233. Verse description of medicinal plants and their virtues, including:
 - 6.1. pp. 78–80: Verse recipes in English. *MWME* 261
7. pp. 80–6: Henry Daniel's translation of a treatise on rosemary (incomplete). *MWME* 240
8. pp. 86–93: Fourteen prose recipes plus seven recipes for various diseases and recipes 'for the mygyrm'. *MWME* 262
9. p. 95: List of medicinal plants
10. pp. 95–123: Prose recipes and charms (English and Latin).²⁵⁸ *MWME* 262. Includes two charms to heal wounds:

²⁵⁷ The pagination is problematic because of the mistakes in binding. As I have not been able to examine the manuscript myself, I have followed the list supplied by Brodin. For a detailed discussion, see Brodin 1950, 59–61.

- 10.1. pp. 117–8: Plate of lead charm. *MWME* 346
- 10.2. p. 120 Charm to St William. *MWME* 345
11. pp. 123–6: Uroscopy tract. English²⁵⁹
12. pp. 126–50: Prose recipes and charms (Around 73: English and Latin, with one French charm), together with four medical rules ‘ad cognosscendum pregnantēs’. *MWME* 262
13. pp. 151–2: Treatise on bloodletting. English²⁶⁰
14. pp. 152–5: Prose recipes (around 21) *MWME* 262, including a Holy Rood charm against foes, *MWME* 358²⁶¹
15. 156–216: *Agnus Castus* (incomplete). *MWME* 234

Language

LALME I, 219 pp. 1–91; 104–216

LP 4665

Grid 590 318

Norfolk

LALME I, 224 pp. 35–43

North Central Norfolk

Provenance

Brodin discusses the manuscript’s provenance based on the inscription ‘Frawsham halle’ on the top of p. 49 in the manuscript. He suggests that this is a reference to Old Hall, or Oldhall Manor, at Little Fransham in Norfolk, about six miles to the

²⁵⁸ The text on the red pages is largely composed of charms.

²⁵⁹ Not listed in *MWME*.

²⁶⁰ Not listed in *MWME*.

²⁶¹ This is the only manuscript listed for this charm.

west of East Dereham: 'If we compare the combination Fransham and "Old Hall" or "Oldhall Manor", with Frawsham Halle, the assumption is close at hand that Frawsham is nothing else than Fransham. The absence of n may be explained as an omission of an n-stroke by scribes. If Fransham and Frawsham are indeed identical it would mean that the scribe of an original of this part of X [the manuscript] lived at or knew of Fransham and for some reason regarded the name as being worth taken down (sic). The theory of the two names being identical is supported by the fact that the dialect of X resembles very much that of Norfolk. There is of course a slight possibility that the whole of X was compiled at Fransham, but without further evidence it is impossible to say anything definite' (1950, 32).

Signs of use

There are frequent marginal notes in later hands. There is fading on pp. 95–104, probably due to water, and large bolts on pp. 110–12. Text has been crossed out on a number of pages: 'The inking out of parts of pp. 120, 121, 145 and 146 must be the result of a deliberate attempt to obliterate the text because it contains charms' (Brodin 1950, 42).

Related Manuscripts

<i>MWME</i> 233:	Pepys 1661; York; Bühler 21
<i>MWME</i> 234	
<i>MWME</i> 236:	Royal 17 C
<i>MWME</i> 240:	Pepys 1661; York; Bühler 21
<i>MWME</i> 261:	Bühler 21
<i>MWME</i> 262	
<i>MWME</i> 337:	York

MWME 345: **BLA; York; Sl 521; Hu 117; SJC**

MWME 346: **Sl 521; Hu 117; SJC**

MWME 364

pp. 151–52: **Bloodletting tract also found in Hu 117²⁶²**

References

Brodin 1950

²⁶² *IMEP* X, 25.

Takamiya MS 38

The Manuscript²⁶³

Date	c. 1450
Dimensions	162 x 220 mm
Collation²⁶⁴	ff. 118. i ² + I ⁶ (first and last leaves wanting), II ⁸ –IV ⁸ , V ⁷ (second leaf wanting), VI ⁸ –VII ⁸ , VIII ⁷ (fifth leaf wanting), IX ⁸ , X ⁷ (first leaf wanting), XI ⁸ –XIII ⁸ , XIV ³ (last five leaves wanting), XV ⁸ , XVI ⁷ ²⁶⁵
Material	Parchment

²⁶³ I have not been able to examine this manuscript, so this description is taken from Manzalaoui 1977.

²⁶⁴ The collation is from Manzalaoui, who includes the following remarks:

Weil states that the quires consisted originally of eight leaves each, except the last but one, which he describes - with the addition of an interrogation mark - as “a gathering of ten”. A few leaves are missing, as Dr Weil points out, “probably on account of fine initials, the offprints of some [of which] are showing”. It is possible that these missing illuminations contained illustrations as well as initials. I have taken the missing folios into consideration in numbering the leaves of the manuscript: they are ff. 1, 8, 34, 61 and 73: all contained the opening passages of sections of the text, i.e. the proem and each of the four books into which the body of the work has been divided. Fols 33v and 72 are blank, the recto of each containing the *explicit* to the Book which precedes. The missing folios enumerated above are the ones relevant to the textual study, and do not include fly-leaves (1977, xxx).

²⁶⁵ Manzalaoui makes an additional note about the final quire:

To say with Dr Weil that the last quire is a gathering of ten, with three leaves missing, seems to me an inadequate explanation of the manner in which the quire (in fact eight leaves with one missing) seems to consist partly of single leaves, to which no corresponding halves of bifolia were attached (1977, xxx n. 3).

Script and decoration

Written by a single hand throughout.²⁶⁶ The manuscript is in the same hand as Princeton UL MS Garrett 141. Described by Weil as ‘a bastard hand’,²⁶⁷ it is a very distinctive cursive Anglicana hand, with a few Secretary features such as the long <g>, rather than the characteristic 8 shape of Anglicana. It is distinguished by the use of upright broad strokes. The explicit to Book I is on this folio and is in Bastard Anglicana. The hand is fluid and curved, with few broken strokes. Features include sigma final <-s>, long initial and medial; Secretary <g> with a hooked appearance; double-lobed <a> and Anglicana <w>. Manzalaoui observes:

The text of the *Priuyté*, though written in a clear hand, seems to have been transcribed hastily. The word ‘capitil’ is frequently missing in the headings to the chapters, leaving an ordinal numerical adjective with no noun following it. The chapter numbers in the body of the text do not correspond with the numbering in the list of contents. The scribe has been through the manuscript, revising it, correcting words, adding letters above the line and phrases in the margin, and cancelling words and letters through erasure and expunction (1977, xxx).

The margins are wide, and the book is quite a luxurious production. Weil notes that it contains ‘a large number of initials in burnished gold or azure’, and that there are several decorations, including ‘a fine initial A in burnished gold enclosing a thistle

²⁶⁶ A facsimile of f. 35r is inserted between pages 140 and 141 in Manzalaoui 1977, allowing me to examine the hand of this manuscript.

²⁶⁷ Quoted in Manzalaoui 1977, xxix.

painted in varying shades of blue' (f. 40v), and some 'elaborate pen work in red and purple frequently extending to the full length of the border'.²⁶⁸

The binding is contemporary with the manuscript, and is of brown calf, over wooden boards. Back with raised bands (very slightly damaged); clasps missing.

Contents

1. ff. 4r–109v: *De Priuyté of Priuyteis* apparently translated from the *Secretum Secretorum* by Johannes de Caritate. *MWME* 13²⁶⁹
2. ff. 109v–122: Alchemical tract: 'The chef werke or operacion of alle clergé þat may be wrought by man'²⁷⁰

Language

LALME I, 242

Apparently of Suffolk

The language is distinguished by its use of qw- features, such as qwan, qwerfor.

Provenance

The first section was written for Sir Miles Stapleton, of Ingham, Norfolk. Stapleton, who died in 1466 and is known to have been a patron of John Metham (Moore 1913, 197), was also known to the Pastons:

f. 4. a meruulus wytt, þat bothe he was a nobyl werryur of knightly
 prowes alle the dayis of this present lyfe, eke a nobyl phylysophur, all
 alle prouydens and moral vertuys, bothe of practyk and eloqwens, hos

²⁶⁸ Quoted in Manzalaoui 1977, xxix.

²⁶⁹ Edited by Manzalaoui 1977, 114–202.

²⁷⁰ Not listed in *MWME*.

name men clepyd Sir Milis Stapylton, þe qwyche lyuyd in dayis of Henry þe Syxte, kyng of Englund. Þe qwyche notabyl knyght, for vertu, and to profyte hem þat schuld come aftyr him, dyd me to translate thys boke owte of Latyn in to Englysch.²⁷¹

²⁷¹ Manzalaoui evidently intended to publish further information on the provenance of this manuscript, in volume 2 of his edition (1977, xxxi, xxxii). The second volume, however, appears never to have been published. He does include a discussion of the possible identity of Johannes de Caritate (1977, xxxi–xxxii):

The *explicit* to Book I (ff. 33) reads: *Pariensis / Explicit primus liber de Secretis secretorum, secundum translacionem Johannis de Caritate*. This name is not, *pace* Dr Weil, that of the Latin translator, the Latin text followed being a recension of Tripolitanus. An inscription on the front end-paper reads “Johannes de Charitate Doctor Parisiensis huius libris novissimus translator”: but this is in a post-medieval hand, so that there is no justification for assuming that the attribution of a Paris doctorate to the translator is based upon anything other than attempt to account for the presence (and syntactical function) of the word *Pariensis* in the explicit. It seems safe to assume that Johannes de Caritate was an Englishman: perhaps a John Charity, de Charité, Charté, Love or Lovelich, or perhaps a foundling named John, who was given the cognomen “de Caritate”... it may be noted, in passing, that a letter possibly written by Margaret Paston, in 1466, in connection with the funeral of the writer's husband, mentions a “Dom. John Loveday” who received 14s. 2d. for cloth for a riding cope.

It is true that “*Pariensis*” could, conceivably, be the name of a person whom Johannes de Caritate had reason to consider in some way responsible for the Latin text of the *Secretum*: it could, arguably, be derived from the reference in one group of the ... texts to Phillipus Tripolitanus as “Philip of Paris”, although this passage does not occur in the full Latin versions.

It is best, however, to assume that the wording of the explicit means that this portion of the manuscript was either produced by a scribe with the cognomen ‘*Pariensis*’ or written out in Paris (or copied from one made there), and that it represents a translation by an Englishman of the name of Johannes de Caritate.

On the last flyleaf Manzalaoui observed some pen trials, including the name 'Johannes Har[...]' which he relates to the name John Harcourt found in the margin of f. 61r, and elsewhere on the flyleaves when ultra-violet light was used (1977, xxxii).

Related Manuscripts

The text of the *Priuyté of Priuyteis* is unique to this manuscript (*MWME*, p. 3606).

However, it is descended from a Latin translation of an Arabic text which dates back to the tenth century. The Latin text was known in the twelfth century, and the Middle English translation survives in nine versions, which have been edited in Manzalaoui 1977.

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Part III

Chapter 4

Introduction

- 4.1 Types of text**
- 4.2 Types of book**
- 4.3 Types of owner**

Introduction

The study of literacy in history relies exclusively on the written material which survives from the period in question. Such material rarely provides explicit information about attitudes to the written word, so much of our understanding must be inferred from the survivals of particular books, and any conclusions treated with appropriate caution. Medieval manuscript books are, nonetheless, very valuable sources of evidence. Far more than the printed book, the manuscript presents unique evidence for the production and use of the books by specific individuals for particular purposes. Medieval writers seem to have had a different approach to writing in books than readers of our own time, and often treated their books as notebooks as well as authoritative material. The life of a medieval book can therefore often be seen clearly in its pages.

Such evidence is key to the understanding of literacy practices. The juxtaposition of texts within a book indicates the background knowledge, interests and education of the reader, but can be qualified also by examining signs of use. Just as I may own a book, but never take it out of its shrink-wrapping or consult certain chapters, so a medieval reader may have bought a book second-hand because of one text it contained, disregarding the others. Where the owner is known to have been a medical practitioner, we can reasonably infer that the medical contents of a manuscript were of some interest. In cases where the owner is anonymous we cannot make such broad assumptions. However, where two or more manuscripts share certain texts, such as those in the 'Sloane group' (Voigts 1990), or are similar in size, quality of production and types of text, for example, we can assume that the readers of these manuscripts shared certain literacy practices. Such an approach frees us from the problems of trying to assign a manuscript to a given 'type' of individual, or from having to describe an audience for the texts it contains.

Such descriptions are often nebulous, and do little to further our understanding of literacy. Restricting the discussion to literacy practices, however, provides a more coherent base from which we can then go on to explore the relationships of these practices to known individuals.

4.1 Types of text

The term ‘medical manuscripts’ is a useful shorthand for ‘books containing medical texts’, but should not be confused with the modern ‘medical book’. In common with many medieval manuscripts, many of the manuscripts surveyed for this study are best viewed as small libraries. These collections may be formed of booklets bound together from various different sources,¹ or texts from various sources written by a single scribe, perhaps commissioned by the original owner of the book. A number of such collections are solely composed of medical texts, and function as medical anthologies. Voigts proposed a classification of medical texts onto a continuum based on the underlying medical tradition (1982, 44). She suggests that such a taxonomy should place ‘remedybooks on one hand – open, adaptable, flexible – and academic texts on the other – that is, texts originating in university medicine, subject to simplification and condensation at times, but less subject to revision than the remedybook’ (1984, 322). Taavitsainen and Pahta observe that certain linguistic features, such as the citation of authorities and the use of prescriptive phrases,² which are derived from a scholastic approach to medicine, have a distribution in medical texts which reflect the classification outlined by Voigts, ‘a close semantic analysis reveals a pattern which is related to underlying layers of tradition and to the sociohistorical background of the texts’ (Taavitsainen and Pahta 1998, 181). It is this classification which underlies the discussion of medical texts which follows here. Many of the surveyed manuscripts, however, contain medical material alongside a variety of texts on a wide range of subjects,

¹ Booklet construction is an important aspect of the makeup of medieval medical books, and is discussed further on pp. 328 ff.

such as grammar, religion, magic and law. The range of texts within a given manuscript is a good indication of the literacy practices of the original readers, telling us what their background knowledge, interests and preoccupations are likely to have been. Such evidence must, however, be used with care. Many manuscripts do not survive in their original bindings, and it cannot be guaranteed that they circulated in their present form in the Middle Ages. Decoration and marginalia which are consistent over the texts can show whether they were gathered together during the period. Such signs of use are discussed in the second section of this chapter, 'Types of book'.³

It has been seen that medicine was frequently a part-time occupation during the Middle Ages.⁴ The juxtaposition of texts on various subjects is therefore to be expected in many cases, especially when the owner may have possessed very few books, and so have been unable to afford the luxury of entire manuscripts dedicated to one subject. Even when a book is entirely composed of medical works, this does not necessarily indicate that the owner was a medical professional. The Paston manuscript, *Countway 19*, is entirely medical, yet there is no evidence that any of the Pastons ever practised medicine outside the circle of family and friends.⁵ In this example, the selection of texts is an indication of wealth and education, rather than profession. The type of medical text chosen for inclusion can indicate the reader's

² For example, 'it is to be known'. See Taavitsainen and Pahta 1997a and 1998 for studies of these particular features within a corpus of early English medical text, and Demaitre 1976 for broader evidence of scholasticism in practical medicine in the Middle Ages.

³ See pp. 327 ff.

⁴ See p. 58 ff.

⁵ There is, however, ample evidence for medical practice within the home in the *Paston Letters*. See pp. 73 ff, and also Whitaker 1993.

perception of medicine – as a theoretical academic discipline or practical craft – but such distinctions do not automatically correspond to type of practitioner.⁶

As noted above, the categorisation of medical texts adopted in this thesis groups them according to their origin, ranging from academic treatises to popular remedy books. In this section the contents of the surveyed manuscripts will be put into categories, firstly according to the ‘medical text continuum’, and then in terms of texts relating to medieval science. Lastly, non-scientific texts will also be grouped together according to text-type. The first section discusses those books which contain only medical texts; other books are listed under the headings of the texts which they contain.

Entirely medical books

Most of the manuscripts in the survey are entirely composed of medical texts. It should be made clear that the term ‘medical’ is used here, as elsewhere in this thesis, in the medieval sense, so that astrological material such as a zodiacal lunary can be included in this category, so long as it explicitly refers to the medical application of astrological information.⁷ The texts found in this survey can be further subdivided according to the classification outlined above, into learned tracts, including regimens and treatises on specific disorders, surgeries and anatomical works, to the more widely used works such as herbals and remedy books.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries academic texts which would have been used by medical students at university, or even by undergraduates

⁶ For example, the ‘Plawdon manuscript’ (Caius 176/97), sections of which were edited by Voigts and McVaugh (1984), contains learned surgical tracts but was translated by a London barber-surgeon, Thomas Plawdon. See Voigts 1989a, 382; Getz 1990, 279; Rawcliffe 1995a, 66, 132.

⁷ See p. 35.

studying natural philosophy⁸ were translated into English (Voigts 1996, 814). Other theoretical texts which would not necessarily have been included on the university curriculum were often associated with famous physicians and surgeons, such as Gilbertus Anglicus.⁹ The position of these texts in a taxonomy is problematic, as such texts, although written by eminent practitioners, may well have been scorned by the university physicians. Getz cites an example in her edition of a Middle English translation, ‘It was again [Gilbertus] remedies that prompted French surgeon Guy de Chauliac to remark in his surgery (1363), “I have taken litel of emperykes and charmes, of the whiche þings plente is founden in Gilbertyn”’ (Getz 1991, lv). It is likely, however, that Gilbertus himself was educated at one of the famous continental schools of medicine (Getz 1991, lv n. 78), and it is rather ironic that Chauliac’s work may well have been held in disregard by the English university physicians at this time, as surgery was not a part of the university medical curriculum, and was regarded as a mechanical craft rather than a learned discipline.¹⁰

⁸ For example, those texts dealing with the four elements or qualities would have been introduced at first-degree level, as part of the natural philosophy study forming part of the basic liberal arts curriculum. See Rawcliffe 1995a, 106; Siraisi 1990, 3.

⁹ Getz 1998, 35–64 outlines the major medical texts used in England during this period.

¹⁰ In the sixteenth century, the surgeon Thomas Ross defended his craft as the domain of skilled artisans:

And surgery ys in comparison to phisik as the crafte of carpentar ys comparyd to geometrie, for lyke as the geometer consideryth causis of compasse, quadrangles, triangles and counterpeyses, and as his conyng servyth for buyldyng... the carpentar occupyeth hit manually to his owne profyt and of necessite profitable to man, wherfor yt ys callyd *ars mechanica* (PRO SP1/19, ff. 88–9, quoted in Rawcliffe 1995c, 47–48).

The relationship between physicians and surgeons seems to have varied regionally; in London, Rawcliffe observes ‘Any idea of collaboration between such a diverse group of individuals, ranging from court physicians to phlebotomists and bone-setters, was clearly unthinkable, at least to members of the professional élite’ (1995a, 134). However, outside

No surgeons are mentioned in Chaucer's 'reading-list' for his Physician, though Gilbertus does merit inclusion:

Wel he knew the old Esculapius,
 And deyscorides, and eek Rufus
 Olde Ypocras, Haly, and Galyen,
 Serapion, Rhazis, and Avycen,
 Averros, Damascien, and Constantyn,
 Bernard, and Gatesden, and Gilbertyn
 (Benson 1987, lines 429–34).¹¹

Of this 'required reading' list, a large number are to be found in this survey. Many of these texts are only found in Latin in the surveyed manuscripts, even when they are juxtaposed with a variety of English language works. The survey does show some evidence of the increasing number of translations of learned tracts into English, but it is interesting to note that out of Chaucer's list above, only Gilbertus' work appears in English in this survey. Many of the other works do appear in the manuscripts, but have not been translated from Latin. For example, *De stomacho*, a treatise ascribed to the famous Salernitan physician Constantinus Africanus, can be found in Pem 21 (ff. 1r–17v). This manuscript contains no learned English language treatises, but several other Latin works of well known medical authors, such as Richardus Anglicus (ff. 49r–60v). The English texts which justify the inclusion of this manuscript in the survey are English medical recipes, which

the capital, medical practitioners seem to have practised side by side, 'in most urban centres the local barber's guild routinely supervised all forms of medical activity without encountering much in the way of professional rivalry' (Rawcliffe 1995a, 134).

¹¹ The accuracy of Chaucer's portrait of his pilgrim physician is discussed in Ussery 1971. See p. 281 above for a discussion of academic medical texts in the Middle Ages.

indicates the fluid use of language. It is likely that the reader(s) of this book were highly literate in Latin, yet were not averse to using English for medicine of a very practical nature. AS 81 contains a text attributed to Rhazes (al-Razi), an Arabic author, whose works were commonly found in Latin on the university curriculum. Grant describes Rhazes' *Liber Continens* as, along with the works of Avicenna, forming 'the core of medieval medical studies' (1996, 25). AS 81 also has a treatise on natural philosophy, which was the basic grounding for all scientific study in the medieval universities. It is a particularly interesting manuscript, as almost all the learned medical texts it contains are in Latin, yet it contains a number of well known texts in English on other scientific subjects (in the medieval sense).¹² Dioscorides' *Quid pro quo* is found in Ha 2378 (ff. 110v–113r), and this manuscript follows the same pattern as those previously discussed, in that the learned tracts it contains, such as the *Antidotarium Nicholai*, are in Latin, whereas recipe collections and some astrological medicine are in English. One of the authorities found more frequently in this survey is Aegidius. His works on diagnosis and prognosis seem to have been quite popular, and survive in two of these manuscripts, Sl 521 and Sl 706. In Ha 2375 there are verses in praise of Aegidius, but no copy of his works. Sl 521 contains a number of other works by more minor authorities, such as Johannis Braye, and the surgical work of Arnald of Villanova.¹³ The reliance of medieval medicine on authorities can be observed at all levels. Many medical compilations have spurious ascriptions to famous authorities, such as the books 'of Ypocras' found in Ha 2378 and BLA.¹⁴

¹² These will be further discussed on p. 305.

¹³ Surgery texts are discussed as a whole on p. 291.

¹⁴ See Robbins 1966 and also Taavitsainen and Pahta 1998, 168–74 for the use of authorities in English vernacular medical books.

The theory and practice of academic medicine was most popularly disseminated to a wider audience in the form of regimens. The 'regimen of health' was a basic tenet of medieval medicine, aiming at maintaining the balance of humours within the body and thereby promoting a regular state of health.¹⁵ It also, as Faye Getz observes (1998, 59), provided a means for general medical care for those who could not afford doctors, such as the widow in Chaucer's *Nun's Priest's Tale*:

Repleccioun ne made hire nevere sik;

Attempree diete was al hir phisik,

And exercise, and hertes suffisaunce.

The goute lette hire nothyng for to daunce,

N'apoplexie shente nat hir heed.

(Benson 1987, lines 2837–41)

The guiding principle behind most medieval medical theory was essentially prophylactic, and this is demonstrated in the number of regimen texts which survive.¹⁶ They gave instruction according to the time of year on diet, bloodletting and perilous days, rather than cures for illnesses, though many books contain both kinds of information. Richer patients had their own personal regimens of health drawn up, according to their astrological chart, but several texts were available which provided a basic regimen for the more common man. A number of these are found in the survey. The '*Governal of Helthe*' is variously ascribed to the Bury St Edmund's monk and prolific poet John Lydgate, the London scribe John Mirfield¹⁷

¹⁵ Siraisi presents a detailed explanation of the theory and practice of the medieval 'regimen' (1990, 120–23).

¹⁶ See Mooney 1994 for a discussion and edition of a monthly regimen.

¹⁷ See Getz 1985 for Mirfield and his work at St Bartholomew's hospital.

or the physician John of Bordeaux/Burgundy, who was also famous for his treatises on the plague. This is found in Sl 989 and Ha 2390 as well as a number of manuscripts not in the survey.¹⁸ Several other regimens are found in survey manuscripts. Many limit their scope to diet, rather than including regulation of other 'non-naturals' such as sleep, exercise, the air and the patient's psychological state.¹⁹ The *Dietary of Queen Isabel* is found in Royal 17C and W408.²⁰ This is a particularly unusual text as it contains a number of characteristics unique amongst Middle English dietary tracts, and has a connection with an English queen, Isobel, wife of Edward II. Isobel is described by Braekman rather colourfully as the 'plotting wife of the weak-willed and frivolous Edward II' (1986, 64–65). Talbot's entertaining essay on alchemical texts in Middle English also connects the queen with the elixir of youth: 'Queen Isobel availed herself of it with the most remarkable and gratifying results' (1974, 33). He also suggests that there were further royal connections with the recipe:

Towards the end of the fifteenth century the recipe, which had been given by Ramon Lull to Edward III and been used by Queen Isobel somehow came to light and was recorded by John Argentine, physician to the Princes in the Tower, *aqua miraculosa cum qua Regina Iezabella septuaginta, decrepita, guttosa et paralitica [sanata fuit] et quia in ipsa totus fere*

¹⁸ See Kiernander 1980 for a discussion and edition of this text.

¹⁹ See Siraisi 1990 for an introduction to the basic concepts of Galenic medicine, including the principles involved in the regimen of health (1990, 101–9).

²⁰ The Royal 17 C text is closely related to that in W408, and Braekman suggests that both may be copied from a text found in BL Add. 34210 and Bodleian Library MS e. Musaeo 146 (Braekman 1986, 62).

*spiritus erat mortuus, facta fuit in tantum sana et tanti uigoris, quod uiro
quadragenario uoluit copulari* (Talbot 1974, 33–34).²¹

A similar, though by no means identical tract is the Latin dietary found in Ha 2390, entitled *De conferentibus atque nocentibus capiti*. This is of unknown authorship, but may possibly be ascribed to Arnald of Villanova. Braekman does not list this manuscript in his list of those containing texts with this incipit. Those he does list are variously ascribed to Arnald of Villanova, Johannis de Toletto or Bernard of Gordon, but Braekman seems to think that Arnald is the most likely candidate (Braekman 1986, 65–66). Dietaries seem to have been frequently associated with authorities. Another text found in the survey manuscripts is a monthly regimen ascribed to Galen, which is in Sl 442, Sl 521, Royal 17C and Ha 1735, where it appears ascribed to the corrupt form of Galen's name, 'Alyn'. This appears to have been very popular, as it is found in a large number of manuscripts.²² The Paston manuscript, Countway 19 also contains a Latin regimen of health, which may have provided a theoretical 'backbone' to the practical medical care of the family.

Aspects of both learned and practical medicine are found in treatises for specific disorders. Of these texts, plague tracts are amongst the best known and most widely circulated. The 1348 outbreak of bubonic plague, 'the Black Death', was followed by further sporadic outbreaks right through to the seventeenth century, and was a cause of concern to the inhabitants of all regions and classes, 'wholly ignorant of the microbial pathology of the disease and its transmission by rat fleas, the people who witnessed its horrifying effects were desperate for

²¹ Braekman adds that the quotation from the text is to be found in BL Sloane 964, f. 93 (1986, 65).

information about prevention and cures' (Pickett 1994, 264). Accordingly, a number of plague treatises survive in the East Anglian manuscripts. In his study of the effects of plague on the population and economy of later medieval England, Platt notes that: 'It was in the first 150 years [of the outbreaks of the plague in Europe]...that Christian men and women learned to live with plague. Another thing they learned was how to die of it' (1996, vii). East Anglia suffered heavy losses along with the rest of the country. Platt gives the example of Coltishall, north of Norwich: 'In 1349, and over the next 20 years of the plague both in 1361 and 1369, Coltishall lost an estimated 80 per cent of its pre-Black Death population' (1996, 11). John Paston III described the situation in 1471:

I feer þat ther is grete deth in Norwyche and in other borowghe townese in Norffolk; for I ensure yow it is the most vnyuersall dethe þat euyre I wyst in Ingelonde, for by my trowthe I can not her ny pylgrymes þat passes þe contre, ner noon other man þat rydethe er gothe any contre, þat any borow town in Ingelonde is free from þat sykenesse. God sease it whan it pleasyt hym (Davis 1971 I, 440–41).

Suffolk, too, had high mortality rates, resulting in serious consequences for the economy: 'The overall picture, even in cloth-rich Suffolk, was disturbing. With few exceptions, fifteenth-century village wealth stayed well below pre-plague levels' (Platt 1996, 16). The Paston letters give clear evidence for the continuing ravages of the plague: 'And [as] for deth, Caster and Mawteby there deyed non son Michellmas, at Fylby, Ormysby, and Scrowby and othir places they dey stulle' (1479?, William Pecoock to John Paston II. Davis 1971 II, 412). John Paston III told his older brother of the situation in Norwich in 1479:

²² *MWME* 291.

The pepyll dyeth sore in Norwyche, and specyally a-bought my house;
 but my wyff and my women come not ought, and fle ferther we can
 not, for at Sweynsthorp sythe my departyng thens they haue dyed and
 ben syke nye jn every house of the towne (Davis 1971; I, 616).

Soon after this letter, John Paston II died. Whether he succumbed to the plague is not clear, but he was evidently very concerned about the disease, as his medical book, *Countway 19*, contains three versions of the famous plague tract written by John of Burgundy or Bordeaux. The longer version is in Latin, and there are two shorter versions in the manuscript, one in Latin, and one an English translation. The other plague treatises in surveyed manuscripts are also versions of Burgundy's works. The copies in *Pepys 878* and *S1 706* are both in English. The *S1 706* version is also the shorter text (*MWME* 305), and the *Pepys 878* text is an abridged version. The relatively small number of these texts found within the survey may reflect the inability of the medical profession to respond to the disease effectively, or also to the attitude expressed by the younger John Paston; 'God sease it whan it pleasyt hym' (Davis 1971 I, 441).²³ The plague tracts, which are unusual in their focus on an epidemic disease, can illustrate the literate response to a specific event (or, more correctly, a specific series of events). Circumstances, such as an outbreak of disease, can be seen to have led to the translation and adaptation of plague tracts into the vernacular. They are witness to literacy events provoked by a particular situation, and the reading of such texts must be seen to reflect different

²³ It should be noted that the survival of medical books and the progress of vernacularisation in medicine appear not to have been hindered by the impact of the Black Death. There is little evidence to support Gottfried's assertion that the Black Death was a key factor in the move towards the use of the vernacular because of a lack of trust in the

literacy practices to those involved in the reading of a regimen of health, for example.

Treatises on individual diseases, or on disorders of individual organs, are quite common in medieval literature, but relatively few are found in this survey. None are in English apart from those contained within the Gilbertus Anglicus compendium. Pem 21 contains *De stomacho*, ascribed to the famous Salernitan teacher, Constantinus Africanus.²⁴ W542 contains a Latin treatise on diseases of the eye, which seem to have been a particularly prevalent problem in the Middle Ages. Such works are less likely to have been of interest to the general reader in comparison with a remedy book or regimen, although they would have been part of the knowledge base of the trained physician. However, it is reasonable to imagine that a person suffering from such a disease might be interested in discovering more about it, even if they were not a medical practitioner.²⁵ These texts, like the plague tracts above, are likely to have been the focus of literacy events provoked by specific circumstances, rather than the general reading of the wide-ranging texts.

The treatment of women, and treatment by women, seems to have been a vexed question in intellectual circles, given that women themselves ‘occupied an ambivalent position in the eyes of the church and the medical profession alike’

medical profession (Gottfried 1983, 119–20); Siraisi asserts that the opposite is true (1990, 42).

²⁴ An outline of Constantinus’ career is given in P. M. Jones 1990, 4.

²⁵ For example, Carole Rawcliffe has speculated that the eye remedies in Hu 117 may have been of especial interest to one of its later owners. Richard Nix, the bishop of Norwich who owned the manuscript in the early sixteenth century, suffered from failing sight in his later years, and owned a number of medical books. (Personal communication, 1995. I am grateful to Dr Rawcliffe for her discussion of this matter).

(Rawcliffe 1995a, 171).²⁶ Nevertheless, texts on the health and treatment of women seem to have circulated widely, both in Latin and English translations. One of the best known is ascribed to a Salernitan midwife, Trotula, although the evidence for this is often scarce, and it is a subject of some debate amongst scholars.²⁷ Two versions of these texts are found in the survey, in Pem 21 and CUL D. Both are in Latin, though it is interesting to note that CUL D is the only witness to its particular text, according to TK.²⁸ BLA also contains a vernacular treatise on the diseases of women, seemingly derived from a similar source to the 'Trotula' texts.²⁹ Pem 21 also contains another gynaecological tract immediately following the 'Trotula' text, and in addition contains a version of the embryological treatise *De spermate*, also in Latin.³⁰ Midwifery information is often found in recipe texts, such as Hu 117, and a whole section of midwifery recipes is one of the texts in CUL E. The issue of sexuality in medical texts is complex, reflecting moral and religious attitudes as much as, if not more than, medical knowledge: 'medicine and theology were nourished on the same knowledge, and religious ethics often borrowed from

²⁶ See Rawcliffe 1995a, chapter 8, 'Women and medicine, conflicting attitudes', and chapter 9, 'Women and medicine, the midwife and the nurse', for a general overview of the situation in later medieval England. For a thorough examination of the relationship between women and medicine in medieval Europe, see Jacquart and Thomasset 1988.

²⁷ Rowland's edition of a gynaecological text (1981) has been criticised for its discussion of Trotula, and has been described by Rawcliffe as 'misleading in many respects' (1995b, 125). See Green's 1992 study of gynaecological and obstetrical texts in Middle English, and Barratt 1992, 27–39 for edited excerpts of 'Trotula' texts.

²⁸ When the updated electronic version of TK (known as e-TK) is available, it is likely that more witnesses to a number of texts will have been found, and further textual relationships established.

²⁹ MWME 318, *Trotula A*.

³⁰ Only one Middle English copy of this text is known, in Trinity College Cambridge, MS R.14.52. This text has been edited and discussed in Pahta 1998.

science the arguments that served to control sexuality and its excesses' (Jacquart and Thomasset 1988, 196–67). These texts are often explicitly aimed at women readers:

And be-cause whomen of oure tonge cvnne bettyre rede and
vndyrstande þys langage þan eny oþer, [þat] euery whoman lettyrde
rede hit to oþer vnlettyrd and help hem and conceyle hem in here
maladyes with-owtyn schevyng here dysese to man, I haue þys
drawyn and wryttyn in Englysch.³¹

However, as Chaucer observes in the prologue to the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, such texts were often read by men. Jankyn, Dame Alisoun's fifth husband, had a book which 'gladly, nyght and day/For his desport he wolde rede alway' (Benson 1987, lines 669–70). Included in the contents of this book, she lists the following, 'In which book eek ther was Tertulan/Crisippus, Trotula and Helowys' (Benson 1987, lines 676–77). The choices behind the inclusion of medical material which dealt with gynaecology and other issues of sexual health were varied, and of interest not only to women patients and those in charge of treating their ills, but also to those concerned with the moral welfare of the people, such as priests. John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests* include a section on how the priest should instruct midwives, although the medical information is rather scanty.³² The literacy events entailed in reading such works may, therefore, have been very diverse,³³ reflecting the literacy practices of a woman healer, a learned physician, theologian or priest.

³¹ Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Douce 37. This version is taken from Barratt 1998. I am grateful to Dr Barratt for allowing me to see an unpublished version of this paper.

³² Peacock 1902, 3–4; this excerpt is also included in Rawcliffe 1995b, 110–11.

³³ The complexities of this issue are discussed thoroughly in Jacquart and Thomasset 1988, for example on pp. 188–93.

Surgery in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was something of a 'literate craft'. From the twelfth century it was increasingly perceived of as both an intellectual pursuit and a physical skill. As Nancy Siraisi has observed:

Between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, surgical literature in Latin and in European vernaculars underwent a richly complex evolution that is in many respects parallel to and entwined with the history of medical writing in general... Surgery was at once a branch of knowledge conveyed in technical writing, an occupation, and a form of physical manipulation of the body (1990, 154).

As we have seen with medical writing in general, the relationship between medicine and the book was complex, and nowhere more so than in surgery. The compiler of surgical recipes found in Hu 117 addressed the issue cautiously:

ffor brokene pannes of mennes hedes. To holen ye panne of a mannes hed qwhanne it is brosed with a staf er krased with a swerd sihte and techyngge shal do more yer to yanne ony wrytyngge of bokes thorw ye craft of cirurgie. ffor in yis bok be writen watres onymens and entretes and salues to holen al maner woundes and sores but 3if a man be wounded to ye deth.³⁴

Surgical texts are found in a number of the manuscripts. Some simply contain surgical recipes (Hu 117, SJC, Sl 340, Ha 1600 and Ha 2390), whilst others contain well-known treatises. The *Chirurgia Parva* of Lanfranc of Milan is found in Latin in Sl 442, in English translation in Royal 17C, and the surgical treatise in Pepys 1661 is ascribed in part to Lanfranc, and in part to Theodoric of Lucca. The Latin text of

³⁴ f. 34r. line 13–34v. line 2. See M. C. Jones 1997 for an analysis of the recipes in this manuscript.

the *Chirurgia* of Roger Frugardi is found in Caius 147,³⁵ and the anonymous surgical tract in Sl 442 is also in Latin. Bloodletting or phlebotomy texts are the most common type of text involving any kind of surgical procedure.³⁶ Specific texts are found in five manuscripts, though it should be remembered that bloodletting information formed an important part of the regimen of health, and can also be found in astrological medicine and recipe collections, such as that found in Hu 117. Most of the phlebotomy tracts are in English, the only exception being that found in Wellcome 542. The English texts are in Sl 442, Sl 706, York and TCC. The last is particularly interesting, as it is the only English text, and the only medical text in the entire manuscript, which is composed of religious works.³⁷ Tanner 407 provides evidence for the ownership, and possible use of bloodletting texts by someone who was not a medical practitioner. Robert Reynes, the compiler of this commonplace book, owned a bloodletting text and short works on astrological medicine, but is not known to have practised medicine. However, he may have served as local medical expert, and so required some reference works for common medical theory and procedures.³⁸

In keeping with the academic and rational approach to medicine in the universities, anatomy was considered of more importance to the surgeon than the physician, who was trained primarily in theoretical rather than practical approaches.

³⁵ Roger was from Parma, and his surgery was assembled in 1180, with the help of his pupils, notably Guido d' Arezzo. P. M. Jones observes that 'it became the standard surgery of the thirteenth century, and so became associated with the school of Salerno' (1990, 5).

³⁶ See Voigts and McVaugh 1984 for an edition of both the Latin and Middle English versions of a phlebotomy tract, and for a discussion of the place of bloodletting in medieval medicine.

³⁷ See Religious works on p. 320 for further discussion of this manuscript.

³⁸ Reynes is further discussed on p. 368.

Peter Jones discusses one of the most famous Renaissance medical books, Vesalius' *De humani corporis*, accordingly; 'he intended that the book should teach students of surgery sufficient anatomy to perform their own dissections, and practice their manual craft of healing with a better understanding of the structures of the human body' (P. M. Jones 1998).³⁹ Some of the most important surgeons, such as Henri de Mondeville and the London surgeon Thomas Morestede, had served time on the battlefield (Siraisi 1990, 182), and this experience in the military no doubt served to improve their anatomical knowledge far beyond that of the physician, who may have been privy to a few dissections during his training, but little else.⁴⁰ Chauliac stressed the importance to surgeons of the study of anatomy, 'But the blynde man kyttyng the tree ofte tymes, forsothe as it were alwey, he ereth in taking upon hym more or lasse than he schulde, there fore in the same wyse a cirurgien when he can not anothomye' (ed. Ogden 1971, 27).

There was generally an emphasis on the practical side of surgery over the use of texts, which reflects the craft nature of surgery, but the growing number of translated texts suggests that a shift towards a more literate approach to the trade was taking place. A number of anatomy texts survive in some of the surveyed manuscripts. Those in W542 are from famous authorities, the Arabic writer Averroes and Richard of Salerno, also known as Ricardus Anglicus.⁴¹ The text

³⁹ P. M. Jones' chapter on anatomy has a variety of images of surgical and anatomical illustrations, from 11th century Byzantium to Renaissance Italy, including some English manuscripts (1998, 39, 40).

⁴⁰ This is true for English medicine, but not for that of continental Europe. 'At Padua, in the late fifteenth century... there was a separate chair in anatomy and surgery; dissections took place regularly in winter, and it was possible to pursue a three year course in surgery' (Rawcliffe 1995a, 113).

⁴¹ See *MPME*, 270–72 for more information on Richard of Salerno.

ascribed to Richard in this manuscript survives in other versions, sometimes ascribed to 'magister Nicolaus Physicus' (Jacquart and Thomasset 1988, 26). Other anatomy tracts appear in Pem 21 and Sl 340, and a tract on the human body appears in CUL D. Such works are unlikely to have been of interest to laymen, especially as the illustrations were, as Peter Jones suggests 'used most often to prompt the memory, by allowing the reader to remind himself at a glance of the function of different organs and members of the body' (1998, 30). That they may have been primarily read by medical practitioners, especially surgeons, is supported by the fact that those in this survey are always found juxtaposed with other medical and scientific tracts, not simply remedy books and antidotaria, but theoretical works on other aspects of medicine and surgery. The illustrations did, however, satisfy something of a ghoulish appetite when found outside anatomical texts; as Peter Jones observes, 'the vast majority of the pictures of dissection which survive from the Middle Ages are not intended to instruct the viewer in techniques of further his anatomical knowledge in any way, but simply to tell a good story' (1998, 42).⁴²

In contrast to the anatomical works, herbals had a wide appeal, and survive in large numbers. They are not, however, necessarily indicative of a 'folk tradition' of medicine, as they descended, as did all medieval medical works, from classical and Arabic roots (P. M. Jones 1990, 10). They are sometimes ascribed to authorities, such as the Macer text found in Sl 340 and Yale. These texts provide a good example, however, of the false ascription of authority. *De virtutibus herbarum* is discussed by Tony Hunt:

⁴² For example, P. M. Jones goes on to discuss a popular illustration of Nero observing the dissection of his mother Agrippina, and notes that 'the main function of a picture like this was to shock the viewer with Nero's cold-blooded matricide, and his obscene curiosity' (1998, 42).

At some time in the eleventh century a poem of 2269 Latin hexameters entitled *De virtutibus herbarum* was composed by an anonymous author (who may have been Odo of Meung-sur-Loire) and later, perhaps c.1120, received the name Macer (in imitation of Aemilius Macer) and Floridus...It was frequently expanded, translated and excerpted and eventually became a set book at Montpellier (1989b, xl).

Such false labelling of texts is not peculiar to medicine in the Middle Ages, and indicates the prestige of the authority, and the strength of the scholastic approach to medicine, even in books read by a wider audience. The only other named herbal in the survey is commonly known as *Circa Instans*. Its correct title is *De simplicibus medicinis*, and is said to have been composed by either Mattheus or Johannes Platearius, members of a family associated with the famous medical school at Salerno. It survives in four manuscripts in the survey, but is not always easy to identify, as the author is also known as Johannes de Santo Paulo or Santo Projecto. It is found in English in S1 706, and Latin versions are to be found in Pepys 878, Ha 2375, and Pem 21. Hunt describes it as 'the central work of a trilogy, which also includes the *Liber iste*, and *Antidotarium Nicolai*, which remained the fundamental texts of medieval pharmacy for many centuries' (Hunt 1989b, xl). This particular trilogy is not found in any of the surveyed manuscripts, although in Pepys 878 there is also a tract closely related to the *Antidotarium Nicolai*, and in Ha 2375 the herbal is juxtaposed with the *Antidotarium*.⁴³ As many of the herbals were not English in origin, the names for plants, even those native to the British Isles, may not have been familiar to readers of English manuscripts. Herbal synonyma, which list the

⁴³ See p. 299.

names of plants in Latin and English, often laid out in two columns, were produced to circumvent the problem. Unsurprisingly, they are commonly found in the surveyed manuscripts. Hunt suggests that vernacular synonyma are 'the work of the thirteenth century' (1989b, xlv), but also notes that 'vernacular plant lists have not been adequately studied in a European context. It is clear that they survive in a wide range of languages... What is really needed is a handlist of vernacular *synonyma* collections' (1989b, xlv). Those in this survey are found in the following manuscripts, Pepys 1307, CUL D, Sl 521, Ha 2374, Ha 2378, W542. All these manuscripts are generally medical, and suggest that synonyma may have been more important to medical practitioners who may be consulting Latin texts regularly, and who may, like many apothecaries, have been dealing with imported materials using their Latin names as a lingua franca. The synonyma do not necessarily indicate a low level of Latin literacy; rather, their specific content reflects the problem of technical terminology which dogged the vernacularisation process for translators through the early modern period.⁴⁴ More general herbals, which list the properties of herbs and their medicinal applications, are found in a larger number of manuscripts. They are found in both prose and verse, and both types are found in Bühler 21. Verse versions of the 'Tretys of diverse herbis'⁴⁵ are found in a large number of manuscripts. Sometimes the virtues of particular herbs are given precedence, such as fennel in Ha 2390 and rosemary in Ha 1735. Herbals are found in almost half the manuscripts surveyed, suggesting that they were a crucial part of the medieval medical armoury. Unlike the synonyma, they are not necessarily juxtaposed with other medical texts, and may have formed the basic

⁴⁴ Jasin 1993a, 513 discusses these problems and the use of etymology in order to facilitate the translation of the *Liber uricrisiarum* from Latin into English.

⁴⁵ MWME 233.

medical manual for a household, and been used for treatment without recourse to medical practitioners.

In cases where people did seek the advice of doctors, they were often told to bring along a sample of urine. Uroscopy, the inspection of urine, was one of the main means of diagnosis in the middle ages, and the urine flask became associated with the medical profession, 'the ubiquitous presence of the urine flask as a convenient symbol of the medical practitioner in medieval art is a convention, but it is one that reflects reality' (Siraisi 1990, 125).⁴⁶ Treatises on urines are also common in the surveyed manuscripts, most of which are anonymous, such as those in Ha 2390, York, Pepys 1307, Pepys 878, Bühler 21, CUL E. There are a number which do have the support of authority, including the treatise by Aegidius Corboliensis, versions of which are found in SI 521 and SI 706. SI 521 has the treatise plus a commentary by Gentilis de Fulgineo, both in Latin. SI 706 contains an English tract on urines, imperfect at the beginning, followed by an English translation of the same commentary. Other authorities cited in the uroscopy texts are Alkandrinus, whose work, *De iudiciis*, is found in AS 81, and Ricardus Anglicus, whose *Regula de urinis* appears in Pem 21.

One of the best known of the uroscopy texts is *De uricrisiarum*, compiled in about 1379 by the Dominican friar Henry Daniel.⁴⁷ A fragment of this is found in SI 340, and this is the only copy within the survey, despite the fact that it appears to have been a well known text, surviving in over twenty manuscripts (Jasin 1993b,

⁴⁶ The illustration of the physician in the Ellesmere manuscript of the *Canterbury Tales* even shows him carrying his urine flask on pilgrimage.

⁴⁷ This has been edited from Wellcome MS 225 by Jasin (1983). See Jasin 1993a and 1993b for discussion of the compilation and transmission of this work, and Hanna 1994 for an edition of chapters 1–3 of this work.

317, n. 22; Hanna 1994, 190). There are also two manuscripts containing texts related to the uroscopy tracts ascribed to Aegidius. Countway 19 contains two uroscopy treatises, one of which is in English, the other in Latin.⁴⁸ This is typical of the pattern of texts in this manuscript, which tends to have both English and Latin versions of similar texts.⁴⁹ Harley describes the English text as ‘much more detailed’ than *De urina*, translated by Trevisa from Bartholomeus Anglicus’ *De proprietatibus rerum*.⁵⁰ This suggests that the version in this manuscript derives from a specifically medical text, rather than an encyclopaedia of natural philosophy such as Bartholomeus’ work, or the *Secreta secretorum*.

Other forms of diagnosis are found far more rarely. Diagnosis by pulse was certainly practised in the period, but was a very complex subject, described by Siraisi (1990, 127) as ‘arcane pulse lore’. It is perhaps this very complexity which leads to its general omission from the vernacular medical books, which tend to have less emphasis on complex theoretical issues.⁵¹ There is only one text on pulses in the survey, in SI 706, which is a general medical compilation containing a number of authoritative works.⁵²

⁴⁸ Both the English *Practica urinarum* and the Latin *Expositiones vrinarum in ordine* have been edited by Harley 1982, 179–82.

⁴⁹ See Countway 19, p. 249.

⁵⁰ The Trevisa text was the only edited Middle English prose uroscopy text at the time that Harley was writing (1982).

⁵¹ Siraisi’s work is focussed mainly on the medical practice of continental Europe. The situation in England tended to be rather different, and it is perhaps significant that two of the most recent studies of medieval English medicine give little or no weight to diagnosis by pulse. Rawcliffe (1995a) does not mention it at all, and Getz mentions it only twice: one instance of Gilbertus Anglicus not taking a pulse (1998, 4), and a mention that the English mathematician Simon Bredon had written a tract on pulses (1998, 43–44).

⁵² There are illustrations of diagnosis by pulse and by urines from an Italian manuscript in P. M. Jones 1998, 47.

Another of the widely popular types of text, *antidotaria* (essentially lists of *materia medica*) were available to the Latin West from the eleventh century onwards (Siraisi 1990, 141–42). They were often derived from the works of authorities, such as Galen and Dioscorides, and consisted of lists of simples (individual substances) or compound medicines. The best known of these is the *Antidotarium Nicholai*, which was on the reading list for medical students at the medieval universities, including the two English universities (Rawcliffe 1995a, 108).⁵³ This is found in five of the surveyed manuscripts, and *antidotaria* derived from the *Antidotarium Nicholai* are in at least two more. Latin versions of the *Antidotarium Nicholai* are in Caius 147 and Ha 2378. The latter also contains a copy of Dioscorides' *Quid pro quo*, another antidotary. The popularity of the *Antidotarium Nicholai* is evident from the number of English translations (often in abridged form) which survive. Of all the university set texts, it is the *Antidotarium Nicholai* which seems to have disseminated to other levels of medical practice most effectively. This is understandable, given that it was also the most practical of the university texts, and therefore of the most use in general practice: 'because of its systematic and relatively straightforward approach, it soon became "the essential pharmacopoeia of the Middle Ages"' (Rawcliffe 1995a, 150). English versions are to be found in SJC (two versions), Ha 2374, Ha 2378, and Hu 117. Similar lists evidently derived from the *Antidotarium Nicholai* are in Pepys 878 and Pepys 1307. The incipit of another Latin antidotary, now lost, is at the end of Sl 442. Another list of simples is in Ha 2390, which also contains a more specific Latin antidotary, 'contra mortale venum'.

⁵³ P. M. Jones describes this text as 'in effect a collection of lists of ingredients for named medicaments authorised by the professors there by royal sanction. It circulated in the thirteenth century, but nothing is known of the Nicolaus who may have put it together from earlier sources' (1990, 5).

Such texts would have been the basic handbooks of apothecaries. As well as making up the prescriptions of the physicians, apothecaries imported exotic herbs, spices, animal products and the like. Sugar in particular was used to make medicines taste better, and was also considered to be a medicine itself (Rawcliffe 1995a, 150). It is unsurprising, therefore, to find confectionery recipes, as in **Ha 2375** and **Ha 2378**, amongst the other lists of material used and compounded by apothecaries. Lists of oils and unguents may also have been used by physicians, especially in more rural areas, but are listed here, as the apothecary seems to have been the first port of call for medicines even by relatively affluent families such as the Pastons, 'as my potecarie swerytht on-to me' (Davis 1971 I, 512, letter 313: John Paston II to Margaret Paston). **Ha 2390** contains lists of simples, and the names of various salts and gums; lists of oils, unguents and waters and their properties are found in **Pepys 878**, **Pepys 1661**, **Sl 521**, and in the Paston manuscript, **Countway 19**. Lists of electuaries, unguents, waters and the like are ubiquitous in the literature, and are often to be found in lists of general remedies, as in **Hu 117** (and its twin, **SJC**), which has sections on unguents and syrups interspersed with randomly ordered recipes.⁵⁴ **Hu 117** and **Sl 521** show evidence of practical use, as both contain prices lists of salts, gums, and other pharmaceutical material.⁵⁵

Recipe collections are often found together with the antidotary and herbal materials discussed above. They are by far the most common type of text to survive, and had a universal appeal to both practitioners and lay people.⁵⁶ Recipes survive in forms from marginal notes and flyleaf additions to well-known

⁵⁴ See M. C. Jones 1997 for an analysis of the texts in this manuscript.

⁵⁵ **SJC** also contains a price list, but this is not evidence of use, as it is a direct copy from either **Hu 117** or an exemplar in between. See p. 332.

collections, and are often the only English texts in a book.⁵⁷ There are a number of common recipe collections which are recognisable by their incipits, in which a number of famous authorities are cited. For example, the collection entitled 'Bonas Medicinas' (*sic*) in Sl 521 begins, 'Hic incipiunt bonas medicinas. Here begynne medicynys that good lechys haue made and drawyn out of here auctors, as owt [of] Galion, Asclepius and Ypocras'.⁵⁸ Other texts of this type, described in the *Sloane Index* as 'the 'Books of Galen, Hippocrates, Socrates and Æsculapius'', are found in Sl 340 and Sl 442.⁵⁹ In York there are three texts which cite Hippocrates ('ypocras') and Galen, two of which are astrological. The first begins as follows:

This tretyse byfore wryten is compyled of þe tretyses of arystotel.
Galyene and of ypocras and of oþer leches of salerne. Magister
Willelmus Leche de Kylingholme.⁶⁰

This is particularly interesting, as the insertion of William Killingholme's name in blue ink immediately following the list of famous physicians may be an attempt at glory by association. In Ha 2378 there is a particularly long version of the incipit:

Here be gynnyth medicyns þat good lechis haue mad and drawn out of
hir bokys, Galien, asclepius & ipocras were the beste lechis of the
world of al maner Sorys and Woundys, Cancrys, Festrays, Felouns, and

⁵⁶ Recipes and collections have been studied by Hargreaves 1981, Rand Schmidt 1994, M. C. Jones 1997, C. Jones 1998 and Carroll 1999.

⁵⁷ Such as Caius 147, which is included in this survey because of the English recipe texts added to blank spaces in the manuscript.

⁵⁸ f. 232r. *IPMEP* 286.

⁵⁹ *Sloane Index*, 352.

⁶⁰ f. 81r.

for sodeyn sorys; and all maner ivelys in the Body, within and withoute.⁶¹

Another of the well-known collections is the *Thesaurus Pauperum*, ascribed to Petrus Hispanus, Latin versions of which are found in SI 521 and CUL D. There is also an English version in Pepys 1661. Although recipe texts represent a classical, rather than folk tradition of medicine, these statements of authority can rarely, if ever, be substantiated, and indicate the pervasive nature of the scholastic tradition and its reliance on authority at all levels of medieval medicine. They also raise interesting questions about the literacy practices of the readers. Can we assume that all readers will really have known the names of the medical authorities? Galen and Hippocrates were by far the most famous, and we can probably expect their names to be known by most literate people, but what kind of background knowledge of their theories and writings was expected by the compilers of these recipe collections? Given that they frequently bear little or no relation to the learned tracts traditionally ascribed to Hippocrates and Galen, the answer would seem to be: very little.

There are a number of variations on another introduction to recipe collections, a poem on 'leech-craft'.⁶² It is found in four of the surveyed manuscripts, SI 340, SI 442, Ha 1600, and W542. In each case it is followed by a standard recipe collection, sometimes arranged *de capite ad pedem*. The collection in Ha 1600 is a well-known collection,⁶³ but other East Anglian manuscripts are not listed. The number of verses ranges from seventeen to thirty two, and all begin with a variation on the first couplet, 'The man that wyl of leche craft lere/Rede over this book and he may here'. This is an interesting example of the increase in the

⁶¹ f. 125r.

⁶² MWME 265.

perceived importance of ‘literate medicine’; the idea that medicine could be learned through reading is similar to the academic practice of scholastic medicine, but not to the traditional concept of medicine as a craft. These books are not the reading matter of academic physicians, and are probably closer to the craft tradition in general. SI 442 in particular is more of a general practical handbook than a purely medical work.⁶⁴ However, the other three manuscripts do contain other ‘authoritative’ texts. SI 340 contains Henry Daniel’s *Liber Uricrisiarum*, and *De virtutibus herbarum* by Macer, and it seems that the authority of recipe collections was simply accepted at face value, even by those who must have had some background knowledge of the famous learned tracts.⁶⁵

Table 1 shows the types of medical texts contained within the surveyed manuscripts. No distinction is made in this table between texts in English, Latin or both, as it is intended to demonstrate the variety of interests of the owners and readers of these books.

⁶³ MWME 262.

⁶⁴ The other contents of SI 442 will be discussed further below.

⁶⁵ As was the efficacy of the recipes. For a discussion of proof statements, or ‘efficacy phrases’ in medical texts, see C. Jones 1998.

Table 1: Medical texts

	Learned	Regimen	Plague	Diseases	Surgery	Anatomy	Gynae	Phleb	Astro	Ulines	Pulses	Herbal	Remedy	Prognos	Charms	Encyclopaedia	Antidotaria
BLA							●		●						●		
Ha 1600													●		●		
Ha 1735		●						●	●	●		●	●	●	●		
Ha 2374					●							●	●				●
Ha 2375	●						●		●	●		●	●				
Ha 2378									●				●		●		●
Ha 2390	●	●			●					●			●		●		●
Royal 17C		●			●				●			●					
SI 340					●	●			●	●		●	●	●			●
SI 442	●	●											●		●		
SI 521	●	●			●			●	●	●		●	●		●		
SI 706		●	●	●				●		●		●	●		●		
SI 989		●						●	●					●			
W 408		●								●			●				
W 542	●							●		●	●	●	●		●		
CUL D	●						●	●				●					
CUL E							●			●		●	●		●		
Caius 147					●								●				●
Pepys 878			●						●	●		●	●				
Pepys 1307										●		●					●
Pepys 1661						●						●	●				
TCC								●									
SJC		●								●		●		●	●		●
Hu 117					●		●	●				●	●		●		●
Hu 509	●						●										
AS 81	●									●		●	●	●			
Pem 21	●		●			●	●			●			●				●
Rawl C										●			●		●		
Rawl D	●							●					●		●		
Tanner 407								●	●					●	●		
York		●						●	●			●	●	●	●		
Countway 19		●	●						●	●							
HM 1336		●						●	●				●	●	●		
NLM 4	●	●	●					●	●	●		●	●		●		
Buhler 21										●		●	●				
Stk X.90								●		●		●	●		●		

Non-medical texts

As well as the medical texts, the surveyed books contain a wide range of other works, from science to devotional and legal works. The scientific works were often related to medicine, but some have little or no bearing on matters of physical health, and represent a broader interest in science, in the medieval sense which could, in some cases, include magic. Some of the texts are concerned with sciences which were taught at the universities, such as astronomy. This was closely related to astrology, but the terms are difficult to distinguish, as French notes:

In the “high” Middle Ages authors did not have our distinction between astrology and astronomy. (It is a distinction made by post-Renaissance astronomers and post-Enlightenment historians.) Sometimes these terms were used in approximately our sense, sometimes in reverse (French 1994, 33).

The situation in the later period can be considered to be much the same as in the high Middle Ages, and so those manuscripts with texts labelled ‘astronomy’, such as **AS 81**, **Pepys 878**, **Ha 2375** and **Countway 19** are difficult to distinguish from those containing astrology texts. Most will have contained some reference to medical applications, if only in terms of perilous days for bloodletting, and so on. Astrology was also closely linked with medicine in the Middle Ages, and so it is unsurprising to find that many of the surveyed manuscripts contain astrological information in some form. The large compendia, such as **Sl 521** and **AS 81**, contain various tracts on planets and astrological medicine, again in Latin.

Lunaries are found in a number of the surveyed manuscripts. The Middle English lunar genre is discussed by Irma Taavitsainen, who defines lunaries (proper) as texts which ‘take heed of the moon alone, giving perpetual

prognostications according to the thirty days of the moon from one new moon to the next' (1988, 23). Lunaries are found in Ha 1735, Royal 17C, and Sl 989. The only metrical version is the text known as 'The thyrtyt days of the mone' in Ha 1735, which is found in several other manuscripts (Taavitsainen 1988, 19). A prose lunary with the similar title, 'þe xxx days of þe mone' found in Royal 17C is the only version of this text recorded by Taavitsainen (1988, 19). The *wyse boke of phylosophie and astromye* found in BLA is termed *The boke of astronomie* by Taavitsainen, and seems to have been very popular.⁶⁶ It survives in at least 31 MSS, including Pepys 878 and Huntington Library HM 64, which is very similar in content to BLA. This text is in the encyclopaedic tradition which places it closer to the learned end of the spectrum,⁶⁷ although presented in a form more readily accessible, and described by Taavitsainen as 'practical in approach' (1988, 138). This indicates that more scholarly texts were being adapted to suit the needs and practices of those without a university or other higher education. Royal 17C contains a number of astrological tracts including two zodiacal lunaries, which Taavitsainen describes as having prognosticatory contents, 'they predict the effects of heavenly conditions upon man and his actions at any particular point in time' (1988, 23). The first section of this manuscript is essentially astrological, and is then followed by a medical section, including a surgical tract.⁶⁸ In both BLA and Ha 2378 are versions of a text called *The booke of ypcras*. According to Taavitsainen, this is not the same as the collection of recipes listed under this title in *IPMEP* (629), but is a medical and astrological work, which gives diagnoses and prognoses of diseases, and has a more

⁶⁶ *MWME* 43.

⁶⁷ See Getz 1998, 45–53 for a discussion of the origins and development of the encyclopaedic tradition in England.

⁶⁸ See *Surgery*, p. 291.

complex definition of time than many simple lunaries (1988, 56).⁶⁹ Another means of establishing the place of the moon in a given sign at a given date was the volvelle. In manuscripts these were generally made of parchment, and were constructed of a number of discs which rotated around a central axis.⁷⁰ There is mention of a volvelle in *Royal 17 C*, but if it was ever in the manuscript, it has not survived.

Grant observes that:

The astrological approach to medicine was as much a part of the medicine inside the university as outside, and because of its medical applications, was treated as an academic science in the Middle Ages (1996, 37).

Alchemy, on the other hand, was rarely officially taught as part of the natural philosophy curriculum in medieval universities. Nonetheless, as Grant observes, 'this tells us little about the extent to which individual masters and students may have pursued these activities privately' (1996, 137). This is likely to have been particularly true for those studying medicine. It is commonly perceived that the main purpose of the alchemists' experiments was to turn base metals into gold, and thereby, presumably, to become rich. As Kieckhefer puts it, 'the essential point of alchemy is to discover the elixir or "philosopher's stone," which can transmute base metals into gold and silver' (1989, 134). This, while not entirely untrue, is a distorted view of what was considered by many in the period to be one of the highest arts. The acquisition of wealth was not the only purpose of the

⁶⁹ These texts are, however, conflated with *IPMEP* 629 in *MWME* 116, where both *BLA* and *Ha* 2378 are listed. More research is needed on these texts to establish the nature of any relationships they may have.

⁷⁰ See P. M. Jones 1998, 54–57 for an explanation of the uses of the volvelle, and an illustration.

elusive elixir, and the inclusion of alchemical texts in medical manuscripts is better understood with a more detailed knowledge of the study of alchemy in the Middle Ages.⁷¹ Pereira illustrates the close links between alchemy and learned medicine in fifteenth-century England by discussing a petition granted by Henry VI in 1456 which allowed twelve petitioners (with at least six graduate physicians amongst them) licence to practice alchemy, which had been banned since the reign of Henry IV (1998, 26). Pereira answers his own question, ‘What did these physicians search for in alchemy, that they had not found in the academic teaching [of medicine]?’ with the suggestion that ‘the answer to this question is to be found in the character of the alchemical medicine, or elixir, compared to the traditional pharmacology’ (1998, 36). He later adds that ‘in a period when “medicine seemed largely inefficient against the plague” it was possible that research on alchemical medicines might attract the interest of the physicians, even if – or just because – it was definitely separate from Galenic pharmacology’ (1998, 38). Alchemy texts are found in three of the surveyed manuscripts: **S1 521**, **AS 81**, and **CUL E**. **AS 81** contains two of the well-known alchemical tracts circulating during the period, *Hermes Trismegistus*, *Secreta*, and a short version of *Johannis de Rupecissa, De quinta essencia*, as well as alchemical recipes written in English. **S1 521** contains instructions for alchemical preparations in Latin, and **CUL E** contains one general alchemical tract⁷² and a treatise on the preparation of the Philosopher’s Stone, together with drawings of furnaces and retorts. Little weight can be placed on the evidence of the language of these texts, which is almost entirely Latin, as they are found in manuscripts which

⁷¹ Kieckhefer’s discussion of alchemy (1989) is a good starting point. See also Taavitsainen 1995 for an overview of the composition, textual history and language of English vernacular alchemical manuscripts.

⁷² *MWME* 143.

contain a number of Latin texts. However, practitioners treated the dissemination of alchemical works with some caution: ‘The art of alchemy is so holy that it must be taught orally, with the seal of a “most dreadful, sacred oath”, and its deepest secrets must never be committed to writing’ (Kieckhefer 1989, 140).⁷³ Evidently some of these secrets were leaked on to the written page, and their presence in these manuscripts is evidence for the close links between medicine and other branches of natural science. Once a secret has been transmitted to one person, it is difficult to keep it contained. Recording such secrets on parchment preserved them from the vagaries of memory, but left them open and accessible to those able to read them.⁷⁴ The literacy practices surrounding the use of such texts were, therefore, frequently arcane, relying not only on the scholarly, but readily taught, language of Latin, but also on the use of signs, symbols and secret codes in order to preserve sacred information.⁷⁵

Such secrecy is also characteristic of attitudes towards magic. Although excluded from the natural philosophy curriculum, magical texts were often owned by learned and religious men, whose learning and piety presumably preserved them from the danger presented by such occult works. Even then the owners often took pains to keep the presence of the books a secret. Mathiesen describes the case of the thirteenth-century library catalogue of Richard of Fourniville,

So precise are his indications that one can even see how most of these 260 manuscripts must have been arranged on their shelves. The sole exception is the class of what he calls, ‘the secret books, the

⁷³ See also William Eamon’s study of ‘books of secrets’ for a full discussion of this phenomenon in the late-medieval and early modern periods (Eamon 1994).

⁷⁴ See Pereira 1999 for the transmission of alchemical works in vernacular languages.

⁷⁵ For the use of symbols in scientific texts, see Voigts 1989b.

description of which we do not wish to include in this work'. His deliberate silence is all the more to be regretted since one can see from his list of shelf-marks that these 'secret books' amounted to thirty-six manuscript volumes, and thus comprised a little less than one-seventh of his entire library (1998, 144).

Nevertheless, in some cases the arcane material appears to have been treated in a rather more cavalier fashion than Fourniville would have approved.

Translations of alchemical texts and English alchemy recipes scattered through some of the manuscripts surveyed, such as **AS 81**, are evidence for the disclosure of the secrets. Klaassen comments that:

To use an individual manuscript as evidence for the understanding and practice of ritual magic we must take into account both the content of the work and whatever its content within a codex can tell us about the scribe or collector (1998, 3).

In a similar manner, the presence of magical texts in the immediate context of medical works can serve as evidence for the wider 'scientific' and arcane interests of the reader, and indicate a desire for knowledge and understanding beyond the ability to cure ills. This is not to suggest that the university masters and clergymen who owned these books were necessarily involved in sinister matters and dark arts: 'most of the texts seem to have been regarded by their collectors as natural magic...most collectors of the texts of image magic appear to have collected this material from an interest in natural philosophy or the natural world and not from illicit religious interests' (Klaassen 1998, 4). This seems to be largely the case with the surveyed material, which contains little that could be described as image magic, and is largely restricted to charms and rituals which have medical applications. The exception to this is **CUL D**, in which there are a number

of magical texts which have little or no relationship to medicine. Interspersed with the text on a number of pages are alchemical symbols and recipes, and there are also two Latin recipes for love potions. Of particular interest in this manuscript is the inclusion of a text dealing with ritual magic. This text, the *Liber de angelis annulis karacteribus et ymaginibus planetarum*, has been edited from this manuscript by Juris Lidaka. Its place in the manuscript, preceded and followed by medical texts suggests, as Lidaka notes, that:

We must suppose that the manuscript remained in the hands of someone or ones medically inclined before and after the *Liber de Angelis* was added to it. [The adjacent works] seem to be written in the same large hand, yet they are added physically before, after, and thus quite literally around both the *Liber de Angelis* and the letter (Lidaka 1998, 33).⁷⁶

John Argentine, one of the most eminent fifteenth-century physicians, was provost of King's College, Cambridge and had strong East Anglian connections. He had a keen interest in magic which went beyond any medical applications, as the purely magical contents of Society of Antiquaries MS 39, owned by Argentine, demonstrate (Klaassen 1998, 6). Klaassen also points out that the only reference to the famous Arabic magical work *Picatrix* which dates from the fifteenth century comes from Argentine (1998, 7). This suggests that the typical reader of such texts of ritual magic had a background steeped in scientific knowledge, and high levels of literacy, in Latin, the vernacular and secret symbolic codes. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that we find such material in collections of learned medicine and other

⁷⁶ The letter to which Lidaka refers is the only non-'scientific' text in the manuscript. It appears to be a draft version, written in a very small secretary hand at right angles to the page. See p. 370 for more details.

scientific works. Magical texts for the person of less learning seem largely to have been restricted to charms interspersed with medical and other recipes.⁷⁷

A similar situation can be observed in the case of **chiromancy**. More commonly known today as palmistry, texts on this subject are found in a number of the surveyed manuscripts. They are all primarily ‘scientific’ manuscripts, containing more learned treatises and less practical information such as recipes. It must be understood, therefore, that subjects such as chiromancy and dream interpretation, essentially relegated to fairground booths today, were considered to be accepted ‘sciences’ in the Middle Ages. There was some debate as to whether the practice of chiromancy could be considered a form of black magic: ‘as often as not, chiromancy escaped complete condemnation, and was justified as being based, like astrology and physiognomy, on naturally occurring “signs” rather than any idolatrous, necromantic, or man-made tokens or effigies’ (Acker and Amino 1994, 145).⁷⁸

Works on chiromancy are found in AS 81 and York. The AS 81 text is a version of John Metham’s *The syens off cyromancy*, but lacking the diagrams found in the other version, Princeton University Library MS Garrett 141.⁷⁹ Prognostication by dreams seems also to have been popular. Dream books are found bound in with learned medical treatises in AS 81, and also in York, suggesting that the practice on interpretation and prognostication by dreams was also seen as a valid subject of study at many levels.

⁷⁷ Charms are generally religious as well as magical, and so are discussed under ‘Religious texts’. See below, p. 321.

⁷⁸ For a bibliography of works on medieval chiromancy and a brief discussion of the history of the practice, see Acker and Amino’s edition of *The book of palmistry* (1994).

⁷⁹ The Princeton MS is also East Anglian (see Takamiya 38, p. 269), but contains no medical texts.

Prognosis of various sorts was also undertaken by means of spheres. Named variously the 'Sphere of Democritus/Pythagoras/Apuleius' (Voigts 1986, 295), these are commonly identified with Pythagoras, who was 'hailed in medieval writings as a great magician because he understood and could utilize the hidden but natural' (Voigts 1986, 293). They were used to predict the outcomes of various situations, including illness, and worked by assigning numerical values to the letters of the alphabet, adding up the total of the patient's name and the date that they fell ill, dividing the total by thirty, and then checking the answer against numbers which could signify life or death.⁸⁰ They are found in two of the surveyed manuscripts, **York** and **SJC**. The **York** manuscript is of particular interest as it contains first a Latin explanation of how the sphere is used, followed by a Middle English translation. Voigts' discussion of the reasons for such mixtures of texts in MS **Harley 3719** may also hold true for **York**:

The compiler may have acquired this booklet ready-made and had no choice in the languages contained therein. A second possibility is that the compiler of the manuscript, or the booklet, felt that the somewhat cryptic Latin verse "Collige..." did not provide sufficient information to make the Pythagorean diagram usable... Accordingly, he may have supplied an explanation to make it usable and wrote that explanation in the vernacular, perhaps because he thought that Latin could lead to further misunderstanding, or because he lacked confidence in his skills in Latin composition (1986, 300).

The **SJC** sphere is similar, but contains a Latin explanation only, indicating either that the compiler was confident in Latin, or, as Voigts suggests, had no choice

⁸⁰ This explanation is taken from P. M Jones 1998, 52.

in the language, as he bought the text second-hand or ready-made from a bookseller.⁸¹ These two situations would require very different literacy practices, and the instances of Latin throughout the other texts in SJC suggest that the former is the case, and the compiler of this book had a reasonable command of Latin.

Although these books seem to have had an immediate audience of learned readers, a variety of literacy events will have surrounded these books. Divination by various means will have been of interest to much of the population, both literate and illiterate, and those in possession of written texts on the subject may well have been in demand for consultations. The study of such topics, however, remained esoteric, indicated by the small number of these texts included in the survey.

At the other end of the scale, a large number of practical texts survive. Although the interest of such works to a broad spectrum of the population is obvious, as with purely medical works there is no homogenous group of these texts, and they appear to have been produced for a variety of types of reader. The *Secretum secretorum* is an example of the encyclopaedic tradition of practical information, encompassing medicine, horticulture, herbs, astrology and others.⁸² Although it was one of the most popular of the natural philosophy treatises in circulation (Grant 1996, 31), only one copy survives in the survey. This is the English translation by Johannes de Caritate, entitled *Privity of Privities*, in Takamiya 38. The information found in wide ranging works such as this and Bartholomeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum* is sometimes found in individual texts in the

⁸¹ Voigts 1986 and 1994 discuss the history and uses of such spheres in later medieval England.

⁸² Middle English versions of this text, including that in Takamiya 38 have been edited by Manzalaoui (1977). See Getz 1998, 45–53 for an overview of encyclopaedic works with respect to medical texts.

surveyed manuscripts. For example, many books contain lists of the properties of herbs,⁸³ and horticultural treatises are in two of the manuscripts. CUL E contains a copy of Nicholas Bollard's *Book of planting and grafting*, together with another text on planting and grafting, known as *Godfridus super Palladium*.⁸⁴ Given that diet was one of the six non-naturals,⁸⁵ and a crucial part of the regimen of health, it is unsurprising to find these texts juxtaposed with medical texts, as well as other practical sciences. Rawcliffe asserts that many people, notably women, must have had an interest in horticulture, 'we can, indeed, infer as much from the many surviving collections of vernacular remedies, which take for granted the ability not only to recognize a wide variety of plants but also to find substitutes when necessary' (1995a, 183). As with other subjects which would not be considered 'scientific' today, gardening texts in the Middle Ages were based on classical exemplars (Cylowski 1994, 302–3). SI 442 contains a text of rules for grafting and forcing grapes, likely to be based on one of the better known texts such as Godfridus or Bollard, but in a highly abridged version.

One of the most common types of practical text in the Middle Ages, cookery recipes in the survey are found as marginal or flyleaf additions, such as in SI 442 and W542, or in short sections of text, mixed in with medical recipes and others, as in AS 81 and Ha 2378. These may well be jottings or copies of personal recipes, but they may well also be taken from well-known collections, such as those

⁸³ See p. 294 above.

⁸⁴ Edited by Cylowski (1994). These texts are always found together except for in Bodleian Library MS e. Musaeo 116 part I, which does not contain the Bollard treatise. This manuscript can also be localised to East Anglia. I am grateful to Dr Beadle for bringing this to my attention.

⁸⁵ The six non-naturals were air; exercise and rest; sleep and waking; food and drink; repletion and excretion; and psychological factors. See Siraisi 1990, 101.

edited by Austin (1888). This inclusion of culinary recipes in otherwise medical manuscripts is typical (Heatt 1996, 54), and suggests that a number of these books, containing both medical and culinary recipes in English, may have been made for the women of a household. Recipe collections are often composed of texts for a variety of purposes, including medicine, cookery and cosmetics. Other recipe types include those for scribal materials, such as inks, glair, and book glue, in SJC, Tanner 407 and CUL E. As many of the books seem to have been written by less than professional hands, such as Robert Reynes, the compiler of Tanner 407, the addition of such material is understandable. The recipes for gunpowder found in Ha 2378 are, however a little more unusual, and would have been of interest to a more specific section of the reading population. They are juxtaposed in this manuscript with a variety of medical and scientific texts, and also alchemical recipes in English. This indicates that the book was not simply a collection of useful recipes, but a scientific anthology of interest to someone whose literacy practices included a background knowledge of science, and a keen interest in practical application. The range of scientific texts found in the survey include the *liber de gemmis* in Sl 340, a treatise on precious stones by the grammarian Nicholas Brekendale, and the heraldry text in AS 81. Single examples such as these cannot be used as evidence for anything other than a general scientific interest, although they may well have been the focus of specific literacy events. It should be noted, however, that John Paston's Grete Boke (Lester 1984, 1985) also contained a text on heraldry, demonstrating the interest of at least one reader in both medicine and heraldry. The wide range of the university curriculum for undergraduates reflect the diversity of medieval learning, which is also shown by the juxtaposition of medical texts with academic works from a variety of disciplines.

Other learned works

Grammar was part of the basic trivium of medieval university teaching, and was a crucial aspect of learning Latin. Handbooks and treatises on the subject would have been key components of a teacher's library. Such teaching of grammar is a specific literacy event, and the process involves a change and adaptation of the literacy practices of the pupil. As one of the few literate members of rural communities, many priests also served as local doctors and teachers, and so it is unsurprising to find grammatical treatises in a number of the manuscripts.⁸⁶ **BLA**, which was owned by Austin canons,⁸⁷ contains John Leyland's treatise on accident,⁸⁸ an elementary treatise on syntax, and treatises on the figures of speech and orthography. **Ha 2390** has grammatical 'quaestiones' in English and Latin. The relationship of Latin grammar to English is also noted in **TCC**, which has a list of Latin adverbs with English equivalents. In combination with medical texts and other academic works, these manuscripts provide a general reference work of basic scholarly texts for teaching and personal study purposes. They represent different literacy practices to those associated with the household handbooks or specific medical works, and in the case of treatises used for teaching, provide and insight into commonly repeated literacy events.

Law texts are evidence for another type of literacy practice, and legal texts of various kinds are to be found in **TCC** (canon law and various constitutions) and **BLA** (specimens of testaments). It will be seen later in this study that a number of

⁸⁶ For Middle English grammatical treatises, see Thomson 1979.

⁸⁷ See p. 356.

⁸⁸ This is not found in any other survey manuscripts, but a slightly later version is noted by Thomson (1984, 53–54), listed as N under *IPMEP* 308, from Norwich Record Office

those trained in canon law also had a keen interest in medicine, explaining the combination of texts,⁸⁹ and suggesting that the literacy practices of law and academic medicine shared similarities. However, the medical texts in **TCC** seem rather out of place to the modern eye. They are composed of two short texts on bloodletting in East Anglian English, one verse and one prose, at the end of a quire. The rest of the texts deal with various legal and ecclesiastical matters, largely associated with the Collegiate church of Warwick.⁹⁰ Legal notes are also found as marginalia in a number of the manuscripts, which serves as evidence for the professional interests of the readers of these works, as well as the manner in which the books were used, serving often as much as notebooks as reference works. Such use of books is a literacy practice in itself, and seems to have been common, despite the value of books and the status of the owners.

Non-medical literature, poetry and music are not found frequently in these manuscripts, though it should always be remembered that the distinction between the sciences and the arts was not a medieval concept. Chaucer's own interest in both literary and scientific works demonstrates how authors moved freely between disciplines, and the examples of Gower and Lydgate amongst others provide further evidence. Although there are no manuscripts containing both literary and medical texts in this survey, this should not be taken as an indication that such combinations were not found in medieval literature. As the criteria for inclusion in the survey are strict, manuscripts containing, for example, the *Canterbury Tales* and a Latin medical

Colman III, f. 1v of Medieval MS A, beginning and ending imperfectly. See *MWME* 515 for the most comprehensive list.

⁸⁹ See p. 359 and p. 361.

⁹⁰ See p. 355 for further discussion of the origins of this manuscript.

text would not be included.⁹¹ Occasional notes on music are to be found in **Sl 442b** and **BLA**, though they are of very different kinds, the text in **Sl 442** is a Latin hymn, whereas that in **BLA** is an erotic lyric, with music. Other verses are found in **SJC**, which has a Latin version of the poem 'Abuses of the Age', followed by an English translation, indicated by the word 'Anglice' in the margin. Verses on women are found in **Sl 340**, and the later verses about by 'Fludd'⁹² in **Ha 2374**, may have been written by Robert Fludd (1574–1637).⁹³ A poem by John Crophill is also to be found in his commonplace book, **Ha 1735**, which has been studied by Robbins (1969b). These examples, whilst forming a small group, reinforce the idea that just as medicine was not the preserve of the medical profession, neither was literature necessarily the domain of the purely 'literary'. Chaucer and Crophill both worked part-time: Chaucer in Customs and Excise, Crophill as a bailiff and local medical practitioner. Their experiences in working in more than one type of employment were not unusual, any of the texts, including **Ha 1735**, **Ha 2374** and **Caius** contain notes pertaining to the non-medical occupations of the readers, such as the parish expenses and lists of weddings and baptisms in **Ha 2374**, written by a priest of Rotherham in 1472. The literacy practices of the Middle Ages cannot be understood if the part-time nature of many, if not most medieval occupations is not considered, and the diverse interests such part-time work could foster.

⁹¹ However, I have found at least one instance of a non-East Anglian manuscript which contains Chaucer's Prioress's Tale followed by a short medical text, Harley 2251, f. 80r. Another *Canterbury Tales* manuscript, Naples XIII.B.29, also contains medical recipes. I am grateful to Dr Simon Horobin for bringing this manuscript to my attention. A facsimile of this manuscript has been edited in Vallese 1940.

⁹² f. 29r.

⁹³ See Thomson 1979, 267.

Many of the owners of books in the Middle Ages were in some kind of religious order, and fulfilled a range of functions within their parishes. It is common to find religious texts in the surveyed manuscripts, which reflect a variety of possible literacy practices. Religion in the Middle Ages was inseparable from medicine. A ruling of the fourth Lateran Council in 1215 threatened physicians with excommunication if they did not give the health of the soul primacy over the health of the body,

Cum infirmitatis corporalis nonnumquam ex peccato proveniat, dicente Domino, languido quam sanaverant, *Vade et amplius non peccare, ne deterius aliquid tibi contingat*, decreto praesenti statuimus et districte praecipimus medicis corporum, ut cum eos ad infirmos vocari contigerit, ipsos ante omnia moneant et inducant, quod medicos advocent animarum, ut postquam infirmis fuerit de spirituali salute provisum, ad corporalis medicinae remedium salubrius procedatur, cum causa cessante cesset effectus. Hoc quidem inter alia huic causam dedit edicto, quod quidam in aegritudinis lecto iacentes, cum eis a medicus suadetur, ut de animarum salute disponant, in desperationis articulum incidunt, unde facilius mortis periculum incurrunt. Si quis autem medicorum huius nostrae constitutionis, postquam per praelatus locorum fuerit publicata, transgressor extiterit, tamdiu ab ingressu ecclesiae arceatur, donec pro transgressione huiusmodi satisfecerit competenter. Ceterum cum anima sit multo pretiosior corpore, sub interminatione anathematis prohibemus, ne quis medicorum pro

corporali salute aliquid aegroto suadeat, quod in periculum animae
convertatur (Tanner, 1990, i, 244–45).⁹⁴

Religious and devotional texts were far from being the preserve of priests, however. If a household owned only one book, it is likely to have been a devotional work. However, the religious texts most commonly found in these manuscripts link medicine and religion in the form of charms. Charms were often a mixture of the medical, the magical and the religious. One particular charm, the ‘Charm to St William’,⁹⁵ crops up in a number of the surveyed manuscripts, Sl 521, BLA, Hu 117 and SJC.⁹⁶ The St John’s version begins as follows:

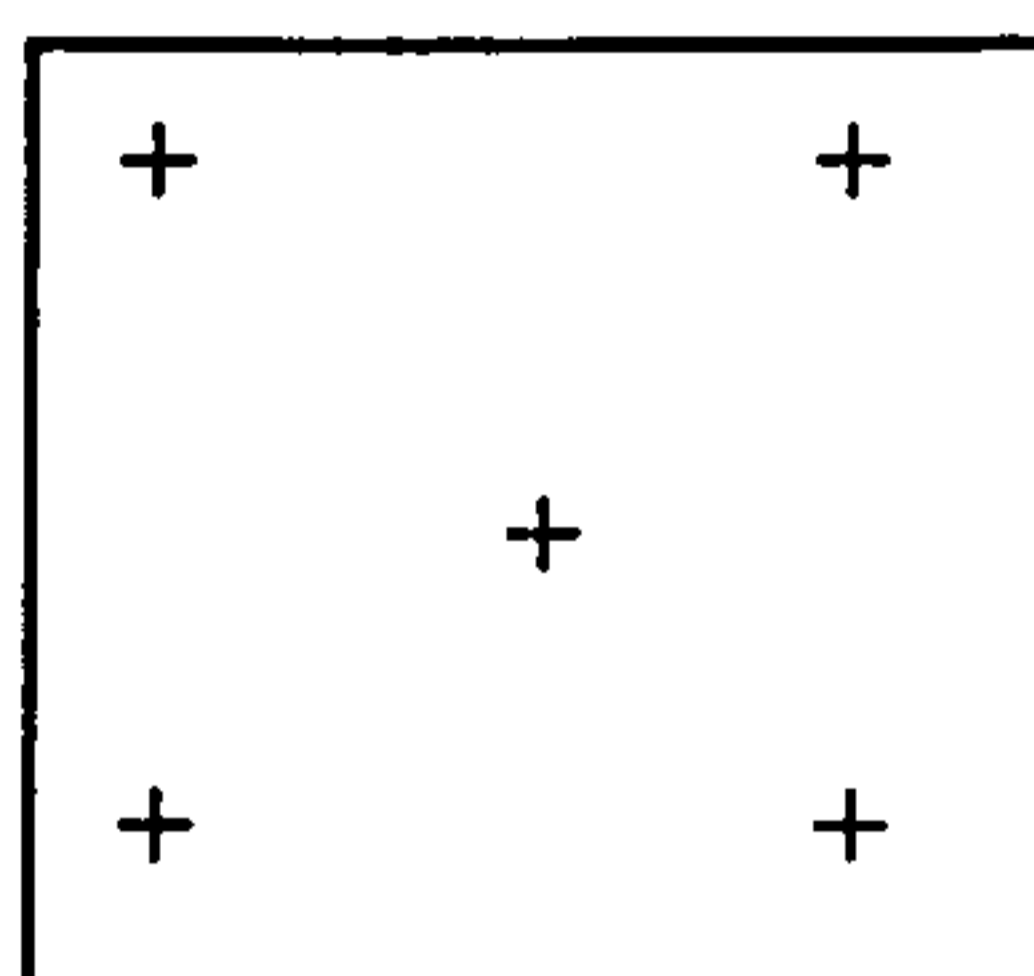
Yis is ye charm of seynt william y^t aungel gabriel brout him fro oure
lord ihesus to sarme cristene men for worm & venim & goute & rancle
& sor first do singyn a messe in honoure sancti spiritus & tunc dic
istud carmen.

⁹⁴ As sickness of the body may sometimes be the result of sin – as the Lord said to the sick man whom he had cured, *Go and sin no more, lest something worse befall you* – so we by this present decree order and strictly command physicians of the body, when they are called to the sick, to warn and persuade them first of all to call in physicians of the soul so that after their spiritual health has been seen to they may respond better to medicine for their bodies; for when the cause ceases so does the effect. This among other things has occasioned this decree, namely that some people on their sickbed, when they are advised by physicians to arrange for the health of their souls, fall into despair and so the more readily incur the danger of death. If any physician transgresses this our constitution, after it has been published by the local prelates, he shall be barred from entering a church until he has made suitable satisfaction for a transgression of this kind. Moreover, since the soul is much more precious than the body, we forbid any physician, under pain of anathema, to prescribe anything for the bodily health of a sick person that may endanger his soul (Tanner 1990, i, 245–46).

⁹⁵ *MWME* 345.

There is a St William associated with Norwich, a boy martyr who died in 1144, supposedly at the hands of Jews (Jessopp and James 1896, Anderson 1964). A cult was associated with the saint in the region from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries. The likelihood of this being a local charm is difficult to establish, as some of the healing miracles associated with William of Norwich are also attributed to William of Canterbury (Anderson 1964, 171). There are also windows in York Minster which link the saint with healing miracles.⁹⁷

Another religious charm found in a number of the manuscripts is the ‘Charm to heal a wound with a plate of lead’,⁹⁸ which is found in **Hu 117, SJC** and **York**. A small diagram accompanies the text in all the manuscripts, but has been defaced in **Hu 117**:



Medical texts are also found juxtaposed with non-medical **religious texts**. **TCC** is entirely composed of Latin ecclesiastical and religious texts, but contains two short English texts on bloodletting, one in verse and one in prose: These are found at the end of a booklet containing an explanation of the vocabulary of the mass, and the Constitutions of Clarendon. They are in a different hand from any other in the manuscript, in a distinctly East Anglian dialect, and seem to be additions to blank pages at the end of the booklet, as the following verso, the final page of the booklet,

⁹⁶ The **SJC** charm is a copy of the **Hu 117** text.

⁹⁷ The York windows are shown in Anderson 1964, plate 16 (inserted between 192–93).

⁹⁸ *MWME* 346.

is blank. **SJC** contains the *Carta Redemptoris*, as well as a number of prayers, and such texts are fairly typical of some of the manuscripts in the survey. **AS 81**, for example, also contains prayers and notes on the names of saints, and the religious material in **Ha 2390** consists of a short note on the creation of Adam. The inclusion of religious material is perhaps to be expected in **BLA** and **Ha 2374**, both of whom were owned by priests. **BLA** contains a large amount of material associated with the Carmelite order, strongly suggesting that at least some of the booklets were once in Carmelite hands. There is also a Latin/English glossary of words, together with part of a treatise explaining Hebrew words in the Old Testament, which indicates that the level of Latin of at least one of the owners was not fluent. Further useful information for priests includes a treatise for a priest on what to do if the consecrated wine is spilt and so on. Such material was part of the daily life of readers in the Middle Ages, and is evidence for the fact that literacy practices which would be discrete today were often fully integrated in the medieval period.

Table 2 shows the non-medical texts contained within the surveyed manuscripts. Some categories have been conflated, so that scribal recipes and recipes for gunpowder come under the broad heading of ‘craft recipes’. No distinction is made here between texts in English, Latin or both.

Conclusion

A number of text types recur frequently in medical compilations, and combinations of these types are found in almost all medical manuscripts. They are: recipe collections; herbals; uroscopy (diagnosis by the examination of urines); bloodletting and medical astrologia. The variety of texts contained within these books reflects the broader interests of their owners, and can also tell us something about their status, education and professional life.

The texts can also tell us something of the discourse communities in which the texts were used. Keiser has observed that the texts in *Stk X.90*: 'relate it to a group of manuscripts that were compiled, as dialect evidence indicates, in the area of Norfolk and Southern Lincolnshire' (*MWME* p. 3654). He goes on to suggest that: 'full studies of the affiliations among these miscellanies will probably lead to interesting conclusions about the practice of medicine and the transmission of medical writings in the region of their origin' (*MWME* p. 3654). The present study goes some way to establishing these affiliations, but further work is necessary in this area. This is a topic which, while outside the remit of the present work, has a considerable amount of research potential.

The combination of texts within the manuscripts shows not only which were read, but also something of the literacy practices of the readers, what kind and level of background knowledge they had, what languages they could read, and for what purposes particular languages were used. In a number of cases we can observe the use of texts for particular literacy events, such as the teaching of grammar, the drafting of a letter or, on a larger scale, the onset of the Black Death. However, in order to use this information most effectively and understand how it illustrates the

use of the written word by contemporary readers, it must also be correlated with the types of book in which the texts are contained.

4.2 Types of book

This section deals with the palaeography and codicology of the manuscripts surveyed. The type of book can tell us something of the wealth, and therefore status, of the original owner or owners, whether it is a professional production, or the work of an amateur scribe, perhaps intended for private use only. It has already been established that the physical appearance of written material is closely related to literacy practices.⁹⁹ The layout of a newspaper is designed for easy scanning, whereas the dense text of an academic journal allows for a far greater volume of information per centimetre of page. Luxury manuscripts were designed for aesthetic pleasure as well as providing information; the literacy practices involved in reading an elegant version of the *Canterbury Tales* are different from those behind the production and use of a personal medical commonplace book. Carruthers' studies into medieval *ars memoria* have shown that the layout of books was designed to aid the memory:

The visual presentation of a text was considered, at least by the learned, to be a part of its meaning, not limited to the illustration of its themes or subjects but necessary to its proper reading, its ability-to-be significant and memorable (1992, 224).¹⁰⁰

This is clearly evidence of literacy practices made manifest on the pages of the reading material, and such evidence is not restricted to books for the learned, but can be found in all kinds of manuscripts. The reader's notes are also evidence of individual literacy practices. Carruthers observes that:

⁹⁹ See p. 51.

the margins are where individual memories are most active, most invited to make their marks, whether physically (as in the ubiquitous *NOTA* command or a pointing finger, sometimes drawn with a string around it, or crudely sketched human and animal heads, or, especially in later manuscripts, implements such as shovels) or only in their imagination (1992, 245).

Margins also provided a place for the owner to stake his or her claim on the book, and therefore provide us with an individual to relate to the manuscript and the literacy practices it reveals. The provenance information available for some of these books allows for some parallels to be drawn between types of book, text, and owner. Recent studies, such as Voigts' work on the 'Sloane Group' have indicated the possibility of workshop production of medical manuscripts in London (Voigts 1990), and this possibility must be considered when looking at manuscript production in other areas, especially in Norwich and environs, as Norwich was second only to London in size and importance during the period.

Structure

Booklet construction is a common feature of a number of the manuscripts in this survey, and in other medical manuscripts.¹⁰¹ Identification of such construction is not straightforward, and any conclusions reached on the basis of booklets must be treated with caution. However, it can indicate that a manuscript has been compiled over time from a variety of sources which may have circulated in an unbound form. Pamela Robinson's study of booklet construction in medieval manuscripts provides

¹⁰⁰ See Carruthers (1992, 221–57) for a comprehensive discussion of the relationship between memory and the book.

¹⁰¹ For example, see Voigts 1990, 29.

a number of features by which such construction can be identified. These are as follows (Robinson 1980, 47 paraphrased):

1. Dimensions of leaves may differ from those of other parts of the manuscript. This phenomenon does not often occur because a binder has usually cropped all the leaves in the codex to a uniform size.
2. Handwriting may differ.
3. Style of decoration or illustrations may differ.
4. Catchwords may run only within the 'booklet', there being no catchword at the end of its last gathering to link it with the first quire of the next 'booklet'.
5. A booklet may have its own series of quire signatures.
6. Outer leaves may be soiled or rubbed, suggesting that the 'booklet' circulated independently for some time before being bound up with others.
7. The number of leaves to a quire may differ from the number(s) in other parts of the manuscript.
8. A scribe may have had difficulty in fitting a text into the quire structure of a 'booklet' and, consequently, have modified that structure. The last gathering of a booklet may be smaller than the preceding because the scribe did not need a gathering of the normal length to complete the text, or the gathering may have an extra leaf or leaves to accommodate the conclusion of the text.

9. The last page(s) of a 'booklet' may be left blank because its text did not fill the 'booklet'. A 'booklet' in which the concluding text is complete may lack its last leaf (or leaves) suggesting that a blank endleaf (or leaves) has been cut away when the booklet was bound up with others.
10. Sometimes text has been added on an originally blank endleaf (or leaves) by the scribe, collector or later owner. Frequently such additions bear no relation to the content of the MS.

Whilst broadly agreeing with many of Robinson's findings, Hanna's later study added to and modified a number of the points she made, and queried Robinson's association of the booklet with a clear textual unit (1986, 105). Hanna added three features to Robinson's list, which reflect the approach to manuscripts taken in this study, and place the booklets in a wider context than the manuscript in which they are found (1986, 108):

11. Variation in the material from which different parts of the manuscript are made, shifts between paper and vellum, shifts (insofar as these are recognizable (*sic*)) among kinds or qualities of vellum, shifts among different paper stocks.
12. Variation between sources from which different parts of a manuscript have been copied.
13. Variation in subject matter in different parts of a manuscript.

Hanna defines two classes of booklet production, from the perspective of the seller or owner of books, for whom the booklet is a complete object to be

bought, with the possibility of joining it with others in a composite manuscript.¹⁰²

His second group forms the main focus of his discussion, the use of booklets in medieval book production. He observes that booklets allowed the medieval bookseller to have stock readily available, without committing resources to the production of complete codices. He also suggests that the possibility of building up codices using these booklets allowed for flexibility in production and benefited marketing (1986, 101–2). He states that:

This perspective on the booklet seems to me potentially more interesting than an emphasis on composite texts (which are primarily problems of cataloguing): rather than what may have been largely accidental collocations conceived by a purchaser or owner several centuries after the fact, this view of the booklet involves actual bibliographical interest in production itself (1986, 102).

From a purely bibliographical standpoint, Hanna's assertion is certainly valid. However, from the viewpoint of literacy and book use, the composite manuscripts become much more than a cataloguing problem, and reflect the occupations, interests, education and therefore literacy practices of their readers. Hanna's caveat that manuscripts compiled during the Middle Ages 'may be indistinguishable from the second large class of fascicular manuscripts' (those collected and bound together at a later date) is an important issue (1986, 101), and should be borne in mind throughout this discussion.

¹⁰² Hanna adds two further subdivisions to this class, books formed of booklets collected and joined together in the Middle Ages, and those books he terms 'binding accidents', which were bound together for convenience after the Middle Ages (1986, 101).

The features outlined by both Robinson and Hanna occur frequently in the surveyed manuscripts, and there is evidence for booklet construction in at least a quarter of them, **Sl 442, Sl 521, Sl 706, Ha 1735, Ha 2374, CUL D, SJC, TCC, Pepys 1661, Hu 117, and AS 81**. It is also likely that a number of the manuscripts where the rubrication is uniform (contrary to item 3 above) may have circulated as ‘unfinished’ booklets, and thus indicate that they were gathered together at an early stage. Beadle suggests that this may be the case with **Pepys 1661 and Pepys 878** (McKitterick and Beadle 1992). The medical texts in **TCC** are an example of item 10. The two bloodletting texts, the only examples of either English or medicine in the manuscript, are found at the end of booklet 5, which contains a Latin explanation of the vocabulary of the mass, and the Constitutions of Clarendon, again in Latin. The leaves at the end appear to have been blank, and the last leaf in particular is dirty, suggesting it may have served as the outer cover for a while. The text was not sufficient to fill the quire (see item 9 above), as ff. 142v–143r seem to have been originally blank, and f. 143v is still blank. In this case it does not seem to have been a scribal addition. The language of the texts is clearly East Anglian,¹⁰³ but the rest of the manuscript has associations with Warwick and London. It may be that only this booklet was in East Anglia, or at least in the hands of someone from the region.¹⁰⁴

Hanna’s description of how a miscellany might be produced seems particularly appropriate to **Hu 117 and SJC**:

In this model, the compiler acquires an exemplar containing some desired texts. These he copies off, perhaps supplementing them

¹⁰³ See Beadle 1991, 103.

with additional texts, heretofore unknown to him, but present in the exemplar. This material he copies, very likely retaining the contents order of his exemplar, into a series of quires which may be tailored to form a booklet. Acquisition of a second exemplar leads to the production of a second block of material, which again may be self-contained. At some later point, these various booklets may be bound into a single volume, with or without utilizing those procedures I have earlier called codicizing (1986, 108).¹⁰⁵

Hu 117 shows evidence of Robinson's item 9, where text has been added on to a blank space at the end of a booklet, but in this case it is a scribal addition, and the following booklet was also copied by the same scribe, but with certain variations.¹⁰⁶ It is evident that the booklets came together at a very early stage. The added text on ff. 40r–v is a price list of pharmaceutical ingredients such as salts and gums in the main hand. The rest of f. 40v is blank, and the next booklet starts with quire six, on f. 41r. However, in **SJC** part 1 (written soon after **Hu 117**) the price list follows the herbal, as in **Hu 117** (on ff. 34r–v), but is immediately followed by the recipe collection found in the second section of **Hu 117**. There are no gaps

¹⁰⁴ On p. 364, I suggest a hypothesis as to how this manuscript came to contain these medical texts.

¹⁰⁵ Hanna explains 'codicizing' as follows, 'rather than conceiving of the booklet as a basic unit, the producer begins to conceive of the unit of the whole codex. And when this step occurs, although production proceeds (or has proceeded) within booklet format, the "self sufficiency" of the booklet is lost' (1986, 103).

¹⁰⁶ Although the hand is the same, style of rubrication varies; rather than fully rubricated titles, many are simply underlined, or indicated with red paraph marks. Quires VI and VII show a much higher incidence of English than the preceding five quires; for example, in the case of 'stock' phrases used as 'efficacy phrases', the proportion of these phrases in English

between the texts, and the ink, hand and rubrication remain the same throughout. This indicates that **SJC** is either a copy of **Hu 117**, or at least a direct descendant. As **SJC** is not much later than **Hu 117**, it is clear that the booklets were brought together at a relatively early stage. The problem with identifying **SJC** as a direct copy of **Hu 117** is the language. Both are in clearly localisable East Anglian dialects, but the spelling systems are completely different. Little study of translation between variants of the same dialect has been undertaken as yet, and further linguistic analysis is necessary to establish the precise relationship between the manuscripts. **SJC** is also composed of three booklets, of which the copy of the Hunter text comprises booklet 1.

The codicizing process is also evident in **Pepys 1661**. For most of the manuscript the decoration is uniform throughout, indicating, as McKitterick and Beadle suggest, that the booklets were brought together at an early date (McKitterick and Beadle 1992, 27). However, some early non-scribal marginalia has been cropped, for example on p. 280, which indicates that the book or individual booklets may have cropped to fit a later binding. **Pepys 878** also shows this process: the manuscript appears to have been compiled over a period of time, but the uniform rubrication throughout indicates that the manuscript was finally gathered together during the medieval period, and is not a later compilation.

Ha 1735 the Crophill manuscript, is a good example of Robinson's items 2 and 3, in terms of change of hand and decoration. Booklet 1 of this manuscript is written in a good neat hand, possibly that of a professional scribe, on parchment. Booklet 2, Crophill's notebook, is written in his own hand on paper. The change of

to those in Latin is significantly higher in quires VI and VII than in quires I to V (C. Jones 1998). See M. C. Jones 1997, 102–9 for a discussion of the use of Latin in **Hu 117**.

material is not listed by Robinson, but can serve as indicator of booklet construction, along with other features. The first section has been illuminated¹⁰⁷, whereas the second section is very plain. Both sections were owned by Crophill, and he may have had them bound together, as there is evidence of his hand in marginal notes in section 1. This manuscript is very important for our understanding of other manuscripts such as **Hu 117** and **SJC**, as well as other 'commonplace books'.¹⁰⁸ Whether Crophill had the first section written for him, or bought it as a loose pamphlet is impossible to say; nonetheless, such compilation by a practitioner suggests that similar books may have been created in like manner.

Ha 2374 is one such book. Like **Ha 1735**, it has booklets of different material. In this case booklet 1 is paper and booklet 2 is poor quality parchment. They are also of slightly different sizes, another indicator of booklet construction (Robinson item 1 above). This indicator is, as Robinson notes, often lost because the booklets are cropped down to fit a binding. In this case the variation is small enough for the booklets to be bound together with no cropping. It seems likely that the book was originally larger: booklet 1 starts imperfectly, and it can be seen from contemporary foliation that there are probably three quires missing at the start. *f. 1r* has '42' in a later hand in the bottom right hand corner, which suggests that the present quire 1 was originally quire 4, if the gathering in fourteens was consistent throughout. As with **Ha 1735**, the first section is composed of neat copies of medical texts, and the second is a personal notebook written in an amateur hand. There is evidence for priestly ownership of this book, which will be discussed in the

¹⁰⁷ See p. 346.

¹⁰⁸ The term 'commonplace book' is used by Peter Jones to describe a medical commonplace book (Harley 2558) compiled by a fifteenth-century medical practitioner, Thomas Fayreford. See P. M. Jones 1995 and 1998b.

next section.¹⁰⁹ The similarities in the texts and construction of these books are evidence for similar literacy practices: not simply a shared interest in particular texts, but a shared means of compiling and constructing these texts for a particular use.

SI 442 illustrates some of the difficulties encountered when trying to establish the structure of a manuscript book. The foliation in the manuscript includes some of the flyleaves, and so is not consistent with the structure of the quires. This is a frustrating but not altogether unusual situation, as foliation seems often to have occurred after the manuscript has been in use for some time, and so includes pages on which texts have been added, such as the flyleaves. The same hand (A) also occurs in various places in the manuscript, suggesting that this may have been the compiler, as other hands tend to be confined to specific booklets or marginal notes.¹¹⁰ AS 81 has a fairly well-defined booklet structure (identified by Watson 1997). The hands are restricted in the main to specific booklets (Robinson item 2 above) and leaves have been inserted to make up extra space in quires (Robinson item 8). Booklet 3 in AS 81 has regular quiring in tens, but there is a wide variation between the gathering patterns of other quires, and this is typical of booklet construction. Unlike Ha 2374 and Ha 1735, however, AS 81 is not a basic medical handbook and notebook, but an anthology of learned texts on both medical and scientific works. The literacy practices associated with this book are therefore more scholarly, involving a greater fluency in Latin, for example, and a more detailed and theoretical background knowledge of medieval science. The compilation of this manuscript has therefore been undertaken with these practices in mind, and reflects this in its construction.

¹⁰⁹ See p. 359.

¹¹⁰ See description of SI 442, pp. 144 ff.

Robinson observes that ‘medieval readers frequently assembled together a number of “booklets” to form a composite volume’ (1980, 54). The circulation of booklets allowed the medieval reader to collect just the texts he or she was interested in, and have them bound together later, rather than having to buy expensive composite volumes just for one text. This pattern of production and circulation seems to have been quite common for medical books, as is evident from this survey, and may, as Robinson notes, ‘explain the low prices given in inventories for many items’ (1980, 53). The circulation of texts in booklets, allowing for personal compilation, has strong implications for literacy. In such a situation the reader or purchaser was in a position to choose the combination of texts he or she wished to read, the language of those texts and the size of the book when it was eventually compiled. Given that practitioners such as John Crophill and Thomas Fayreford (P. M. Jones 1995) are known to have treated patients within a wide area, such choices were evidently important. Booklet circulation also, as the Crophill manuscript (Ha 1735) and Ha 2374 demonstrate, allowed the owner to combine a copied text with his own notebook; a useful arrangement for the travelling practitioner with accounts to keep.

Scribes and scripts

The handwriting of a manuscript book provides valuable information about both the production and uses of the volume. Although many are likely to have been written by professional scribes, either as bespoke productions or for speculative sale, a number seem to have been copied by people with little scribal training, possibly for their own personal use, such as Ha 1735 and Tanner 407. A number of manuscripts contain a combination of the two, with professionally written sections juxtaposed with sections in amateur hands. The professional scribe for whom we have the most information in this survey was not East Anglian. William

Ebesham, who copied *Countway 19* for John Paston II was based at Westminster, but copied a number of books for Paston, and sometimes worked for him in Norwich. Ebesham's work, background and hand are discussed by Ian Doyle (1957), who identified the hand of this manuscript as Ebesham's.¹¹¹ Ebesham seems to have been in the employ of the Pastons as both copier and amanuensis on a number of occasions, both in London and Norfolk, and certainly undertook a good deal of work for them. William Paston's 1469 letter to his sister Margaret is in Ebesham's hand (Davis 1971 I, 170), and the scribe is also mentioned in John Paston II's letter to Margaret, his mother (Davis 1971 I, 408–10), 'Item, iff Ebysham come nat hom wyth myn oncle W. þat then ye sende me þe ij Frenshe bookys þat he scholde haue wretyn, þat he may wryght them here'. John was writing from London, and it seems that Ebesham moved between Norfolk and the capital on a number of occasions as work demanded, though he was based in, and described as a 'gentleman of Westminster' (Doyle 1957, 320–21). Doyle suggests that Ebesham had fallen on hard times, and it is evident that he had a little difficulty receiving payment from Paston as the rather plaintive letter he wrote to John Paston testifies:

I haue often tymes writyn to Pampyng, accordyng to your desire, to enfourme you hou I haue labourd in wrytynges for you; and I see wele he spekes not to your maistirship of hit, and God knowith I ly in seintwarye at grete cost and amonges right vnreasonable askers

[Ebesham goes on to list the items for which he requires payment]...

Also for the wrytyng of the litill boke of phisike... xx d (Davis 1971 II, 386–87).

¹¹¹ This identification was made in a private communication, as noted by Voigts 1990, 55, n.

The cost of this book can be compared with another in the same list which has received much more scholarly attention; the 'grete book' of which Ebesham wrote seven quires, comprising the third section out of five.¹¹² For these quires alone he charged fourteen shillings, much more than the cost of the medical book. Ebesham evidently rather despaired of receiving payment, or was perhaps accustomed to late payments, as the end of his letter suggests:

And I shall be yours while I lyve and at your comaundment. I haue great mystir of it, God knowis, whom I beseche preserue you from all aduersité. I am sumwhat acquayntid with it. Your verry man W.

Ebsham (Davis 1971 II, 386–87).

Several months later, Ebesham had evidently received his payment, no doubt to his great relief, as his receipt survives as letter number 755 (Davis 1971 II, pp. 391–92). The London connections of both Ebesham and Paston may serve to explain the similarities of *Countway 19* to other manuscripts in the 'Sloane Group', which Voigts (1990) suggests were the result of workshop production in London.¹¹³

Further evidence of scribes being directly employed to copy medical books is found in the provenance of *HM 1336*. This was copied by Simon Wysbech, a student of canon law, for Robert Taylour of Boxford, Suffolk.¹¹⁴ It seems likely that students were able to supplement their income in this manner. The academic discipline of Thomas Westhaugh, the copyist and later owner of *Hu 509* was also

25.

¹¹² See Lester 1984 for an edition and commentary of this book, BL MS Lansdowne 285.

¹¹³ The physical characteristics of this group are not shared by *Countway 19*. See p. 345 below for further discussion.

¹¹⁴ There are several examples of students and doctors of canon law owning medical texts in this survey. See p. 359 and p. 361.

canon law, rather than medicine, and it is worth noting that none of the scribes who copied works for other people in this survey can be shown to have had any special interest in medicine, academic or otherwise. This is obviously not the case for books such as Ha 1735. This was copied in part and used by John Crophill, a rural practitioner in Suffolk and Essex. Crophill appears to have acquired one section of the book; that which contains the medical treatises, and had it bound to his own personal notebook. That they came together during Crophill's lifetime can be seen by the marginal notes in Crophill's hand found in the first section. It is possible that the one of the scribes of BLA, John Leake, was also a medical practitioner on at least a part time basis. He does not seem to have been a scribe of professional standard by any means, as his hand is practical and workmanlike rather than elegant. The book has been associated with the house of Austin canons at Creake, but whether Leake was one of the canons is difficult to say.¹¹⁵ Another possible connection between scribes and the clergy is found in AS 81. One of the hands in this manuscript is that of Simon Schryngham. Watson (1997) suggests that because of the Norfolk connections in the manuscript, this may be the Simon Schryngham who was rector of Walcote, Norfolk, in 1487.¹¹⁶

The texts found in the second section of Royal 17C were translated by one John Raynar for his 'specyall lover and frende John Wyntyr'.¹¹⁷ Nothing else is known of Raynar, but it is clear that his relationship with Wyntyr (possibly a member of the powerful Winter family, known to the Pastons) was not the scribe/employer relationship experienced by Ebesham and Paston. The copying of

¹¹⁵ See p. 356 for further discussion of the provenance of this manuscript.

¹¹⁶ AS 81, p. 214. I have not, at present, been able to establish anything further on the identity of another of the AS 81 scribes, David Ragor.

¹¹⁷ f. 117v.

Royal 17C bears similarities to the process behind the production of Hu 509, where the scribe, Westhaugh, copied and possibly translated the book for his friend Sperhawke.¹¹⁸ Specific evidence about the individuals involved in the production of these books provide case studies of manuscript production and use which can be used to compare and study other books which have no such provenance information. This will be discussed further in this chapter.¹¹⁹

Scripts

One of the most widely accepted systems of nomenclature for English book scripts is that devised by Parkes (1979),¹²⁰ and it is that system which is adopted here. Most of the texts in the surveyed manuscripts are written in Anglicana, with a number in Secretary hands, and several mixed.¹²¹ These cursive scripts were initially developed for the writing of documents and have long been associated with the courts and Chancery, hence the frequent use of terms such as ‘Chancery hand’ or ‘court hand’. The practical nature of these scripts soon made them popular in other areas, and by the fourteenth century, they were used in a wide range of books, from *The Canterbury Tales* to medical handbooks. The growing popularity of the Secretary script, which was to become the principal script in use in England in the sixteenth century (Parkes 1979, xx), affected the writing of Anglicana, and led to the ‘hybrid’ scripts commonly found in these manuscripts:

As scribes used Secretary more often, their habituation to the duct, letter forms and style of calligraphy of the new script seems somehow

¹¹⁸ The production and ownership of this book are further discussed on p. 359.

¹¹⁹ See p. 353.

¹²⁰ See Parkes 1979, xii–xxv for an explanation of the terms used, and an overview of the development of the scripts.

¹²¹ See individual manuscripts for details.

to have made the writing of good Anglicana more difficult...with increasing frequency the scribes abandoned any pretence at calligraphy, and the handwriting sprawls across the page (Parkes 1979, xxii–xxiii).

This change in script parallels the growth of literacy, particularly literacy in the vernacular. As demand for books grew, so speed became more important than elegance and calligraphy gave way to practicality. Variants of these scripts can, therefore, indicate the perceived status of a book. At the most practical level, the ‘current’ or *cursiva* versions are the fastest and therefore most economic versions. Smaller hands meant that more lines could be written per page, thereby saving parchment or paper. Small hands also made for smaller, and therefore more portable books.¹²² The type of script and execution employed depended, therefore, on a number of variables. Was it written by a professionally trained scribe, or does it display the features of university writing in the fifteenth century?¹²³ Was cost an important factor? Was it purely for personal use? Where was it used, at a desk, or out ‘in the field’? If the book was intended to have some prestige, more formal scripts could be used. A number of the manuscripts are written in a neat Anglicana formata, a display version of the script with a neater, more upright ductus and fewer cursive features (Parkes 1979, xvi, xxiii). **Hu 117** and **SJC** are all written in very similar versions of this script. This suggests that they may have been written by the same scribe, but given that the spelling varies widely between all three, it seems more likely that there may have been a ‘school’ or workshop in the Norfolk area where scribes were trained to write in a certain manner. This is supported by the

¹²² **Pem 21**, for example, is a very small book, written in a very small neat cursive Anglicana. It is evidently a professional production made for practical use. See p. 345.

¹²³ See Parkes 1979, xxiv for a discussion of fifteenth-century university scribes and the distinctive features of the scripts they used.

textual relationship between **Hu 117** and **SJC**, as it can be shown that **SJC** is, if not a direct copy, then at least a direct descendent of **Hu 117**.¹²⁴

A few of the manuscripts are written in display scripts. **Caius 147** has two sections, the first of which is written in a neat *Anglicana formata*, but the second is much more formal, written in *Bastard Anglicana*, the display form of the *Anglicana* script (Parkes 1979, xvii, xxiii). The difference in formality and prestige between these two sections is also reflected in the decorative features.¹²⁵ Only **Sl 989** is entirely written in *Bastard Anglicana*, though it is found in sections of **AS 81**, **SJC**, **Pepys 1661** and **TCC**. In **Pepys 1661**, there are clear attempts to make the script look ornate, by the initial use of *Bastard Anglicana* which degenerates into *Anglicana formata* with secretary influence, and a large number of decorative otiose strokes, which are lost as the script changes. *Bastard Anglicana* is also used for rubrics and titles in **Ha 2374**, **Sl 706**, and **Sl 442**. The most formal of display hands of this period, *textura*, is the main text hand in the first section of **Pem 21**, and is found in titles and headings in **Wellcome 542** and **TCC**.¹²⁶ The scripts in **TCC** depend on the texts which are being copied, as the display hands are used for the ecclesiastical and constitutional material (such as the constitutions for London, ff. 29r–35v), whereas the medical texts are written in a competent but very plain *Anglicana*. Voigts observes that in Sloane Group manuscripts ‘scripts often change in a codex when the language changes’ (1990, 29), but this could also be due to scribes copying sections in the language they know best. Clearly the status of the

¹²⁴ See pp. 332 ff.

¹²⁵ See p. 346.

¹²⁶ *Textura* is found as a main text hand in a number of vernacular English medical manuscripts. An example of this is Glasgow University Library MS Hunter 503, a translation of Benvenuto Grapheus *De Oculi*, written throughout in *textura*, and elegantly decorated and illuminated on a number of pages.

text influenced the choice of script, and the script in turn will have influenced the way in which a book was read. Just as typeface can affect our perception of a text, and so the background knowledge and assumptions we bring to the work, so did choice of script to the readers of manuscript books; reading a different script entailed a shift in literacy practice.

To a certain extent, the same applies to the material used to produce the book. Unlike the Sloane Group manuscripts studied by Voigts (1990), which are all written on paper, most of the books in the survey are written on parchment. The quality of the materials varies widely, but none of the manuscripts can be said to be made of the highest grade. Since many of the manuscripts appear to have been constructed in booklets, the number of books which contain both paper and parchment quires, or even quires of mixed material, such as *Sl 521*, is unsurprising. *SJC*, *Ha 1735*, *Ha 2374*, and *Pem 21* all contain paper quires and parchment quires. The paper inserts in *Sl 521* may have been added for extra note space later in the book's life. Very few have been written on, though in one section the leaves have had letters of the alphabet listed on them. I have not been able to ascertain the date of the paper, but as the handwriting on these sheets is late and the paper in good condition, it seems likely that these are a post-medieval addition.

The quality of the material used influenced the price of books greatly, and the type of material, together with the decoration and illumination of the manuscripts in this survey indicates that none of the books were of great financial value. However, paper was much cheaper than parchment:

Even as early as the close of the fourteenth century, a quire of paper (twenty-five sheets) cost no more than the average skin, but it gave eight times as many leaves of equivalent size. The growth of the paper

trade in the course of the fifteenth century, moreover, brought about a steady reduction in prices, so that they had in effect halved by the middle of the century and then halved again by 1500 (Lyll 1989, 11).

Most of the manuscripts in this survey are from the fifteenth century, yet the majority are written on parchment. Given that they do not seem to have been intended, as a general rule, to be luxury productions, why were they not written on the cheaper and increasingly available paper? Lyll's own observations suggest that medical books are likely to be on paper, though he does qualify this by saying that this holds true for books written after 1450 (1989, 13). It is possible that parchment was considered by many to be more durable than paper, and for books which were to be used on a daily basis, possibly by travelling practitioners, or apothecaries working with materials which could and damage more fragile paper. This must remain speculation for the present, but in the case of East Anglian manuscripts, the popularity of parchment could be explained by the prosperous wool trade of the region, which would have led to a plentiful supply of skins.

Along with the materials, the size of the manuscripts can indicate how they were meant to be used. It is unlikely that a large, unwieldy volume would have been used on a daily basis by a doctor on the move. Most of the manuscripts in this survey can reasonably be considered portable, at least in terms of fitting into a bag.¹²⁷ The largest of the manuscripts, Sl 442, is similar in size to the 'Sloane Group' manuscripts, which are of similar dimensions, ranging from 175 x 241 mm to 125 x 200mm. A large number of the manuscripts in this survey are smaller than

¹²⁷ The image of the physician with a bag hanging from his belt is well-known. Such a bag may simply have contained a purse, or a small folding medical reference work known as a *vade mecum* (Talbot 1961), but slightly larger books containing more detailed works may also have been carried around by a practitioner.

the Sloane group manuscripts, but fall within the range 140 x 200mm to 158 x 220 mm. Almost half the manuscripts fall into this category, which suggests that this size of book was seen as practical and manageable. Another group can be added to this category. These are **Ha 2378**, **Ha 1600** and **CUL D**, which are very close in size, ranging from 133 x 215 mm to 136 x 218 mm. There are some very small manuscripts in the survey, and the next group of manuscripts in terms of size are significantly smaller. **Countway 19**, **BLA** and **Pem 21** range from 95 x 140 mm to 110 x 154. These are very portable books, but the final category could fairly be described as 'pocket-sized' and may have been used by the doctor in his travels to patients, rather than in a fixed 'surgery'. **Sl 521** measures 80 x 123 mm, but the very smallest is **SL 989**, at 72 x 92 mm. These sizes were, of course, also determined by the type of material used, and how it was folded to create the pages. Nonetheless, the fact that the manuscripts can be grouped in this manner suggests that there were standard sizes deemed appropriate for particular circumstances: the type of book, and how the reader intended to use it.

The status of these books can also be seen in their decoration. Although some of the manuscripts contain practical illustrations, few contain illuminations. Medical books could be elegantly illustrated and illuminated in the Middle Ages, as is clear from the examples in P.M. Jones (1998). Illustrations in medical books were often used to illustrate cases or depict surgical instruments and techniques.¹²⁸ Very few of the manuscripts in this survey contain images which might be considered of artistic merit. Most are eminently practical, such as the pictures of urine flasks designed to show the variant colours of urine associated with certain disorders, as in

¹²⁸ A particularly good example of surgical illustration is John of Arderne's *Treatise of fistula in ano*, for example in Glasgow University Library MS Hunter 251. One of the images is reproduced from BL Additional MS 29301 in P. M. Jones 1998, 89 (fig. 82).

Sl 442 and Countway 19. It is often difficult now to make out the differences in colour in those which survive.¹²⁹ Nonetheless, such a common and practical means of diagnosing illness may have been used for self-diagnosis by the lay reader, and may have been one of the most accessible sections of Countway 19 for the Paston family: ‘these diagrams of urine glasses survive in large numbers in medieval manuscripts, and the fact that so many of them are crude and amateurish in design shows that they were useful working tools in diagnosis, not just surplus decoration’ (P. M. Jones 1998, 45). Urine colours were also depicted by means of a chart, such as the circular urine chart is found in York. This was evidently intended to be a reasonably elegant production, as there is a small amount of gold illumination colouring one of the vessels. Whether the illumination was unfinished or has worn off over time is difficult to establish. Illustration in astrological texts fulfils a similar practical function to that found in anatomy texts.¹³⁰ Diagrams of ‘Zodiac men’ are common in astrological medicine from this period, and can vary in execution from basic outline drawings with the zodiac signs written on to elegant drawings with pictorial representations of the signs in the relevant places.¹³¹ The more artistic representations will have served as both decoration and diagram, and show that the book was a symbol of status as well as a practical tool.¹³² Three zodiac men are found in the surveyed manuscripts, in Ha 2375, Countway 19 and York. None are tremendously elegant in execution, and all are more practical than decorative. These

¹²⁹ For an example of an illustration of urine flasks which is more complex and has survived rather better than those in the surveyed manuscripts, see P. M. Jones 1998, 45.

¹³⁰ See p. 294.

¹³¹ See P.M. Jones 1998, 55, fig. 47 for a good example of a zodiac man. Many, including those in this survey, are not so elegantly drawn, and the zodiac signs are often simply named, as opposed to depicted.

¹³² Such use of decoration is further discussed on p. 346.

books are essentially practical handbooks, not the reference works of academic medicine, though this does not preclude their use by university-trained physicians. Other scientific illustrations include the pen and ink diagrams of furnaces and retorts for alchemical preparations in **CUL E** and the pictures illustrating instructions on the making of turpentine, including drawings of various stills and vessels in **York**.

Other than the **York** urine chart, only one other medical illustration is illuminated. This is in **Caius 147**, which contains a number of illuminated initials in the second section. The first of these is the most elaborate, and is an initial **P** on a gold ground. It depicts a man in a red doctor's gown applying a trephine with a curved crossbar to the skull of a patient in blue, who kneels with hands bound behind him, and a serene expression on his face. The initial descends the entire length of the writing space, with a small green dragon-like animal at the base. **Caius** is one of the most elegant manuscripts in the survey, and was the possession of Walter Elveden, a doctor of canon law, who seems to have had a strong interest in medicine.¹³³ It was evidently a book of some prestige, and the decoration reflects the type of text contained within the manuscript, as well as the status of its owner.

There are illuminations in other manuscripts, but none are medical. **SI 989** has an illuminated 3-line initial **<I>**, now very faded, on the first folio. Space has been left for other such initials, but they were never filled in. It seems to have been intended to be a reasonably luxurious production, which, like **Caius**, is decorated to complement its owner, though the texts included, being part of the regimen tradition, are of a wider appeal than the **Caius** texts. Its status can also be seen in

¹³³ Elveden is further discussed on p. 361.

the use of Bastard Anglicana script throughout.¹³⁴ Other decoration in this manuscript is limited to red underlining, titles, colour touching or paraph marks. Occasionally there is red and blue alternating. This type of decoration tends to be found in the more elegant plain manuscripts such as **Sl 989** and **Countway 19**, which are practical works but owned by people of means. The decoration thus has to be hardy enough to survive regular use, but also elegant and attractive to use, in keeping with the status of the owners. Such an approach to the appearance of books forms part of the literacy practices of these readers. This is of particular interest in the case of **Countway 19**, which seems to have been copied for John Paston. Paston could, therefore, have specific requests for the design of the book, but the relationship of this book to the 'Sloane Group' (Voigts 1990) suggests that he was influenced by medical books being produced in the capital, and requested that his book be produced along these lines. We therefore have an example of the spread of certain literacy practices, such as a choice of layout which is associated with a particular text.

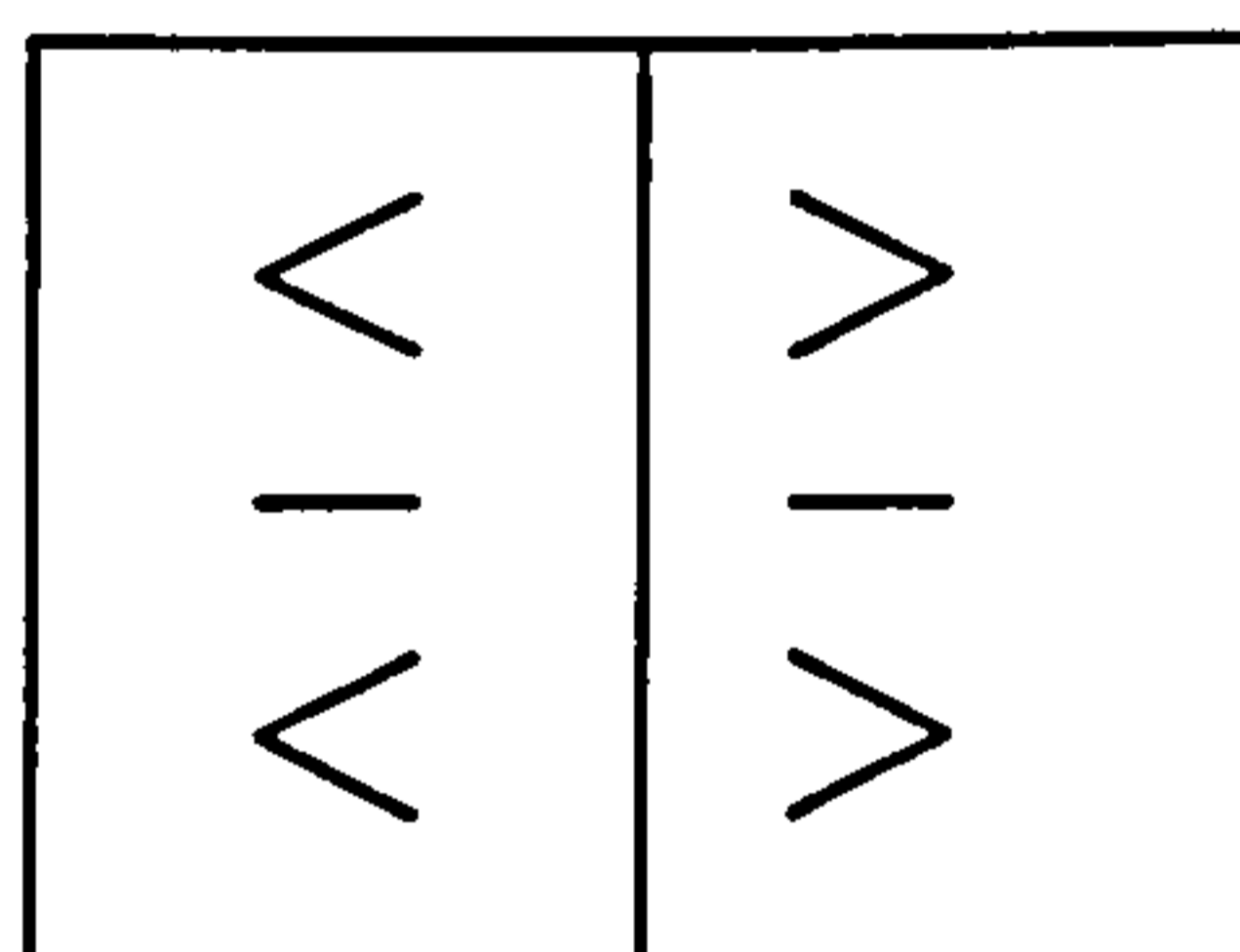
The calendar in **Royal 17C** also has some small illuminated initials. The decoration in this manuscript is of particular interest, as it also contains a full page colour illustration of St Francis. This is not very well executed, with clumsy colouring, and the small plain label 'ffryer'. Whether this suggests that it was owned by a Franciscan monk is hard to say, but I have been able to establish no links between the illustration and the texts in the manuscript. In **Bühler 21** there is another non-medical illustration. This is a coloured emblematical drawing, depicting a crown with spiral branches beneath, containing grotesques and

¹³⁴ See p. 343 for the use of this script.

mottoes.¹³⁵ Such drawings may well reflect the particular interests of the original owners, but without further information it is impossible to say whether such illustrations have any real bearing on the literacy practices of the owners.

Binding

Although most manuscripts do not survive in contemporary binding, when it is present the medieval binding of a manuscript can also provide evidence for its use.¹³⁶ Of the manuscripts surveyed, **Rawl D, Hu 117, Bühler 21 and Takamiya 38** still have wood and leather bindings. In the case of **Hu 117**, this dates from the mid-fourteenth to mid-fifteenth century, slightly later than the script. The binding is dated according to the scheme suggested by Graham Pollard (1976, 54–58). The boards are attached with straps, which are drawn through and pegged in V I V style as in the diagram below:¹³⁷



¹³⁵ See Bühler (1961, 285). I have not been able to see this manuscript in person.

¹³⁶ Binding is often omitted in the discussions of the use of manuscripts, largely because relatively few examples survive, but also because, as Pollard observed in 1976:

There is very little in print about the construction or development of medieval binding... we are in a vicious circle. Cataloguers cannot describe these bindings properly because there are no printed studies to tell them how; and printed studies cannot be produced because students of medieval bookbinding cannot find the books to study' (1976, 50–51).

Pollard's study has since become the basic reference point for preliminary studies of medieval bindings, but the literature on the subject is still scarce.

¹³⁷ See Pollard 1976, 57, fig. 6.

Pollard (1976, 61) suggests that the practice of projecting boards did not begin until the mid-fifteenth century, again later than the date suggested by palaeographical evidence in the book. **Rawl D** also survives in medieval wooden bindings, in this case covered in white leather. The pattern of sewing is similar to that of **Hu 117**, thereby placing it within the same date range.

As well as circulating in booklets, a number of manuscripts were not bound in wooden boards, which were heavy and more expensive. Robinson has noted that 'Many library catalogues refer to works which are said to be bound in parchment or *in pergamen*' (1980, 52). The book may have spent the time between writing and permanent binding bound in a 'soft cover' of parchment. In this survey, only **Countway 19** still has this type.¹³⁸ The relatively inexpensive price of **Countway 19**, which we know of from Ebesham's letter to Paston, may be explained in part by the use of this type of binding as opposed to the more durable, but more expensive and, perhaps significantly, heavier wood and leather bindings. Some books which have since been rebound may have also had this type of binding. There is evidence for this in **Ha 2378** and **Sl 442**, both of which have worn and dirty parchment leaves on either side of the book. These leaves may have been part of the original binding, or may have been flyleaves which were exposed to wear when an original binding was damaged or lost. This was not necessarily the 'poor man's' option, as those listed in catalogues must have been owned by people wealthy enough to collect a library.

The physical appearance of a manuscript can indicate a great deal about the literacy practices of its owners and readers, ranging from the notes they made in the margins, to the quality of materials used, and the type of covers it was bound in.

¹³⁸ **Pem 21** is in a parchment binding which Ker dates to the seventeenth century (*MMLL*, III, 693).

These serve to show the perceived status of the book, and also something of the wealth and status of the owner. A number of these books can be associated with known owners, and the relationship between their occupations and place in society and the books they own will further serve to explain how many of these books came to be, and shed light on the literacy practices which underlie their production and use.

4.3 Types of owner

No reasonable study of modern literacy practices would solely concentrate on the surviving written material and disregard those people who participate in the literacy events, and develop individual and group literacy practices. In an historical study such as this we have no living witnesses to such events and practices. In many cases, however, information survives about the writers, readers and owners of books, and may be used to see if any patterns between known owners and manuscripts can be established. These patterns may then serve to cast light on the production, use, and literacy practices associated with those manuscripts which do not have provenance information. However, the survival of ownership information is a complex subject, especially in the case of vernacular books. In the introduction to her study of private book ownership in later medieval England, Cavanaugh notes that:

Comparison between booklists from wills and booklists from other sources shows that testators frequently omitted mention of some or even all of their books. Furthermore, comparison shows that secular and vernacular books are the ones most likely to be overlooked for purposes of bequest, and that Latin and devotional books probably are as much over-emphasised for testamentary purposes as vernacular and secular books are neglected (1980, 9).

This suggests that attitudes to the vernacular book were mixed. Owning such books may have been much more common than testamentary evidence suggests, but evidently they were not considered as important a part of the estate as their Latin counterparts. It is likely that the value of such books is a key issue here. Cavanaugh observes:

Individuals sometimes owned considerable numbers of inexpensive books. These books often contained secular and vernacular works, for widely read treatises, popular romances, and chronicles often were produced in the more easily-written cursive script and sold in unbound quires (1980, 11).

Books were bequeathed as items of value, and such books as Cavanaugh describes were of much less value than elegant Latin volumes, and so were frequently omitted from booklists and wills.¹³⁹

However, the books themselves do sometimes contain enough information to make the identification of owners possible. Out of the forty manuscripts surveyed for this study, at least twelve have some concrete form of provenance information, and there are names associated with at least another seven. This is a surprisingly high proportion, given the frequent lack of such information in medieval manuscripts, and it allows for hypotheses to be made about the more enigmatic manuscripts in the list. Those manuscripts in which names are found in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century hands are not included in the group, unless those names can also be found in university records, *MPME*, or other records, and can be

¹³⁹ For example, Voigts has undertaken a comprehensive study of the books of a late-medieval graduate physician, Roger Marchall (Voigts 1995b). He graduated with an M.D. from Cambridge, and seems to have enjoyed a prosperous lifestyle, allowing him to indulge his passion for collecting books. Of particular interest for the present study are his cataloguing criteria. Although a number of his books contain Middle English texts, he makes absolutely no mention of them in the lists of his collection, which rather suggests the disdain for the vernacular we might expect from a university doctor: 'He never listed English texts in his contents lists, even when they are to be found in the manuscripts, and he never glossed English texts' (Voigts 1995b, 261). However, his will is entirely in the vernacular. It seems he may have trusted his own command of Latin, but possibly not that of others.

reasonably linked with those found in the manuscript. Several groups of owners can be identified in terms of type, fitting largely with groups suggested by medical historians, with the exception of surgeons, for whom there is no provenance evidence in this survey. Some manuscripts will have changed hands, and so will be found in more than one category. Some owners, likewise, will be members of more than one category; a full discussion will be given in the category which seems most relevant to the manuscript and/or owner, and reasons are given in the appropriate sections for the decision taken.

Ecclesiastical owners. Even in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the literate population was largely made up of the clergy. Many of the doctors known to have practised in late-medieval East Anglia were clerics, and held a variety of benefices in the region and beyond.¹⁴⁰ It is to be expected that a number of the books in this survey might have been owned by those in holy orders, and this proves to be the case. **TCC** was evidently the property of the Collegiate church of Warwick, but as there are virtually no marginalia, it is difficult to trace the travels of the manuscript, either as a whole or in booklets. The medical texts are found at the end of Booklet V in the manuscript. Although the booklets contain texts on similar subjects, it is possible that they spent some time circulating independently before being bound in their present state, and that only booklet V spent any time in East Anglia, the last blank leaves being used to jot down some bloodletting texts. The other contents of Booklet V are a Latin explanation of the language of the Mass and the Constitutions of Clarendon, neither have which have specific associations either with Warwick or East Anglia.

¹⁴⁰ See p. 62.

BLA is likely to have belonged to the house of Austin Canons at Creake, near Walsingham, north Norfolk. The Austin canons were most numerous in East Anglia, with a quarter of their houses situated in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. Creake was originally an Austin hospital, but in 1206 was converted into a priory by Alice de Nerford, who had founded the hospital with her husband. In 1231 the priory became an abbey. Austin abbeys tended not to be impressive institutions, and Dickinson describes Creake as 'of no special significance' (1950, 156). The relatively large number of Augustinian foundations in East Anglia is due in a large part to the rise of the prosperous middle classes, who enabled the foundation and support of the houses (Dickinson 1950, 137, 153). Creake did not survive beyond 1506, and it appears that few records remain, possibly due in part to a fire in 1484 (Platt 1996, 80). The income of the abbey in the fourteenth century varied from £130 to £140 per annum, and it appears that expenditure was kept to a minimum; for the funeral of Abbot Brandon in 1360 one shilling was spent on wine and threepence on apples, but this seems to have been the extent of luxury allowed (*VCH Norfolk* ii, 371). A large part of the monastery was burnt in 1378, and a large proportion of the rebuilding was funded by Richard II, as it was beyond the means of the abbey itself. The house was dissolved in 1506, following a serious epidemic, possibly of the sweating sickness, which took the lives of many of the canons, and after the death of the abbot there was no-one to elect a successor.

The ownership of books by regular canons is an interesting subject, as the precise status of regular canons appears to have been a subject of debate during the Middle Ages (Dickinson 1950, 197–223). Their confusing status makes it difficult to draw parallels with either the monastic or secular clergy. The publication of the surviving booklists of English houses of Austin canons makes no mention of Creake, but indicates the number and range of books owned by the order (Webber

and Watson 1998). The number of books listed is very small compared to the Benedictines, despite the large number of Austin houses. There seems to have been a wide range of medical texts in use, from theoretical tracts of Galen and Hippocrates to surgical texts and remedy books. The books listed are almost exclusively Latin: one, from Lanthony secundus in Hereford, mentions a 'Tractatus in anglico' amongst other medical texts, but this is the exception. Such lists have often been taken to mean the library possessed only Latin books, but the example of the book lists of Roger Marchall, who possessed vernacular books, but never mentioned them in his inventories, suggests that these lists may not be comprehensive, and that Latin books were still of higher status than the vernacular. Webber and Watson also urge caution in drawing conclusions from these lists:

It is often difficult to determine the original function of the lists, the criteria that determined the scope and content of the information to be recorded in them (few medieval booklists are a comprehensive record of all the books possessed by an institution) or to what extent or for what purpose the books listed were actually used (Webber and Watson 1998, xxiv).

Creake's original status as a hospital can not be taken as an explanation or justification for the provenance of this manuscript. Early medieval hospitals are more related to the concept of 'hospitality' than to the modern perception of them as institutions devoted to the care of the sick. Many medieval hospitals undoubtedly played an important role in the care of the sick, but this cannot always be assumed to be the primary function of every hospital. However, the health of the canons themselves had to be maintained, and many religious houses did have an infirmarer. However, in some houses, the services of local practitioners were called in. For

example, in the mid fourteenth century, Geoffrey de Suffield, master physician, was retained by Simon Bozoun, prior of Norwich Priory, on a fee of twenty shillings 'pro labore circa infirmos' (MPME, 54).¹⁴¹ It is possible that there may have been a similar situation at Creak, and this would help to explain the inclusion of a gynaecological tract in a book owned by a house of male canons. The book may have originally belonged to a practitioner and was bequeathed to or borrowed by the abbey.¹⁴² The 'borrowing' and eventual appropriation of books in the Middle Ages does not seem to have been a very unusual practice. The other contents of the manuscript strongly indicate a religious readership, as details of specific religious services are included, rather than simply prayers for the layman. However, without any documentary evidence, all these possibilities must remain speculative.

There is much firmer information for the early life of Hu 509,¹⁴³ but unfortunately rather less for its later life at Syon Abbey. It was bequeathed by its scribe, Thomas Westhaugh, to Syon, where he was confessor general, following the death of the book's previous owner, John Sperhawke, who seems to have been a friend of Westhaugh.¹⁴⁴ The use of the book at Syon is interesting, especially as the text it contains, Gilbertus Anglicus' *Compendium medicinae*, seemed to circulate in a form with or without gynaecological information (Getz 1991). This version contains this information, and may have been of use to Syon, which was a house of Bridgettine monks and nuns which, unusually, had an abbess as overall head. It is

¹⁴¹ See also the discussion of John Crophill, p. 363.

¹⁴² Cf. Hu 509, which was eventually left to Syon abbey.

¹⁴³ See *University graduates*, p. 359, for further discussion of this manuscript. Its history before arriving at Syon is better documented, and for this reason it is discussed primarily in terms of its university owners.

¹⁴⁴ Minnis 1949. See p. 359 for further details of the relationship between Sperhawke and Westhaugh, and the production of Hu 509.

likely that the infirmary for the female house would have had need for gynaecological information such as that found in this manuscript.¹⁴⁵

A more practical use of books by a priest is shown in the example of **Ha 2374**. This manuscript contains a note written by a priest of Rotherham, noting the number of weddings, christenings etc. which took place in his parish in 1472, together with an account of some of his expenses in that year. This indicates that the manuscript, or at least Booklet 2, was in his possession circa 1472. Little else is known of the provenance of this manuscript, but the priestly ownership is relevant to the texts the manuscript contains. The priest may have been the only literate person in his parish, and so served as teacher, doctor and lawyer as well as priest. The book is structured in a similar way to **Ha 1735**, combining a notebook with a collection of texts.¹⁴⁶

As well as ecclesiastical owners, university graduates form a large proportion of medieval book owners.¹⁴⁷ The early history of **Hu 509** is unusually well documented. It was written by Thomas Westhaugh, who was a Fellow of Pembroke Hall, later Pembroke College, Cambridge, and received his doctorate in theology sometime after 1448 (*BRUC*). He does not appear to have trained in medicine at any time. We are told that he was the scribe by the will one of the owners of the manuscript, John Sperhawke, who was a fellow at Pembroke at the same time as Westhaugh, and the two were presumably friends. In Sperhawke's will he bequeathed the book back to Westhaugh, and also insists on this on a flyleaf note, 'Sperhawk semper secundum post obitum magistri thome westaw si

¹⁴⁵ For a study of the library at Syon, see De Hamel 1991.

¹⁴⁶ See p. 337.

¹⁴⁷ Many clerics were, of course, often also university graduates as well, but the sources of ownership information determine how the owner is described.

superviuat' (f. 176v). Westhaugh did indeed survive his friend, and in turn bequeathed the book to Syon abbey, where he was confessor general by 1472 (Ker 1964, 185).¹⁴⁸ He was probably dead by the turn of the century, as we are told that he vacated his position at Syon in 1497 (*BRUC*). By this time he would have been a very old man by medieval standards. John Sperhawke was an expert in Canon Law, assisting the Bishop of Bath and Wells on a number of occasions (Minnis 1949, 10). Ordained priest in 1425, Sperhawke went on to receive a number of ecclesiastical benefices, and, like Westhaugh, was reasonably wealthy when he died. Both Westhaugh and Sperhawke left a large number of books, many to Pembroke and to the University Library at Cambridge.

Westhaugh owned a Latin version of the *Compendium*, which survives in Pembroke College, Cambridge MS 228. Whether he translated his version for Sperhawke is unknown, but it is likely that Westhaugh had an interest in medicine and fluency in medical terminology which surpassed that of Sperhawke. He may have received some medical training without ever having incepted in medicine; some medical education could be gained under the auspices of Natural Philosophy. The works of Gilbertus Anglicus had, as Getz asserts, 'a popular appeal' (1991, lvi), but he is also listed as one of the authorities known to Chaucer's Physician.¹⁴⁹ His works seem to have been rather disparaged by academic physicians, but as the majority of practitioners were not of this category, the popularity of Gilbertus' works, both in Latin and in translation, is unsurprising.

The book is also annotated by one Robert Beverly thus: 'I Robart beuerley wrote al this boke etc.' This assertion was noted by Ian Doyle as being 'patently

¹⁴⁸ The manuscript is listed as B.40 in the Syon catalogue (*MLGB*, 185). For a study on the Syon Library, see De Hamel 1991.

untrue': however, it is still of some interest.¹⁵⁰ There is a surgeon named Robert Beverly, listed as working in London in the early sixteenth century (*MPME*, 292), and another who graduated from Cambridge, but not with a medical degree (*BRUC*). The likelihood of one of these being the same Robert who wrote the 'patently untrue' note is impossible to establish without more information than is available at present.

As well as Westhaugh and Sperhawke, a number of other doctors of canon law are known to have owned medical books. *Caius 147* was left to Gonville Hall, now Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, by Walter Elveden, whose name appears in the manuscript. He had graduated as a Doctor of canon law by 1350, and subsequently held a number of ecclesiastical benefices, many of them in East Anglia. He left a number of books to the college, covering a wide range of subjects, one of which was a *Calendarium* of his own compilation (*BRUC*). As well as religious texts and works on canon law, Elveden appears to have had a keen interest in science and medicine. He is said to have left an astrolabe to the college, and as well as *Caius 147*, he also left a manuscript containing the *Liber viaticus* and other medical tractates, which survives as Gonville and Caius MS 95 (*BRUC*). Elveden had died by 1360.

There are a large number of marginal notes in the manuscript, which tell more of the life of the manuscript following Elveden's death. One hand has written a number of legal notes. This hand is a small cramped secretary, distinctive as the ink has become orange over time. Included in the writings of this hand are part of the court records of 5 Henry IV (1404?) (f. 39r) and a number of notes of actions for debt (e.g. ff. 64r, 74r), some of which involve Johannes Cretynng and Willelmo

¹⁴⁹ See p. 281.

Attegas (e.g. ff. 56v, 77r). The court records date from early in the fifteenth century, and show that, despite the fact that this book seems to have been the property of Gonville and Caius College since at least 1360, its borrowers were not averse to using it as a notebook of sorts when necessary. The other notes in the 'orange hand' are also of interest, as they list a number of names. One of these is *Johannes heuenyngham vicecomes Suffolk* (f. 66r), who was the sheriff of both Norfolk and Suffolk in the later fifteenth century.¹⁵¹ The Heveningham family was influential in late-medieval East Anglia, and at least two John Heveninghams, father and son, were known to the Pastons. A further link with canon law scholars is found in HM 1336, which was written by Symon Wysbech, student of canon law, for Robert Taylor of Boxford, near Sudbury in Suffolk. Unfortunately, little else is known of the origins of this manuscript, and although it indicates that such students were not averse to taking on part-time scribal work, it does not mean that Wysbech himself was necessarily interested in medicine. The existence of such translations in the hands of university graduates is of great interest for the history of literacy in English, as it represents a shift in attitudes towards the vernacular in one of the great bastions of Latin. Such a change in attitude, however slowly it filtered through the system, indicates that new literacy practices did not simply move from the universities outward, with the dissemination of learned tracts beyond the universities. It also demonstrates that the demand for literature in the vernacular and growing status of English in the wider world, specifically amongst the middle classes, had an impact on the universities themselves.

¹⁵⁰ Added note to Young 1908 in Glasgow University Library, Special Collections copy.

¹⁵¹ Heveningham was appointed sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk on 9th October 1469, and confirmed in the post on 5th November (*Calendar of Fine Rolls*, 1461–7, 254, 268; in Richmond, 1996, 198 n. 121).

The practitioners who were not trained within the universities represent the middle class of the 'medical population'. Their books are the prime example of the increasing use of vernacular writing for practical purposes, and they also show that the literacy practices used by such practitioners were distinct in many ways from those of university practitioners. Ha 1735 is perhaps one of the most important manuscripts in the survey for provenance purposes, as a good deal of information survives about the owner, John Crophill, who was also the scribe of part of the book.¹⁵² Crophill was a part-time medical practitioner, whose 'day-job' was that of bailiff in Wix Priory, near Harwich, in Essex. Robbins suggests that Crophill may have worked as an assistant to the infirmarer at St Osyth, a large Austin abbey in Essex, learning his medical skills and some Latin here, which he later used in his part-time practice (Robbins 1969b, 182). Crophill's handbook provides information about the practice and life of a typical rural medical practitioner. The manuscript is in two sections. The first, a collection of medical texts, seems to have been written for Crophill by a professional scribe. It was evidently collected together with the Crophill notebook early, as there is a marginal note about the birth of Crophill's daughter on f. 7, indicating that Crophill owned both books and may have had them bound together himself. The second, which is in Crophill's own hand, is a collection of notes, not only of his patients, as has been suggested (Robbins 1969b; Talbert 1942), but also, as Mustain notes, accounts of the Priory and some of its debtors (1972, 471–72). However, there is explicit mention of his medical practice on f. 37r, 'here þe men and women þat I, John Crophil of Wykys, hath scen hare vryn and don curys vnto hem and medsynnys thoro þe grace of god and houre lady and þe holy gost'. Crophill had to travel

¹⁵² Crophill's manuscript has been edited by Ayoub 1994, and studied by Talbert 1942,

around the priory lands collecting debts, and this will have helped him establish a clientele for his medical practice over a relatively wide area, in a twenty mile radius around Wix. Although he seems to have been based in Wix, the dialects of both sections are from Suffolk, reflecting Crophill's origin, which is likely to have been in Nayland, north-west of Colchester.

There are a few manuscripts which seem to have been owned (at least in part) by practitioners, but have little other supporting evidence for provenance. York is one such manuscript. A note on f. 108r suggests that it was owned by 'Magister Willielmus leche de kylingholme'. Killingholme is in Lincolnshire, 10 miles north-west of Grimsby. Little else is known of this man, although Getz lists him in her supplement to *MPME*, based solely on the information in this manuscript (1990b, 282). Robbins observes that more detailed studies of manuscripts such as this and BLA 'would further illuminate the position of the leech in mediaeval England' (1970, 410–11). The studies of the Crophill manuscript (Ha 1735) and the Fayreford manuscript (Harley 2558)¹⁵³ have shown how much information about medical practice can be gained from such books.

At least two of the recipes in **CUL D** are ascribed to Edmund Albon, who was a Royal Physician circa 1485 and had strong East Anglian connections. However, there is nothing else in the manuscript to associate it with a known practitioner, although there is sufficient information to merit a discussion under **Lay people** below. Albon, however, provides a possible (though at present unproven) explanation for the combination of texts and structure of **TCC**. He paid to incept in medicine at Cambridge in 1475, and was subsequently called 'doctor of

Robbins 1969b, and Mustain 1972.

¹⁵³ See P. M. Jones 1995.

medicine', though Talbot and Hammond (*MPME*, 37) note that the Cambridge Grace Book does not show whether he did actually incept and receive the M.D. He held a variety of benefices, a number of which were in Norfolk and Suffolk,¹⁵⁴ but he was also Dean of St Mary's College in Warwick. He seems to have maintained links with Norfolk until his death, as in 1485 Thomas Bowde was presented to the parish church of Garbisham, diocese of Norwich, as it was 'void by the death of Edmund Albon'. I have not been able to establish Albon's original home, but his movements between East Anglia and Warwick are a useful example of how a book such as *TCC*, which is likely to have belonged to the Collegiate church of Warwick, could contain East Anglian medical texts. Albon was also Canon of St Paul's, London, which has further connections with *TCC*, as it contains a set of constitutions for London, ending with a list of the principal feasts. All these texts have clear connections with Albon's life and work, and the booklet construction of the manuscript provides an obvious opportunity for the East Anglian texts to be jotted onto the blank page at the end of a booklet, which was later bound together with other useful works. Although no evidence can be found in the manuscript to confirm such a link, *TCC* certainly seems to have been compiled and used by someone who had very similar interests and responsibilities to Albon, and therefore shared a very similar set of specific literacy practices.

As most medical practice, even for those wealthy enough to afford physicians, often took place in the home, it is unsurprising to find lay people amongst the owners of medical books. As noted above, *Countway 19* has been identified as the 'litill boke of phisyke' copied by William Ebesham for John

¹⁵⁴ 1472, Holt, Norfolk; 1476, Framlingham, Suffolk; 1478, Garboldisham, Norfolk.

Paston II.¹⁵⁵ As noted earlier, the medical care of the Pastons depended largely on the women of the family. Many of the letters show evidence of how women were expected to provide remedies for most ailments:

Mistress Margery, I recomand me to yow, and I prey yow in all hast possybyll to send me by the next swer messenger that ye can gete a large playster of your *flose unguentorum* for the Kynges Attorney Jamys Hobart; for all hys dysease is but an ache in hys knee. He is the man brought yow and me togedyrs, and I had lever than xl li. ye koud with your playster depart hym and hys peyne. But when ye send me the plaster ye must send me writing how it should be laid to and taken fro his knee, and how long it should abide on his knee unremoved, and how long the plaster will last good, and whether he must lap any more cloths about the plaster to keep it warm or not'. (John Paston III to Margery Paston, between 1487 and 1495. Davis 1971 I, 628).

The Pastons were, however, rich enough to be able to import some of their medicinal needs:

Please it yow to wete þat I sende yow by Barkere, the bearer heroff, iij triacle pottes of Geane, as my potecarie swerytht on-to me, and moore-ouyre that they weer neuer onddoo syns þat they come from Geane; wheroff ye shalle take as many as plesyth yow. Neuerthe lesse my brother John sente to me for ij; þerfore I most beseche yowe þat he maye have at þe leste on. (John Paston II to Margaret Paston, 1479. Davis 1971 I, 513)

¹⁵⁵ See note 111, p. 338, and pp. 338 ff.

Also, syr, I prey yow send me by the next man that comyth fro
 London ij pottys of tryacle of Jenne – they shall cost xvj d.; for I
 haue spent ought that I had wyth my yong wyf and my yong folkys
 and my-sylff... I prey yow lett it be sped. (John Paston III to John
 Paston II. 1479, 6 November. Davis 1971 I, 616)

Another potential Paston connection can be found in **Royal 17C**, which
 belonged to John Wynter, and later to John Theyer in the 17th century. It was
 translated for him by the scribe, John Raynar, as is indicated by the inscription on
 f.117v:

John Raynar and for as mych that every man ys not expert to rede
 fisyk ne surgery as it stant after scole materes in latyn I the forseyd
 have drawn it in to Inglysch at the instans off my specyall lover and
 frende John Wyntyr.

A John Raynar is listed in Blomefield (1805–10, v, 52) as Vicar of Swerdeston
 in 1479, and this may be the scribe, though there is no further evidence to support
 this. There was a well-known family of the name Winter in East Anglia at the time,
 who were associated with Town-Berningham (also known as Berningham Winter)
 and it is not inconceivable that the John Winter who owned this manuscript should
 not be the same John as the son of William Winter, who was known to William
 Paston (Richmond 1990, 64 ff; Blomefield 1805–10, vi, 100).

Other manuscripts which seem to be connected with wealthy East Anglian
 families are **Stk X.90** and **Ha 2378**. **Stk X.90** is associated with Fransham Hall in
 Norfolk, but little else is known of its provenance (Brodin 1950). The Oldhall
 family had a manor house at Fransham Magna in Norfolk, and were evidently a

wealthy family of some status. It has many textual affiliations with many of the manuscripts in this survey, and this may shed more light on its origins.¹⁵⁶ Ha 2378 is likely to have been owned by the Goodrich family. ff. 1r–3v contain notes on the births of a number of members of the ‘Goodrick’ family. On f. 61 (111)ⁱ ‘Mary goodriche’ is written in a later hand. On f. 248 (135v) there is the inscription, ‘qui scripsit sit benedictus, Amen quod Litlington. Iste liber constat Nicholas Spalding’. It later belonged to Dr John Covel, Master of Christ’s College, Cambridge. A Nicholas Spaldyng lived at Snore-hall in Fordham, sometime after 1388 (Blomefield 1805–10, vii, 368).

As with the commonplace books of known medical practitioners, such as Ha 1735, a good deal of provenance information survives for Tanner 407. This manuscript is the commonplace book of Robert Reynes, who was the church-reeve of Acle, in Norfolk (Louis 1980, 29).¹⁵⁷ He also seems to have acted as the officer for various courts of justice (Louis 1980, 29), as well as recording village taxes and offering a scribal service to his village (1980, 30). Reynes is of particular interest for this survey because, as Louis observes:

What is important is that he was a man whose basic asset was literacy, and who as a result of that ability seems to have occupied a pivotal administrative position in the community and to have gained great authority within it. Whether for maintaining the Paris church, chairing guild meetings, regulating the market or dealing with the lord of the manor, it apparently was to him that the community

¹⁵⁶ See Related manuscripts in the entry for Stk X.90, p. 267.

¹⁵⁷ This manuscript has been edited in Louis 1980.

turned. The MS thus gives us a vivid picture of the importance of a literate man in a village of the late Middle Ages (1980, 33).

Louis does not mention any medical practice in this list, and the medical contents of the manuscripts are quite limited; nonetheless, Reynes evidently considered the information sufficiently important to record into his book, and the type of medical information here is particularly interesting, given Louis' comments. Bloodletting and astrological medicine both depended on precise calculations, which were less likely to be passed on by word of mouth than recipes. Such texts, then, form the basic 'literate medicine' which may have been required for a village community, and put Reynes into the position of local expert on such matters. This book therefore casts light on manuscripts such as **BLA** and **Ha 2374** which also contain a range of texts of use to the local community, and suggest that the owners of these books may also have had the position of local 'literate person' in rural communities. Louis suggests that Reynes may have received his education in a 'business school' rather than a traditional grammar school and observes that his clear handwriting and deficient Latin grammar support this hypothesis, 'such an uncertain grasp of the language is, however, not so surprising if it is assumed that very little knowledge of grammar was needed to enter and get through these business schools' (1980, 34). This may also be the case for a number of the scribes and owners of surveyed manuscripts, and could explain the limited use of Latin in specific situations, for readers whose education in Latin was, as Louis observes, for 'essentially practical ends' (1980, 35).

In **CUL D** there are notes throughout the text of the *Liber de Angelis* which refer to one 'Bokenham'. This suggests that someone of that name was either the author, or compiler, or both, but no firm conclusions can be drawn as regards the

provenance of this manuscript on this evidence. Lidaka (1998) has made a convincing argument against identifying either the author or scribe as the Suffolk Austin canon Osbern Bokenham. A draft of a letter written in the manuscript appears to be more promising. Unfortunately, it is unsigned, but the writer makes reference to staying at the house of John Salus at Lynn (McIntosh 1962; Hamel 1990). Salus was a burghess of Lynn c. 1426–1445 (McIntosh 1962, 237).¹⁵⁸ McIntosh locates the dialect of the letter in the area of Market Rasen in Lincolnshire. It reads as follows:

Worshipfull sir I commaund me vnto 3ow wit all myn hert and
 thonkis 3ow oft tymes all 3our full gret kyndenes yat 3e hafe done
 to me vnforseruyd praying 3ow hertly of contynuanche. And for als
 muche as 3e said ye last tyme we partyd at 3e wold I sent 3ow word
 how yat I fared, at ye wrytting of yis lettir I was in gude hele of
 body God be thankid, ye same allway desiryng to here of your
 person. Praying yow yat 3e will resyfe and kepe to we speke samyn
 of Syr William Cuke presete of Byllesbe¹⁵⁹ ane Inglische buke es cald
 Mort Arthur, as 3e may se wrytten of my hand in ye last end of ye
 buke. Also if 3e will ony word send vnto me at ony tyme, send itt
 be trew and trusty persons to John Salus house of Lyn, on of ye four
 and twenty wonyng in ye schekir. And if yar come any trusty frendis
 of 3ours be-twise, I wold pray 3e forsaid Inglische buke and ye lityll
 volvelle at 3e resaifed of ye vicar of Byllesbe to ye foraid John Salus
 house als sone as ye myght knawe ony trusty frendis come to Lyn

¹⁵⁸ McIntosh notes that Salus is mentioned in the Historical Manuscripts Commission's Report on the archives of Lynn (1962, 237 n. 2).

ward. And if yor none come, keoe yain styll 3our selfe to we speke
 samyn. And yat yus avysed sall be wit-in a fourten nyght aftir
 lammese if so I be in qwharte hele of body. And if so be yat wit-in
 xiiii eftyr lammes 3e here no word fro me, trist yan yat I luke and
 abide sonde fro 3ow lyk as 3e hight to me qwhen we last departid.
 No more yis tyme I writt bot I pray 3ow hertly commaund me to
 Palmar and to his wyfe, to Alyson, Agnes and to my wyfe Agnes and
 to Sir William at ea at burd with 3ow and to all othir gude felows
 and 3ow hafe euer in hise keypyng ye Holy Trinite. Amen.¹⁶⁰

Of particular interest for this study is McIntosh's observation that 'ff. 131b–134a... contain medica, a good part thereof in English, written by the same scribe in what is to all intents and purposes identical language' (1962, 238), and the mention of the *volvelle* in the letter. It seems clear that whoever the author and/or scribe was, he had a definite interest in medicine, beyond the simple recipe collection or herbal. Hamel suggests that the mention of his wife is likely to discount the possibility of his being a university-trained physician (Hamel 1990, 343), but the background of university students and their relationship to the clergy was becoming blurred by this point. Roger Marchall, who graduated MD from Cambridge, was married, and a number of the Paston men went to Cambridge and were also married.

A William Coke is listed as a surgeon on Edward IV's military expedition to France in 1475 (*MPME*, 391). Nothing more is known of him, except that his salary was that of a lesser skilled practitioner. Given that Hamel (1990) dates the

¹⁵⁹ 'Byllesbye' is likely to be Bilsby, which is in south-east Lincolnshire, close to Alford.

¹⁶⁰ I have followed McIntosh's transcription, silently expanding abbreviations and accepting his emendations (McIntosh 1962, 237–8).

letter to around 1445, it does not seem likely that Edward's surgeon and 'Syr William Cuke preste of Byllesbye' were the same man. Hamel's investigation into the possible author and intended recipient of the letter is detailed, but I will not reproduce her findings in full here, as they deal essentially with inhabitants of Lincolnshire, and therefore fall outside the scope of the present study. She does, however, provide a link to John Paston II, which is worthy of mention here. A 'William Coke, chaplain' is mentioned in a 1441 Lincolnshire deed,¹⁶¹ along with, amongst others, Richard Welles (Hamel 1990, 345). There is also evidence that the Welles family did own 'a boke cald mort arthro' (Hamel 1990, 346–47). She then goes on to make a rather more tenuous connection between Richard Welles' father and Richard Rivers, the father of Anthony Earl Rivers, a friend of John Paston II (Hamel 1990, 356–57). These connections, however, reveal the similarity of taste in reading matter between these ambitious and powerful men and their families.

The ownership of AS 81 is more complicated than that of many other manuscripts. It is composed of booklets which may have been owned by a variety of people before being gathered together in their present form. The name John Hubbert is written on f. 174r in a fifteenth century hand, and Watson suggests that he may have been the owner of this section of the manuscript, and possibly the following two sections (Watson 1997, 168).¹⁶² ff. 232r–v are in the hand of Simon Schryngham, and on f. 211v there are six lines of Latin prose, ending with the note 'Quod Simon Schryngham'. Several hints of a Norfolk connection in the manuscript suggest that Simon Schryngham may be he who was rector of Walcote, Norfolk, in 1487.¹⁶³ There are pen trials on ff. 239r–v, 'Nouerint uniuersi per

¹⁶¹ Lincolnshire Archives Office, F. L. Deed 3225 (from Hamel 1990, 345 n.19).

¹⁶² Possibly John Hubert as listed in Blomefield 1805–10, vi, 475; vii, 316.

¹⁶³ Blomefield 1805–10, ix, p. 351; listed as Simon Sheringham, rector in 1487.

presentes me Johannem Gryme de Ranworth in Comitatu norff. concessi et dedi et hanc presenti carta mea confirmaui Johanni Priori de Ingham in Centum solidis monete legalis angliae'. Watson suggests that the prior named is probably John Saye, the last prior before the dissolution of the Trinitarian house.¹⁶⁴ Another scribe associated with this manuscript is David Ragor, but unfortunately he too remains a mysterious figure at present.

The results of this study show that medical manuscripts were used by a broad section of the population for a variety of purposes. Obviously, this is limited to the proportion of the population who were able to read, still a minority in the fifteenth century, but examples such as Robert Reynes show how the ability and necessity to read and write was spreading into sections of the population which had previously been entirely illiterate. Peter Jones comments that 'ancient and medieval medicine was *livresque*, to use a French term for which there is no good English equivalent. The written word was not just the form in which medical knowledge was transmitted, but since experimentation and observation did not have the role they have today, it was the very substance of medicine for the educated person' (1990, 1). It can be seen from the books in this survey that *livresque*, or 'literate', medicine was perceived of as important to an ever increasing and diverse group of people. Medical knowledge was written and read for both professional and personal purposes, for practitioners who made a good living from treating the wealthy, to local practitioners working on a part-time basis, to priests or reeves using literacy on behalf of their communities, to women looking after the health of their families and friends. All these groups shared literacy practices in the use of English and choice of medical texts, but other practices, such as the use of Latin, background

¹⁶⁴ See *VCH Norfolk*, ii. 412.

knowledge of theoretical science or local herbs were restricted to certain groups, as were the literacy practices associated with the non-medical texts in the manuscripts. Certain groups of manuscripts which share both physical and textual characteristics reflect shared sets of literacy practices.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have considered the evidence for vernacular literacy provided by manuscripts containing medical material from late-medieval East Anglia. I have examined the types of vernacular medical texts which were copied and used in the region, and then investigated the use of these texts in the context of the manuscript and the medical history of the region.

I began by outlining the literacy theories which have previously been used to describe the uses of the written word in history, and demonstrated how these theories do not adequately describe the complex patterns of literacy and language in the later Middle Ages. I then explained the 'social theory' of literacy adopted in this thesis, and introduced the terminology of literacy 'practices' and 'events' as a flexible and practical means of describing the variety of ways in which texts were used, and how such usage changed during the later medieval period. The vernacular medical texts provide an ideal example of such changes, as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw a substantial increase in translations and adaptations of Latin scientific and medical texts into English.

The shift towards the vernacular in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England has traditionally been seen as reflecting the growth of literacy in the wider population, namely those who did not fit into the medieval category of *litteratus*: those literate in Latin. However, the evidence from this study indicates that the situation was much more complex. The increase in production and use of vernacular texts cannot be simply described as a broadening of literacy and increased accessibility of texts, as this does not explain the use of the vernacular by the *litteratus* and in institutions where Latin literacy was mandatory, such as the universities. Rather than a growth of literacy *per se*, the vernacularisation of

medicine in late-medieval East Anglia seems to have been both the cause and effect of shifts in literacy practices.

Several such shifts can be discerned from the evidence in this survey:

1. **The growth of literate medicine**
2. **Professional literacy**
3. **Expansion of current practices**
4. **Translation**
5. **Shifts in institutional practices**

1. **The growth of literate medicine.** Throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, most medical practice was undertaken in the home, using remedies which would have been passed down through families. However, the increased number of vernacular texts and wider access to education in the vernacular meant that more people had access to literate medicine. An example of this is the community in Acle, where Robert Reynes was bailiff. Reynes' commonplace book, **Tanner 407**, included medical texts, and his status as 'local literate' meant that the community could turn to him for advice on these matters, even if they were unable to read the texts for themselves. Such literacy events, involving both literate and non-literate participants, were already part of the culture regarding law and formed the beginnings of the literate mentality. The shift in literacy practices from totally non-literate medicine to the consultation of medical texts represent the very beginnings of a literate mentality involving medical texts. Such shifts may also be reflected in books owned by local priests, such as **Ha 2374** and **BLA**, where non-literate people came into contact with literate medicine by means of literacy events involving medical texts.

2. **Professional literacy.** Books such as the Reynes MS (Tanner 407) contained medical works amongst a variety of texts, practical and otherwise. However, another group of manuscripts, including Ha 1735, Sl 340, and Sl 442 reflect the use of literate medicine at a more professional level. These books combine the basic remedy collections with herbal tracts, phlebotomy and uroscopy, as well as some rudimentary surgical notes. These entirely medical books demonstrate an interest in medicine which justifies at the very least the investment in a book solely dedicated to the subject. For rural leeches this was no mean purchase, and illustrates a shift towards the use of medical texts in the professional practice of medicine at levels below those of the guilds and universities. These books also demonstrate a shift towards the recording of medicine; Crophill made notes about some of his patients, as well as recording details about his other profession as bailiff. Two shifts are therefore discernible: towards the reading of medical texts for professional purposes, and towards the writing of medical information in the vernacular.

3. **Expansion in current practices.** Changes in literacy practices can also be observed in those groups who already had some established literacy practices. Many of the middle classes received some education at school level, some of which was in Latin. Such schooling did not necessarily equip them for fluent reading of Latin texts of any sort, especially the more complex medical texts. They had, however, sufficient education to be aware of the learned medical material available, and the means to commission and buy translations of such texts. John Raynar's assertion that he translated a medical book (Royal 17 C) because not everyone can read physic 'after scole materes in latyn' is further supported by Bennett's assertion that William Paston 'was not an accomplished Latinist' after his school education (1932, 108). Remedy books, which would

not require a technical knowledge of Latin in order to be understood, cannot be said to represent this type of shift in general, though individual texts may also have been translated for similar types of reader. **Countway 19** shows how both Latin and English versions of the same text coexisted in the same volume. This book, commissioned by John Paston II, may reflect the various literacy practices of the Paston family. These practices are reflected in the language and complexity of the texts: comprehensive Latin texts for John Paston himself and the more highly educated members of the family, and simplified English translations for other members, possibly the women. This shift, evident in such manuscripts as **Royal 17C** and **Countway 19**, is not a shift towards a growth in literacy, but rather changes in practices. This group of readers started to make use of learned material in English, which had previously been beyond their competence in Latin. The readers of these manuscripts demonstrate variable levels of bilingualism, and their books typically contain academic or surgical texts, rather than just remedy books and herbals.

4. **Translation.** The translation of a medical text is a literacy event in itself, and is also evidence for specific literacy practices. In some cases the translator explains his motivation for translation, as in **Royal 17 C**, and **W408** provides an example of another reason for translation, as an act of charity. Such translations, which have been examined by Getz (1990a) were generally the preserve of those in Holy Orders. As many of those in orders, especially Friars, had attended the universities, they provided a link between learned medicine and the outside world. The shift in literacy practices discussed in paragraph 3 above were therefore made possible by such translators.

5. **Shifts in institutional practices.** Within the institutions themselves other changes in literacy practices can be observed during this period. They involve the use of vernacular material by those who are technically *litteratus* but who choose to use material translated from Latin, as in the case of Hu 509. In this survey there is very little evidence for medical graduates using English texts. Considered alone, then, the survey evidence might suggest that the Latin used for medicine was more specialised and required competence beyond the general Latin used for other subjects. This could be seen as a further development of the shift discussed in paragraph 3 above, involving the most complex and learned types of text. However, it seems unlikely that this would be the case for doctors of Canon Law, as a high level of competence in Latin would have been essential to graduate at this level. Evidence from other sources indicates that medical graduates did use English texts. The evidence from other sources of graduate physicians using vernacular texts suggests that it was not the nature of medical Latin which was the primary motive for the use of English in these cases. This shift in literacy practices is most likely to be indicative of the wider shift towards English, and its gradual elaboration into all domains.

It is the shifts at this last level which are particularly interesting for this period, as they indicate that the motivation for the use of English was not simply a bottom-up process instigated by the middle class *illitteratus*, but by the *litteratus* themselves.

Middle classes were attending the universities in increasing numbers, and this may serve to explain the change in attitude toward the vernacular. It also suggests that the stance of the institutions towards the use of English was not necessarily the position taken by those within the institutions. This is not a development of literacy in the traditional sense, and would be difficult to describe and evaluate by using the

monolithic terms of 'literacy' and 'illiteracy' or 'orality'. The 'social theory', however, allows the different motivations for the use of the vernacular to be described and understood in socio-historical context.

The shifts in literacy practices demonstrated by this study can be seen as both a cause and effect of vernacularisation. Increased access to the full range of medical texts leads to wider background knowledge, and therefore the distinctions between those who have certain literacy practices begins to blur. The breakdown of the *litterati/illitterati* distinction is just such a blurring of literacy practices, and should not be seen as a simple movement towards the use of English rather than Latin. By the same token, the increased use of written texts in medicine is not a wholesale movement towards mass literacy, but a process involving participation in literacy events, broadening of background knowledge and the acquisition and development of practical skills in reading and writing. This process differs for every individual, but within groups of individuals similar patterns can be discerned which depend on their occupations, educational backgrounds and the purposes for which they use written material.

The 'social theory' of literacy offers the most effective means of understanding literacy and the processes of vernacularisation. Further small-scale studies of this nature will create a more comprehensive picture of medieval literacy than can be achieved by more general studies. Such small studies may focus on certain regions or genres, or combinations of the two, depending on the quantity of surviving material.

The medical material is itself in need of a great deal of further investigation. The relationships between medical texts, especially recipes and charms, have much to tell us about the transmission and reception of practical knowledge in the Middle

Ages. Groups of texts such as these may help to establish the origins of translations and the development of local traditions. The role of the universities in disseminating learned material in the vernacular is receiving increasing scholarly interest. This requires detailed investigation in order to examine how the institutions influenced the vernacularisation process, both in terms of literacy and the standardisation of English. Such further research can build on the model established in the current study, which demonstrates how a social theory of literacy can shed light on the complexity of literacy practices in historical contexts.

Appendix: Related manuscripts

Only manuscripts listed in *MWME* are given in this appendix, as, for the most part, it includes information from *IMEV* and from all currently available *IMEP* handlists. Manuscripts from the survey are printed in bold type, and those with a known Lincolnshire provenance are given in italics. Where a surveyed manuscript is the only one listed from a particular collection, full details are not given, as these can be found in the sigla table or Index.

Abbreviations:

BL	British Library
BodL	Bodleian Library, Oxford
WHM	Wellcome History of Medicine Library
CUL	Cambridge University Library
TCC	Trinity College Cambridge
Chetham's	Manchester, Chetham's Library

MWME 13: *De priuŷt  of priuŷteis*

Takamiya 38

MWME 43: *The wise book of philosophy and astronomy*

BL: **BLA**
 Egerton 827; 2433
 Royal 17.A.3; 17.A.32
 Sloane 965; 1317; 1609; 2453; 3553

University College London Angl. 6

WHM 411; 564

CUL Ec. 4. 13; Ll. 4. 14

Gonville and Caius College Cambridge 497/395

Pepys 878

TCC 921; 1473

BodL: Add. B.17
 Digby 88
 Ashmole 189; 1405; 1443; 1477

Rawlinson D.1220

Selden Supra 73

Yale Beinecke 163

Columbia Plimpton 260

San Marino, Huntington Library HM 64

Takamiya 39

MWME 46: De condicionis planetarum septem

BL: Sloane 2320; 3566

TCC 1102

Countway 19

MWME 77: Astrology and computus in the commonplace book of Robert Reynes of Acle

Tanner 407

MWME 81: The thyrtyt days of the mone

BL: Ha 1735

Harley 3725

Royal 12.E.16

Sloane 634; 1315

TCC 600

BodL: Digby 88; Ashmole 189

Longleat 333

NLM 49

San Marino, Huntington Library HM 64

MWME 84: The XXX days of the mone

Royal 17 C

MWME 111: The disposicions of the xxxxi dayes of the mone

SI 989

MWME 115: Off the xij synys

BL: Royal 17 C
 Sloane 3285
 Egerton 827

MWME 116: Book of ypocras of deth and of lyf

BL: Harley 1736
 Sloane 73
 Ha 2378
 SI 340
 BLA

Royal College of Physicians 384

Gonville and Caius College Cambridge 336/725; 457/395

TCC 922; 1404

BodL: Ashmole 210; 393; 1405

Selden Supra 73

Durham University Library Cosin I. V.7

Glasgow University Library Hunter V.8.16

MWME 118: Prose treatises on lucky and unlucky days

BL: Arundel 359
 Lansdowne 762
 SI 989
 Sloane 7; 213; 540A; 1315; 2584; 3160
 Add. 19674

WHM 411

Medical Society London 136

TCC 921

BodL: Digby 88

Ashmole 59; 342; 1481

Rawlinson. A. 429; C. 81; C. 211; D. 1222

Latin liturg. e.10

York

Chetham's 6680

Durham University Library Cosin V.III.10; V.IV.9

Lord Harlech, Porkington 10

HM 1336

MWME 119a: New Year's Day and Christmas Day prognostications: Christmas Day, couplets

BL: Royal 12.E.16

Ha 1735

Harley 2252

Sloane 1315

TCC 600

BodL: James 43

Digby 88

Ashmole 189

WHM 411

Longleat, Red Book of Bath

San Marino, Huntington Library HM 64

*MWME 119d: New Year's Day and Christmas Day prognostications: Christmas Day, prose
treatises*

BL: SI 989

CUL Ee. 1. 15

Magdalene College Cambridge Pepys 1047

BodL: Digby 88

York

*MWME 119h: New Year's Day and Christmas Day prognostications: New Year's Day, prose,
variant forms*

BL: Sloane 213; 393; 2270

SI 340

Harley 761

CUL Ff. 5. 48

BodL: Ashmole 393

Tanner 407

Chetham's 6680

MWME 119j: New Year's Day and Christmas Day prognostications: Kalends of January, prose.

BodL: Digby 88

HM 1336

MWME 122b: Thunder prognostications

BL: S1 989

Sloane 213; 2270; 2584

Cotton Vespasian D.14

TCC 922

BodL: Ashmole 189; 342

Lincoln Cathedral 91

Aberdeen University Library 272

Morgan Library, MS at end of Caxton's Myrrour of the World (PML 776)

San Marino, Huntington Library HM 64

HM 1336

MWME 127: The interpretations of Daniel

BL: Royal 12.E.16

Sloane 1609

TCC 1449

York

MWME 130: Onomastic treatise: The victorious and the vanquished

BL: Royal 17.A.32

Ha 1735

Sloane 121; 1609; 3160

SJC

BodL: Ashmole 189

Yale Beinecke 558

MWME 131b: Pythagorean treatises

BL: Add. 4698

Harley 3719

Sloane 389; 3526

TCC 1070

St John's College Cambridge 105

BodL: Ashmole 189

York

Stockholm Royal Library Huseby 78

San Marino, Huntington Library HM 64

MWME 137: The syens of cyromancy by John Metham

AS 81

Princeton Garrett 141

MWME 139: Chiromantic diagrams with text

BodL: Digby 88

York

MWME 142a: Seven herbs by Alexander Africus in the tomb of Kyranides

BL: Sloane 353; 2948

AS 81

Glasgow University Library Ferguson 205

MWME 143a: Semita recta by Albertus Magnus: prose versions

BL: Sloane 353; 2128

CUL E

Glasgow University Library Ferguson 205

MWME 233: A tretys of diverse herbis

BL: Sloane 140; 147; 1571; 2457

Add. 17866; 60577

CUL D

Pepys 1661

TCC 905; 921; 1117

BodL: Ashmole 1477 pt. 3; 1397 pt. 4

Corpus Christ Oxford 265

Society of Antiquaries 101

Lincoln Cathedral 91

York

Stk X.90

Bühler 21

Huntington HU 1051

Untraced: Uppingham School

MWME 234: Agnus castus

BL: Add. 4698; 4797

Arundel 272

Harley 3840

Royal 18.A.6 (2 versions)

Sloane 5; 7; 120; 135; 297; 962; 1315; 2407; 2460; 3160; 3489

WHM 409

TCC 905

BodL: *Add. A. 106* (3 versions)

Ashmole 1432; 1447

Bodley 483; 1031; 536

Digby 95

Laud Misc. 553

Wood D.8

Balliol Oxford 329

Corpus Christ College Oxford 171

National Library of Wales Peniarth 369; Add. 572D

York XVI. O. 10

Stk X.90

San Marino, Huntington Library HM 64 HM 58

Yale Medical 47

MWME 236 The vertues off herbes

BL: Add. 12056; 19674

Royal 17.A.32; 17.B.48;

Royal 17 C

Sloane 393; 405; 540A; 963; 983; 1592; 1609; 3160; 3217; 3466; 3542

TCC O.1.13

BodL: Ashmole 1438; 1444; 1477 pt. 2, pt. 3

Bodley 483; 591

Selden supra 73

Laud Misc. 553

Royal College of Physicians 411

Manchester, Rylands English 404

Aberdeen University Library 258

Ferguson 147

Stk X.90

Yale University 163

Yale Medical 27; 40

MWME 240: Henry Daniel's translation of the rosemary treatise

BL: Royal 17.A.3

Sloane 7, 962; 2403; 3215; 3217

Add. 27329; 29301

Pepys 1661

TCC 759; 1037

BodL: Digby 75; 95

Ashmole 1438; 1477

York

National Library of Wales Add. 572D

Stk X.90**Bühler 21***MWME 243: Verse versions of the anonymous prose rosemary treatise***Ha 1735**

TCC 905

MWME 244a: Anonymous betony treatises; A man that have the stone give him betony

BL: Egerton 2852

Sloane 2270; 3556

IA. 55454

CUL E

Durham University Library Cosin V.III.11

MWME 246: Gathering herbs

BL: S1 706

Sloane 2584; 2948; 3866

TCC 905; 921; 1089

Medical Society London 136

BodL: Ashmole 1438

National Library of Wales 369B

MWME 247e: Herbal synonyma

W542

San Marino, Huntington Library HM 64

MWME 247f: Herbal synonyma

BL: Harley 2558

Sloane 282; 2527; 3866

CUL Dd. x. 44

CUL D

St John's College Cambridge E.6

TCC 1037 (O.1.13)

BodL: Digby 75

Chetham's 27938

Durham University Library, Cosin V.III.11

Glasgow University Library 185. No collection named.

MWME 247g: Herbal synonyma

BL: Sloane 420; 3550

CUL D

Pepys 1661

Gonville and Caius College Cambridge 95/47

Lambeth Palace 342

Royal College of Physicians 227

MWME 248: Lanfranc: Chirurgia Parva

BL: Royal 17 C

Harley 2381

Add. 10440

WHM 397

TCC 913

Copenhagen Royal Lib. 314

MWME 254: Gilbertus Anglicus: Compendia medicinae

BL: Harley 3407

Sloane 5; 1388; 2394; 3486; 3553

SI 442

Add. 25589; 30338

WHM 537

TCC 1449

BodL: Bodley 178

Douce 304

Society of Antiquaries 338

Hu 509

Glasgow University Library Hunter 307

San Marino Huntington HM 19079

MWME 259: Governayle of helthe

BL: Egerton 1995

Ha 2390

SI 989

Sloane 3215

Add. 29301

BodL: Digby 95

· Ashmole 1481; 1498

Durham Cathedral Library Hunter 15 (II)

MWME 260: Queen Isabel's dietary

BL: Royal 17 C

Add. 34210

Sloane 100

W408

WHM 397

BodL: e. musaeo 146

MWME 261: Stockholm verse recipes

BL: Add. 17866

TCC 759; 911; 921

Stk X.90

Bühler 21

San Marino, Huntington Library HM 64

Takamiya 46

National Library of Wales Add. 572

MWME 262: Stockholm prose recipes

Stk X.90

MWME 264: BL MS Add. 33996 recipe collection

BL: Add. 19674; 33996

Arundel 272

Ha 1600

Lansdowne 680

Royal 17.A.3

Sloane 374; 382; 405; 468; 1314; 3153

SI 442

W542

TCC 1037

BodL: Ashmole 1477

All Souls College Oxford 121

Exeter Cathedral 3521

Aberdeen University Library 258

*MWME 265 and 266: Preface to remedy books: The man that will of lechecraft lere; Epilogue to
remedy books: This book by 3t Ypocras*

BL: Arundel 272

Ha 1600

Harley 3407

Lansdowne 680

Sloane 96; 140; 374; 382; 468; 963; 1314; 2584; 3153

Sl 340

Sl 442

W542

TCC 1037

Emmanuel College Cambridge 95

BodL: Ashmole 1477; 1444

All Souls College Oxford 121

Exeter Cathedral 3521

Aberdeen University Library 258

Dawson Sale Cat. 102, item 11.

MWME 272: Liber de diversis medicinis

BL: Arundel 276

Egerton 833

Royal 17. A. 8

Sloane 7; 213; 962; 2270 (copy of Sl 213)

TCC 913; 1451

Pepys 878

BodL: Ashmole 1413; 1444

Rawlinson A.393

Lincoln Cathedral 91

Chetham's 27938

Durham University Library Cosin V.IV.1

MWME 276: Harley 2378 recipes

Ha 2378

MWME 278: Sloane 521 recipes

SI 521

MWME 282: John Crophill: Harley 1735

Ha 1735

MWME 287a: Individual recipes and excerpts from remedybooks: Dwale – a surgical anaesthetic

BL: Add. 19674

Egerton 833

Ha 1600

Ha 2378

Lansdowne 680

Sloane 7; 96; 372; 468; 962; 983; 1000; 1314; 1315; 1317; 3153; 3542

Lambeth 444

W408

WHM 409

Medical Society London 136

CUL Dd. 6. 29

Jesus College Cambridge 43

TCC 905; 1410

BodL: *Add. A. 106; B.60*

Bodley 591

Ashmole 1477; Ashmole 1481

Rawlinson A. 393; C. 506

Balliol College Oxford 329

Durham University Library, Cosin V.IV.1; V.IV.8

Aberdeen University Library 258

National Library of Wales Peniarth 388C; Add. 572D

McGill University Library Osler 7591

Copenhagen Royal Library NC 314

Oslo, Marten Schøyen 671

Massachusetts Historical Society Winthrop 20C

Yale Med Lib 47

MWME 287c Individual recipes and excerpts from remedybooks: For wound in the head

BL: Add. 4698

Sl 521

Egerton 2852

Ha 2378

Royal 12.G.4

Sloane 610; 2584; 3466

Medical Society London 136

Lincoln Cathedral 91

York

Trinity College Dublin 158

MWME 287v: Individual recipes and excerpts from remedybooks: Norwich toothache recipe

Bühler 21

MWME 288: Verses on 32 bloodletting sites

BL: Add. 18216; 30338

Egerton 1995

Lansdowne 680

Sloane 100; 357; 540A; 963; 983; 1000; 2457; 3160

WHM 406

TCC 1037

TCC

BodL: Selden supra 73; 90

Ashmole 391; 1448; 1477; 1481

Rawl D

Durham University Library, Cosin V.III.10

Glasgow University Library Hunter 258

NLM

MWME 291: De phlebotomia of Galen: Diet and bloodletting ascribed to Galen

CUL Kk. 6. 33

Jesus College Cambridge 46

TCC 759; 921; 1089

Magdalene College Cambridge Pepys 1236

BL: Add. 19674

Arundel 272; 359

Egerton 2852 (Henslow MS)

Ha 1735

Royal 17 C

Sloane 7, 372; 389; 405; 540A; 610; 962; 963; 1315; 1609; 1964; 2581; 3160;

3542

SI 442

SI 521

Lambeth Palace 444

WHM 41; 404; 405; 409

Medical Society London 136

BodL: Laud misc. 553

Bodley 591

Rawlinson A. 429

Ashmole 342; 1447; 1477

Douce 84

York

Aberdeen University Library 123

Blairs College 6

Yale Medical Lib. 47

San Marino, Huntington Library HM 64

HM 1336

Untraced: olim Davies Cooke 20

Sotheby's (NY) 9-10 Oct 1984, Lot 44.

MWME 297: Ysodor seyth be auctoryte of Ypocras: Bloodletting tract

Tanner 407

MWME 300: Henry Daniel's Dome of uryns (Liber uricrisiarum)

BL: Egerton 1624

Royal 17.D.1

Harley 1010

SI 340

Sloane 1100; 1721; 2527

CUL Ff. 2. 6; Gg. 3. 29

Gonville and Caius College Cambridge 180/213; 336/725; 376/596

SJC 38

TCC 1473

BodL: Douce 84

e.Musaeo 116; 187

Ashmole 1404

Royal College of Physicians 356

WHM 225; 226

Gloucester Cathedral 19; 23

HM 505

Massachusetts Historical Society 1

Untraced: Sotheby, June 18; 1962, Lot 140.

MWME 301: Practica urinarum

BL: Sloane 2320

Sloane 3566

Gonville and Caius College Cambridge 336/725

TCC 1102

Countway 19

Takamiya 33

MWME 302a: Book of Ypocras: Verse intro

BL: Harley 3383

Sloane 2584

Sloane 3285

WHM 405

SJC

BodL: Laud misc. 553

Douce 84

Add. A. 106

Glasgow University Library Ferguson 147

Yale Medical School 27

MWME 302b: Book of Ypocras. Treatise on urines

BL: Harley 3383

Sloane 2584

Sloane 3285

WHM 405

CUL Dd. x. 44

BodL: Laud misc. 553

Douce 84

Add. A. 106

Glasgow University Library Ferguson 147

Yale Medical School 27

MWME 305: Plague tract

CUL Kk. 6. 33

Gonville and Caius College Cambridge 336/725

Emmanuel College Cambridge 79

Jesus College Cambridge 43

Pepys 878

TCC 905; 922 (2 versions); 1102; 1117; 1404 (2 versions)

BL: Add. 14251

Cotton Caligula A. 2

Egerton 2572

Harley 3383

SI 706

Sloane 963; 965; 983; 1588; 1764; 2172; 2187; 2320; 2507; 3449; 3566

Society of Antiquaries 101

BodL: *Add. A. 106* (2 versions)

Bodley 761

Ashmole 1400; 1443; 1444; *1481* (3 versions)

Rawlinson A. 429

Wood D.8

Wood empt. 25

Lincoln Cathedral 91

Durham University Library, Cosin V.IV.1

National Library of Scotland Kelso cartulary

Copenhagen Royal Library 314

NLM

Countway 19

Yale Mellon

Takamiya 33

Untraced: Christie's 8 Nov. 1978

MWME 318: Gynaecological tract: Trotula A

BL: BLA

Sloane 421A

CUL Ii. 6. 33

BodL: Bodley 483

Douce 37

MWME 327: Gynaecology: Collections of receipts

BL: Sloane 783B

CUL E

MWME 336a: Magi charms against epilepsy: For the falling evil

BL: Add. 33996

Ha 1600

Ha 2378

Harley 2389

Lansdowne 680

Sloane 7; 73; 213; 374; 468; 528; 1314; 2270

SI 521

W542

TCC 921; 1037

BodL: *Add. A. 106*

Laud Misc. 553

Ashmole 1477 (2 versions)

Ashmole 1432

Lincoln Cathedral 91

Durham University Library, Cosin V.IV.8

MWME 337: Ananizaptus charm for the falling evil

BL: Sloane 405; 528; 963; 2187; 3160

BodL: *Add. A. 106*

Laud Misc 553

York

Stk X.90

MWME 338: Sage leaf charms against fevers

BL: Add. 33996

Arundel 272

Ha 1600

Sloane 382; 528; 3160; 3217

W542

CUL Dd.4.24

San Marino, Huntington Library HM 64

MWME 339a: Wafer charms against fevers: El, Ehye, Sabaoth

BL: Add. 33996

BLA

Ha 1600

Egerton 833

Lansdowne 680

Sloane 213; 374; 468; 528; 1314; 2584

W542

TCC 1037; 1103

BodL: *Add. A. 106*

Bodley 483

Ashmole 1477

Lincoln Cathedral 91

MWME 339b: Wafer charms against fevers: Pater est Alpha

TCC 1037

Gonville and Caius College Cambridge 457

BL: Add. 33996

Ha 1600

Egerton 833

Lansdowne 680

Sloane 213; 274; 468; 528; 2457; 3160

W542

BodL: *Add. A. 106*

Bodley 483

Laud Misc. 553

Lincoln Cathedral 91

MWME 341a: Uncorrupted wounds of Christ charm: Wounded/ known version

SJC

TCC 1109

BodL: Digby 2; 69

Durham University Library Cosin V.IV.1

Hu 117

MWME 342: Five wounds of Christ charm

CUL Dd.4.24

TCC 1037

BL: Add. 33996

Egerton 833

Ha 1600

Lansdowne 680

Sloane 7; 468; 962; 1314; 1315; 2584; 3582

W542

BodL: *Add. A. 106*

Ashmole 1477

Yale Medical Library 47

San Marino, Huntington Library HM 64

MWME 343a: Three good brothers charm: For wounds

BL: Ha 2378

Sl 706

Sloane 3160; 3217

Durham University Library Cosin V.V.8

MWME 344: The charm of St Susan to heal wounds

BL: Add. 33996

Ha 1600

Sloane 468; 1314

W542

WHM 410 dorse

BodL: *Add. A. 106*

San Marino, Huntington Library HM 64

Yale Medical Library 47

MWME 345: Charm of St William

BL: BLA

Sl 521

Sloane 405; 962; 3542

BodL: *Add. A. 106*

Stk X.90

Also, though not listed in *MWME*:

Hu 117

SJC

MWME 346: Plate of lead charm

CUL Ee. 1. 15

TCC 921; 1451

BL: SI 521

Sloane 1964; 2584; 3466

BodL: *Add. A. 106*

Laud Misc. 553

Chetham's 27938

Durham University Library Cosin V.III.10

Stk X.90

Yale University Medical Library (No MS number given in *MWME*)

MWME 347a: Maria peperit Christum charm for difficult childbirth

BL: BLA

BL Add 34111; 37786

Egerton 833

Harley 3383

SI 521

Sloane 213; 372; 468; 528; 962; 1314; 2269; 2479; 2584; 3160; 3466

CUL Ee. I.15

TCC 921, 1037

BodL: Ashmole 1432 (2 versions) 1477

Lincoln Cathedral 91

Durham University Library, Cosin V.V. 13

Naples XIII.B.29

MWME 351c: God was born in Bethlehem charm: Against thieves (the second derivative)

BL: *Add. 33996*

Ha 1600

Sloane 374; 393; 468; 962

W542

CUL Dd. 6. 29

Emmanuel College Cambridge 95

BodL: Ashmole 1447

Add. B. 1

e. musaeo 243

Longleat 332

MWME 356a: Charms to know a thief: Identification through dreams

BL: BLA

BL Add. 34111

Sloane 3542

MWME 356e: Charms to know a thief: Using a child's fingernail (a binding charm)

Tanner 407

BL: Sloane 963

MWME 358: Holy Rood charm against foes

Stk X.90

MWME 362: English instructions for a Latin charm received by Pope Leo III and sent to King Charles

BL: Add. 37677; 37787

Harley 586

Royal 17. A. 16

BodL: Bodley 850

Rawlinson C. 814

Tanner 407

Lincoln College Oxford lat. 130

National Library of Scotland Advocates 19.3.1

Göttingen University Cod philol. 163n

MWME 364: Saint Nicasius charm against the pox

BL: *Add. 17866*

TCC 759

Durham University Library Cosin V.III.10

Stk X.90

MWME 365a: Saint Blase charm: For web in the eye

BodL: Rawl D

MWME 365a: Saint Blase charm: For swelling in the neck or face

Ha 2378

MWME 367: Nails of Christ charm

BL: Harley Rot T.11

Tanner 407

Ushaw St Cuthbert's College 29, roll.

Morgan Glazier 39-G

MWME 370c: Job charms: Against worms in humans

BL: Sloane 122

BodL: Bodley 591

NLM

MWME 376b: Charms for sundry diseases and diverse matters: St Tobias Charm for a hawe in the eye

BL: Add. 33996

Arundel 272

Ha 1600

Lansdowne 680

Sloane 7; 374; 405; 468; 963; 1314

W542

BodL: Add. A.106

Laud Misc. 553

Ashmole 1477

Aberdeen University Library 258

MWME 376c: Charms for sundry diseases and diverse matters: For the cough

Rawl D

MWME 376f: Charms for sundry diseases and diverse matters: For lack of sleep in sickness

BL: SI 528; 963; 3160

W542

TCC 921

BodL: Laud Misc. 553

Ashmole 1477

MWME 376h: Charms for sundry diseases and diverse matters: To know whether the sick person shall live or die

BL: Add. 19674; 33996

Arundel 272,

Ha 1600

Lansdowne 680

Sloane 7; 382; 468; 1314; 3153; 3542

W542

BodL: *Add A.106*

Bodley 591

Ashmole 1432; 1477

Rawlinson A. 393

Durham University Library Cosin V.IV.8

MWME 390b: Diuersa servisa: Culinary recipes. Excerpts

BodL: Ashmole 1444

Laud Misc. 553

BL: SI 442

Sloane 1108

National Library of Wales Peniarth 394D

New York Public Library Whitney 1

MWME 398a: An ordinance of pottage: Culinary recipes. Whole work

BL: SI 442

Sloane 7

BodL: Rawlinson D. 1222

Laud Misc. 553

Yale Beinecke 163

MWME 400: Miscellaneous recipes: Culinary

BL: Ha 2378

Harley 5401

Royal 8.B.4; 17.A.3

Sloane 121; 468; 374; 1108; 1313

BodL: Ashmole 1393

Balliol College Oxford 354

Corpus Christi College Oxford 291

MWME 417: Receipts for ink, glue and tempering

Tanner 407

MWME 419b: Miscellaneous recipes, for glue; writing in colours, writing secretly, cleaning books, cleaning glass

CUL E

MWME 428: Weyghtis and mesuris

Tanner 407

MWME 433: Godfridus super palladium: Horticulture

BL: Add. 5467

Cotton Julius D.8

Harley 116; 1785

Sloane 7; 122; 686

Society of Antiquaries 101; 282; 287

CUL E

TCC 905; 1037

BodL: Bodley 591

Rawlinson C.506

e. musaeo 116

Balliol College Oxford 354

Duke of Gloucester, Kensington Palace

Longleat 176

National Library of Wales Peniarth 394D

Lord Harlech, Porkington 10

MWME 434: Nicholas Bollard: The craft of grafting

BL: Add. 5467

Cotton Julius D.8

Harley 116

Sloane 7; 122; 686

CUL E

TCC 905; 1037

BodL: Bodley 591

Douce 54

Society of Antiquaries 101

Duke of Gloucester, Kensington Palace

Lord Harlech Porkington 10

Harvard University English 938

MWME 436b: Miscellaneous planting and grafting recipes

SI 442

MWME 515: John Leylond: Accedence.

BL: **BLA**

Add. 37075

PRO C 47/34/13

St John's College Cambridge 163

TCC 1285

BodL: Digby 26

Douce 103

Rawlinson D. 328

Lincoln College Oxford Lat. 130

Norfolk Record Office, Colman 111(A)

Worcester Cathedral F.123

National Library of Wales Peniarth 356B

MWME vol. 6: 36 *Lydgate's dietary/ doctrine for pestilence*

BL: Add. 10099

Lansdowne 699

Jesus College Cambridge 56

BodL: Laud misc. 683

Rawlinson C.48

Trinity College Dublin 537

Leyden Univ. Vossius 9

NLM

Huntington HM 183

MWME vol. 6: 171 *Lydgate's Stans puer ad mensam. Normal version.*

BL: Add. 5467

Cotton Caligula A. ii

Harley 2251; 4011

Lansdowne 699

Royal 5. A. v

Stowe 982

Lambeth Palace 853

CUL Ff. 4.9; Hh .4. 12

Jesus College Cambridge 56

Pembroke College Cambridge 120

BodL: Laud misc. 683

Bodley 48; 686

Ashmole 59

Rawlinson C.48; C.86

Rawlinson Poet f.32

Rawlinson D. 328

Bodleian Deposit Astor A.2

Balliol College Oxford 354

Leyden University Vossius 9

NLM

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