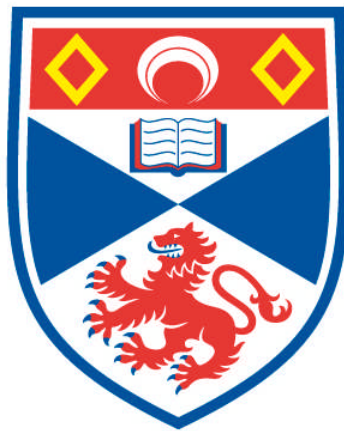


**THE "PHILOMENA" OF JOHN BRADMORE AND ITS
MIDDLE ENGLISH DERIVATIVE : A PERSPECTIVE ON
SURGERY IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND**

S. J. Lang

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
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The *Philomena* of John Bradmore
and its Middle English derivative:
a perspective on surgery in late Medieval England

by

S. J. Lang

Submitted in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of St. Andrews

May 1998



I, Sheila Jackson Lang, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 72,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

May 1998

I was admitted as a research student in October 1990, and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in October 1991; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1990 and 1998.

May 1998

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of two related surgical texts produced in England in the fifteenth century. The Latin treatise entitled *Philomena*, British Library MS. Sloane 2272, was compiled by a London surgeon, John Bradmore, who died in 1412. British Library MS. Harley 1736 contains a Middle English version of part of Bradmore's treatise on ff.2-167.

The relationship of the texts is discussed in the Introduction. Bradmore's authorship of the Latin text is established, and the mistaken attribution of the Middle English text, to surgeon Thomas Morstede, is refuted. Details of Bradmore's life, status, wealth, and associates, are given in Chapter 1.

Chapters 2-3 concentrate on the form of Bradmore's Latin text, and his intentions and methods as its compiler. The manuscript is described, and is shown to be Bradmore's holograph. Many of the earlier authorities used by Bradmore as sources are identified, and his adaptation of them discussed. Chapter 4 gives a detailed study of cases Bradmore describes, drawn from his own experience, and attempts to show the rational basis for his treatments. These cases, though few in number, demonstrate the wide social range of Bradmore's patients, and the variety of conditions treated, with techniques and applications sometimes of Bradmore's own devising.

Chapters 5-6 describe the Middle English version of Bradmore's work, and show that it is an adaptation as much as a translation of the Latin text. The intentions of the author are considered in order to assess his selectivity and to understand how the nature of his text differs from that of the Latin original.

Bradmore's Latin text and its Middle English derivative offer a fascinating insight into the practice of surgery in the fifteenth century. Furthermore, the existence of *Philomena* in Bradmore's holograph provides a unique opportunity to see a compiler at work on his text.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following people, without whom this thesis could not have been completed:

Dr. Simone Macdougall, for having the microfilm of Harley 1736 and asking if it would interest me - and also for all the enthusiasm and good laughs.

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The staff of the University Library in St. Andrews, especially the Inter-Library Loan staff.

My friend Vivienne, for being my unpaid London researcher, not to mention all the years she's put up with my disorganised working methods.

My parents, for being so encouraging and enthusiastic, and for looking after Maud so I could get the final corrections done.

My husband Andrew, for checking the Latin with me (and not minding when I argued back).

My daughter Maud, for arriving before I was half-way through all this, and finding more ways of taking my mind off it than I could ever have imagined.

Abbreviations

- Basing P. Basing, *Parish Fraternity Register* (London, 1982)
- Beck R. T. Beck, *The Cutting Edge: Early History of the Surgeons of London* (London, 1974)
- CCR *Calendar of Close Rolls*
- CPR *Calendar of Patent Rolls*
- Getz Faye Getz, 'Medical Practitioners in Medieval England', *Social History of Medicine* 4 (1990), 245-283
- Harley 1736 British Library MS Harley 1736
- Hunt Tony Hunt, *Plant Names of Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1989)
- Lang Lang, S. J., 'John Bradmore and his book *Philomena*', *Social History of Medicine* 5 (1992), 121-130
- Majno Guido Majno, *The Healing Hand: Man and Wound in the Ancient World* (London, 1975)
- Rawcliffe C. Rawcliffe, 'The Profits of Practice: the Wealth and Status of Medical Men in Later Medieval England' *Social History of Medicine* 1 (1988), 61-78
- Siraisi Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine* (Chicago/London, 1990)
- Sloane 2272 British Library MS Sloane 2272
- Talbot & Hammond C. H. Talbot and E. A. Hammond, *The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England, a Biographical Register* (London, 1965)
- Thrupp S. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Chicago, 1948)
- Walton M. F. Walton, *Fifteenth Century London Medical Men in their Social Context*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago (1979)

Illustrations

All the following illustrations appear in this thesis by permission of the British Library.

1. Crown drawn in the margin of f. 46v of Sloane 2272, drawing attention to Bradmore's passage on the 'King's Evil' in the text.
Facing p. 12
2. Sloane 2272, f.15r, showing the opening folio of Bradmore's treatise
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Facing p. 54
5. Harley 1736, f.6r, showing the prologue to the text
Facing p. 92
6. Illustrations in Sloane 2272 (f.137r) and Harley 1736 (f. 48v) of the instrument devised by John Bradmore for the removal of an arrowhead from the face of Henry, Prince of Wales, following the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403
Bound between pp 135 and 136

Note on Transcriptions

The following conventions have been adopted:

(^o)= word deleted by scribe in manuscript.

() = scribal insertion above line.

[...*in margin*] = scribal insertion in the margin of the text.

Middle English letter thorn þ has been transcribed as 'th' throughout.

Capital letters have been retained as they appear in the manuscript.

All contractions have been expanded in the text.

<text> supplied text

Introduction

Sloane 2272 and Harley 1736: relationship and authorship¹

Two related surgical texts produced in England in the fifteenth century form the focus of this study. One is a Latin surgical treatise, British Library MS. Sloane 2272, and the other, its Middle English derivative, appears on ff.2-167 and 196-212 of British Library MS. Harley 1736. The first problem which arises in the study of these manuscripts is that of authorship. Hitherto, the only study of the Middle English surgical treatise which appears on ff. 2-167 of Harley 1736² was that of R.T. Beck, who transcribed portions of the text selected from ff. 2-52.³ Beck attributed this treatise to Thomas Morstede, chief surgeon on the Agincourt campaign of 1415 and a prominent citizen and surgeon in London until his death in 1450.⁴ His reasons for assigning the authorship to Morstede were as follows:

'(1) it had been recorded that he wrote a 'goodly book on Surgery' all trace of which had been lost; (2) it was written four years before his death when a man who had led a full life would have leisure and inclination to set down his accumulated surgical experience; (3) in his will he bequeathed to Robert Bryttende his apprentice 'my English book bound with two latitudinibus, all my instruments of chirurgery'; (4) the writer described vividly with first-hand knowledge the attempts of surgeons to extract an arrow from the face of Prince Henry at the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403 and the eventual success of John Bradmore, and illustrated the instrument he used. Bradmore and Bradwardyn were dead before 1446 but Morstede may have been present as a young surgeon at the battle. So far as is known no other surgeon could have written with such authority at that time.'⁵

Beck's identification of Morstede as author of this treatise was accepted by Talbot and Hammond and has been widely though not universally accepted since.⁶ Beck gives

¹ This subject was first broached in my paper, 'John Bradmore and his book *Philomena*', *Social History of Medicine* 5 (1992), 121-30.

² Lacking the Latin original, Beck did not identify the section on ulcers, ff. 196-212, as part of the same Middle English surgical treatise as ff. 2-167. For detailed description of Harley 1736, see below pp. 93-99.

³ For transcription see Beck, pp.106-119.

⁴ For details of Thomas Morstede's life, see Talbot & Hammond, pp.350-2, Getz, pp. 278-9, and Beck, pp. 79-86, 92-7.

⁵ Beck, p.83.

⁶ The manuscript is connected with Morstede in, for example, Rawcliffe, p. 69 n. 40, and L. E. Voigts, 'Medical Prose' in *Middle English Prose - a Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*, ed. A.S.G. Edwards, (New Brunswick, 1984), pp. 315-335, on p.321. However, in Linda E. Voigts and Michael R. McVaugh, 'A Latin Technical Phlebotomy and its Middle continued...

no reference for Morstede having written a 'goodly book of Surgery', and I have been unable to trace the source of this tradition. Supposing, however, that he did use his declining years to write such a book, and that it was the English book mentioned in his will,⁷ there is still no evidence to connect it with the treatise in Harley 1736 except for the story of the cure of Prince Henry. Beck evidently felt that this vivid description must be an eyewitness account, and sought to connect it with eminent surgeons who may have been present, and names Bradmore himself, William Bradwardyn, and Thomas Morstede. Bradwardyn is not mentioned in the manuscript account, and although he was a royal surgeon (he was later associated with Morstede in the Agincourt campaign of 1415) there is no indication that he was present at Shrewsbury in 1403.⁸ Similarly Morstede, although he was a royal surgeon by 1410⁹ and thus may have known Bradmore by then through a shared connection with the royal household, is not mentioned in the manuscript account, and there seems to be no evidence that he was present at Shrewsbury, or that he was connected with either John Bradmore or the royal household as early as 1403. The author of the treatise in Harley 1736, however, need not necessarily have been present at the cure of Prince Henry, nor need he have heard the story directly from John Bradmore, for a reference later in the treatise makes clear that he had access to a book written by Bradmore and could have taken the story from that. This reference occurs on f. 117v,

English Translation', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 74:2, (1984), arguments for Morstede's authorship are not found 'to be convincing ones' (p. 16 n. 50), and L. E. Voigts in 'Scientific and Medical Books' in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375-1475* ed. J. Griffiths and D. Pearsall, (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 345-402, p. 390 n. 26 refers to the manuscript as 'the putative Morstede'. Talbot & Hammond accept the identification of Morstede as author; they do not refer to the manuscript in their entry on Morstede (pp. 350-2) but attribute it to him in their entry on John Bradmore (pp. 123-4), when they quote the story of the cure of Prince Henry, acknowledging Beck as the source for their information. This probably accounts for the Bradmore story appearing in C. H. Talbot, *Medicine in Medieval England* (London, 1967) p. 195, rather than Talbot having come to the same conclusions independently of Beck, as some have assumed.

⁷ The will does not state this book to be a book of surgery, though this may be implied by its being left to an apprentice and in connection with surgical instruments. For Morstede's will (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Rous 12), see Talbot & Hammond, pp. 293, 352; R. R. James 'The Will of Thomas Morstede, Surgeon to Henry the Fifth', *Lancet*, 225:2 (1933) 1513-4, where it is translated in full; and D'Arcy Power, *Memorials of the Craft of Surgery* (London, 1886) p.71, where a summary is given, and the Latin of this bequest quoted: '*meum librum Anglicanum ligatum cum duobus latitudinibus*' (the meaning of the final word is unclear in this context, but *latitudines* may be understood to mean tables of celestial latitudes).

⁸ For details of Bradwardyn's life see Talbot & Hammond, pp. 387-8, and Getz, p. 281.

⁹ CPR 1408-13, p.233.

where a case history describing the cure of a woman with scrofula is introduced with the words 'And master John Bradmor telles in his boke off surgery cald *philomena*'.

No reference appears in the secondary literature to suggest that Bradmore had written such a book, but my discovery of a Latin treatise on surgery entitled *Philomena* on ff. 9-375 of Sloane 2272 confirms the attribution contained in the Middle English treatise.¹⁰ Sloane 2272 contains both of the case histories attributed to John Bradmore by the author of Harley 1736. The story of the woman healed of scrofula (Harley 1736 f. 117v) appears on Sloane 2272, f.63r, and the story of the cure of Prince Henry (Harley 1736 f. 48) on Sloane 2272, f.137r. John Bradmore does not refer to himself by name in the latter account in Sloane 2272. The entry reads '*Quiquidem nobilis princeps per me collectorem huius presentis philomene gratias immensas deo ago per me taliter fuit curatus in Castello de Kylllyngworth*' (Sloane 2272, f.137r), whereas the Middle English text reads 'than was John bradmor surgen to the kyng and helyd hym in the castell of kelyngworth' (Harley 1736, f.48v.). Sloane 2272 also contains a further case-history, on f. 144v, relating to a member of the King's household. This is annotated in the margin '*Cura Johannis Bradmor*' and firmly attributed by the author/compiler of the manuscript to himself: '*Preterea curauit ipse quemdam armigerium domini Regis ...*'¹¹ It appears, therefore, that Sloane 2272 is indeed John Bradmore's 'boke off surgery cald *philomena*' referred to by the author of Harley 1736.¹²

¹⁰ For a detailed description of this manuscript see below pp. 21-29.

¹¹ All these cases will be discussed more fully below, pp.61-91.

¹² The name *Philomena*, meaning 'nightingale', seems rather a curious choice for a medical book. Two Latin religious poems, composed in England in the thirteenth century, bear this title. In one, *Philomena praeuia temporis amoeni* by John Pecham (d.1292), the nightingale is used as a symbol of the Christian soul meditating on the creation and redemption of mankind. In the other, *Philomena* by John of Howden (d.1278), a poem on the life of Christ, the title is explained as follows: 'This poem is called Nightingale because just as the nightingale makes one melody out of diverse notes, so this book makes an agreement out of diverse materials'. (see Wendy Pfeffer, *The Change of Philomel: the Nightingale in Medieval Literature* (New York, 1985), pp. 37-40. While it is impossible to know if either of these poems were known to Bradmore, the religious symbolism of the nightingale may have been in his mind when choosing the title for his treatise - see below, p. 64, footnote 16, for the degree of religious evocation in Bradmore's text. The second quotation, if known to Bradmore, would make the choice of title particularly apt for his compilation.

Comparison of passages in the two manuscripts suggests that Sloane 2272, John Bradmore's *Philomena*, is a major source for Harley 1736, which follows its pattern closely and in places offers a word-for-word translation.¹³ My discovery of this Latin source for Harley 1736, while it casts doubt on the attribution to Morstede (at least for the reasons given by Beck) and on the claims of the Middle English text to be an 'original' composition, provides an invaluable opportunity to observe how the translator/adaptor of a medical text set about his work, which may in turn cast light on the motives for such translations into the vernacular.¹⁴

As described below on p. 94, Harley 1736 may at one time have been bound in a different order, and parts of the text may now be missing. This makes it impossible to say how much of the *Philomena* was originally translated or adapted into Middle English. What survives is selected from the sections on Anatomy, Wounds, Apostumes, and Ulcers. A different, and less orderly, selection from the *Philomena* appears as part of MS. 73 in the Library of All Souls College, Oxford. The bulk of this manuscript, which dates from the fifteenth century, consists of the *Chirurgia* of Petrus de Argellata¹⁵ (ff. 13r-177r), but ff. 1v-12v and 179r-187r contain miscellaneous extracts from the *Philomena*. The whole of the Antidotary for Wounds and Ulcers (Sloane 2272 ff. 191v-200v) appears on ff. 1v-12v, and the Antidotary for Fractures and Dislocations (Sloane 2272 ff. 220v-224v) on ff. 179r-181v. The remaining folios contain extracts apparently from the *Philomena* on *gutta* (a term used to mean any disease characterised by painful swelling), on pain in the

¹³ Selected passages for comparison will be discussed below, pp.110-151.

¹⁴ For the relationship of Latin and vernacular medical works see Peter Murray Jones, 'Four Middle English Translations of John of Arderne', in *Latin and Vernacular: Studies in Late Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, ed. A. J. Minnis, (London, 1989) 61-89, idem., 'British Library MS. Sloane 76: A Translator's Holograph' in *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence*, L. Brownrigg. & M. Gullick, (Cambridge, 1990), and Faye Getz, 'Charity, Translation and the Language of Medieval Learning', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 64 (1990), 1-17.

¹⁵ A surgeon approximately contemporary with John Bradmore, Petrus de Argellata is recorded as having embalmed the body of Pope Alexander V in 1410: see Mary Niven Alston, 'The attitude of the Church towards dissection before 1500', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 16 (1944) 221-238.

joints, on how to move an apostume from one location to another, and on various types of cancer.¹⁶

John Bradmore appears to have been of some standing in his own time. He was a royal surgeon throughout the reign of Henry IV (1399-1413), and the author of a sizeable surgical tract, the *Philomena*, which was disseminated in the fifteenth century in the form of the Latin extracts copied in All Souls MS. 73 and in the translation/adaptation in Harley 1736. However, he has not been given as much prominence in medical history as his near-contemporary Thomas Morstede. Morstede's involvement with the proposed joint fellowship of physicians and surgeons in 1423,¹⁷ and more importantly with the Agincourt campaign of 1415, have ensured that he is mentioned in the secondary literature, and must have influenced Beck's attribution to him of the authorship of Harley 1736. However, John Bradmore's life is worthy of study, gives a context to the study of his treatise *Philomena*, and provides an insight into the social standing of a successful surgeon in London in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

¹⁶ Of these extracts, the two antidotaries are copied with considerable accuracy, even to the extent of reproducing references to other parts of the *Philomena* (e.g. All Souls MS. 73, f.2r) and concluding the second extract *explicit distinction 3^a 4^{te} partis presentis Philomene* (All Souls MS. 73, f.181v). The remaining extracts are rather freer, though still including a substantial amount of word-for-word copying. I am indebted to Professor Andrew Watson for providing me with information about this manuscript, to the Codrington Library of All Souls College for enabling me to see a microfilm of the relevant sections, and to Professor Linda Voigts for first putting me in contact with Professor Watson. For full details of All Souls MS 73, see Andrew G. Watson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of All Souls College Oxford*, (Oxford, 1997).

¹⁷ *Calendar of Letter Books Preserved Among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall: Letter Book K (Temp. Henry VI)*, ed. R. R. Sharpe, (London, 1906) p. 11, Power, *Memorials of the Craft of Surgery*, Appendix B and pp. 52-9, and Beck, pp. 62-70.

Chapter One

John Bradmore

John Bradmore has not hitherto been the subject of more than short citations in the secondary literature.¹ However, numerous details of his property transactions survive in the Hustings Rolls,² and some of these, as well as a copy of his will, are contained in the Register of the Fraternities of the Holy Trinity and SS Fabian and Sebastian in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate,³ of which he was a member. The information in this register makes it possible to build up a picture of Bradmore's life, his associates and activities, and his increasing affluence and importance up to his death early in 1412.

John Bradmore and his wife Margaret were among the founder members of the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity in 1377, paying a subscription of 12d. This was the standard membership fee of the fraternity, though some members paid as much as four shillings.⁴ The majority of the members of the fraternity lived in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate. There seems no reason to regard John Bradmore as an exception, for the Hustings Rolls show that he bought and sold property in the parish from 1391 until his death, and there is no indication that he ever held property elsewhere.

In 1386 John Bradmore 'leche' was pardoned on a charge of false coining brought against him following information given by two captured traitors that he had knowledge of the art.⁵ It is perhaps because of this reference that some authors have seen John Bradmore as rather a shady character. Beck⁶ describes Bradmore and his brother

¹ Talbot & Hammond, pp. 123-4, and Beck, pp. 55-6 and 75-6.

² I am grateful to my friend Vivienne Aldous, an archivist at the Corporation of London Record Office, for all her help with checking references in the Hustings Rolls. References to his property transactions are given by Beck, pp. 75-6 and Talbot & Hammond, p.124.

³ British Library Add. MS. 37664, edited in P. Basing, *Parish Fraternity Register* (London, 1982)

⁴ Basing, p.5.

⁵ Talbot & Hammond, pp. 123-4, *CPR* 1385-1389, p.215.

⁶ Beck, p.55.

Nicholas as 'colourful characters'; R. S. Gottfried⁷ suggests that they associated with criminals, and that John was a smuggler. John Bradmore's brother Nicholas was also a surgeon. Nothing is known about the education of either brother, but the fact that they both followed the same calling is suggestive of a family tradition of surgical practice.⁸ Nicholas Bradmore received a pardon in 1389 for a charge of false coining brought against him at the same time as that made against John, the charge being withdrawn by his accuser. This was not Nicholas' last brush with the law,⁹ and John became involved in one of his later disputes, with the barber Richard Asser in 1406.¹⁰ John's parish connections were of service to the brothers at this time, for four out of the six people who provided bail for them in 1406 were members of the Trinity fraternity. These four were William Pynchebeke, 'fysshemonger', Richard Gaynesburgh 'brewer', Stephen Andrewe 'brewere' and John Helperby, 'brewer'. Edmund Sprunt, 'drover' and John Berman of Suthwerke, 'milner', who also provided bail, were not members of the fraternity¹¹ Richard Gaynesburgh the brewer had been churchwarden of St. Botolph at the same time as John Bradmore in 1400.¹² It is noteworthy that the people who appear here to provide bail for John Bradmore are tradesmen of his parish rather than fellow practitioners. On another occasion, when Nicholas alone required such sureties on his behalf, he called on John Sebot, a barber (and thus possibly a professional colleague), to support him.¹³

⁷ R. S. Gottfried, *Doctors and Medicine in Medieval England 1340-1530* (Princeton, 1986) pp.142-3. Gottfried cannot be relied upon, however, as both the references he quotes and the conclusions he draws from them seem frequently to be in error.

⁸ For the suggestion that medical practice was often a family tradition, see Siraisi, p. 26, and her discussion of the related Italian practitioners Tommaso, Bono, and Dino del Garbo (Siraisi, p. 32).

⁹ See the entries on Nicholas Bradmore in Talbot & Hammond, pp.218-19, Beck, pp.74-5, and Rawcliffe, p. 77.

¹⁰ *CCR 1405-1409*, p. 81. The dispute between Nicholas Bradmore and Richard Asser is complex: late in 1405 Richard Asser was charged with leaving Nicholas Bradmore's service before the term agreed (*CCR 1405-9*, p.70), and Talbot & Hammond suggest (pp. 124 and 219) that the 1406 charge was in retaliation for this. However, Richard Asser had also sued Nicholas Bradmore in 1405 for failing to cure a wound which then festered, leading to the loss of his thumb (See *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench*, vol. 7, ed. G. O. Sayles (London, 1971), pp. 162-163, for the details of this case). There was clearly considerable ill-feeling between the two men. Which of these two disputes led to John Bradmore's involvement is not clear.

¹¹ *CCR 1405-1409*, p. 81.

¹² Basing, p. 53.

¹³ See *CCR 1396-99*, p. 208, where Walter Beeke, a taverner, apparently offers threats to Nicholas, and *CCR 1396-99*, p. 209, where the reverse is the case. Talbot & Hammond in continued...

Nicholas appears in disputes with other medical practitioners both as a disputant, as in the cases of Richard Asser (mentioned above), and of Robert Faukener,¹⁴ and as a mainpernor in disputes between other practitioners.¹⁵ In these instances, Nicholas Bradmore is associated with a number of other named practitioners. Details of John Bradmore's professional associates are more elusive, but from the records of his life and career which survive, he would appear to have been of a higher social and professional standing than his brother.

On 10th April 1390 John Bradmore and three other surgeons¹⁶ took an oath in the Guildhall before the Mayor and Aldermen

'well and faithfully to serve the people in undertaking their cures, taking reasonably from them ... faithful scrutiny to make of others, both men and women, undertaking cures, or practising the art of surgery ... to examine persons hurt or wounded ... to give faithful information to the officers of the City aforesaid as to such persons hurt, or wounded, and others, whether they are in peril of death or not; and all other things touching their calling'.¹⁷

Talbot and Hammond regard this oath as admitting Bradmore to practise his profession. However, as Bradmore had been married and living in the City for at least thirteen years by this time, it seems unlikely that he was only now being admitted to practise. M. F.

their entry on Nicholas (p. 218) regard the high sum of £40 demanded as security for Nicholas keeping the peace as a reflection on his violence: however, it is worth noting Walter Beeke's involvement in other disputes, in one of which he has to give security for keeping the peace; *CCR* 1399-1402, pp. 573 and 578 - perhaps not all the violence was on Nicholas' side.

¹⁴ *CCR* 1399-1402, p. 134. Robert Faukener of London, 'leche', was apparently threatening Nicholas Bradmore, Robert Daue 'barbour', and John atte Croune. For Robert Faukener, see Talbot & Hammond, p. 295, and for Robert Daue see Getz, p. 275. No other details of the dispute are known.

¹⁵ For example, the dispute between John de Calys of London, 'barbour', and Lawrence Markes, 'fiscian', *CCR* 1409-1413, p. 99, in which Nicholas Bradmore 'surgen' and John Moreys, 'barbour' were two of the mainpernors of John de Calys. For John de Calys see Talbot & Hammond, p. 129, and Getz, p. 264; for Lawrence Markes see Talbot & Hammond, p. 202, and Getz, p. 269: John Moreys may possibly be identified with John Morysh, for whom see Getz, p. 267.

¹⁶ *Calendar of Letter Books Preserved Among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall: Letter Book H, 1375-1399*, ed. R. R. Sharpe, (London, 1907), p. 352. The other three surgeons were Master John Hynstock, for whom see Talbot & Hammond, p. 157, Master Geoffrey Grace, for whom see Talbot & Hammond, p. 53, and Master Henry Sutton, for whom see Talbot & Hammond, p. 84.

¹⁷ *City of London, Letter Book H*, as translated by H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life* (London 1868), pp. 519-20.

Walton regards such oaths as appointing the surgeons named as guild officials,¹⁸ and this would appear a better explanation in Bradmore's case. Moreover Bradmore was sufficiently prosperous in 1391 to begin his acquisition of property within the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate by purchasing from John Baldewyne, alias Colman, a goldsmith, '*unum mesuagium cum duabus shopis antesituatis et solar superedificatis de nouo constructis*'. This tenement was situated on the east side of Aldersgate Street, opposite the church of St. Botolph.¹⁹ A quit rent of 1s 5d was paid from it to the church of St. Paul.²⁰ Bradmore was still living in this property at the time of his death in 1412.²¹ In 1397 he acquired extensive property in the Barbican²² and in 1399 added a garden adjoining his original tenement, purchased from his neighbour John Herteshorne.²³ In 1407, Herteshorne sold another adjoining tenement to Bradmore.²⁴ The properties Bradmore acquired in the Barbican in 1397 consisted of two tenements, which he still possessed at his death, and also nine shops with dwellings above and a large garden adjacent, which he sold in 1410.²⁵ He acquired no further properties in the Barbican, and never apparently lived in these. His property closer to the parish church of St. Botolph, though not so large, and acquired in a more piecemeal fashion, became a substantial holding, and it was in this that he lived. The precise measurements and descriptions given in the Husting Rolls allow a clear picture to be built up of the size and position of Bradmore's property here. His original tenement, acquired from John Colman, consisting of a dwelling with two shops and a solar above, lay opposite the church of St. Botolph. It was bounded on the north and east by tenements and gardens belonging to John

¹⁸ Walton, p. 6. Nothing is known about John Bradmore's education and training as a surgeon. For details of surgical education at this time, see Walton, p.70ff., and Vern L. Bullough, 'Training of the Nonuniversity Educated Medical Practitioners in the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of the History of Medicine* 14 (1959), 446-456.

¹⁹ Husting Roll 120 (8), membrane 2; Beck, p.75. Bradmore is designated 'citizen and surgeon' in this document.

²⁰ Basing, pp. xvii, 46-47; *The Church in London 1375-1392* ed. A. K. McHardy, (London, 1977), p.62.

²¹ Basing, p. 43, and see Appendix 6 below.

²² Husting Roll 126 (21) membrane 5 (dorse), Beck, p.75, Basing, p. 43.

²³ Husting Roll 128 (32) membrane 7, Beck, p. 76, Basing, p. 44.

²⁴ Husting Roll 135 (58 & 59) Membrane 10 (dorse), Beck, p.76.

²⁵ See, for the purchase of these properties, Husting Roll 126 (21) membrane 5 (dorse), Beck, p. 75, and Basing, p. 43; and for the sale of the shops and garden in 1410, see Husting Roll 137 (88) membrane 18, and Beck, p. 76.

Herteshorne, a royal sergeant-at-arms, on the south by Houndsditch, and on the west by Aldersgate Street.²⁶ In 1399 he acquired the garden adjoining this tenement on the east. This garden measured 64 feet in length from his tenement at its western end to Houndsditch at the east, its width varying from 16 feet at the western end to 10 feet 11 inches at the east, not including the garden walls, which were two feet thick.²⁷ In 1407, Bradmore purchased from John Herteshorne the tenement and garden immediately to the north, once again extending from Aldersgate Street to Houndsditch. This consisted of a dwelling with solar above, and measured in length, west to east, 44 ells 21 inches, and in width at the west end by Aldersgate Street, 7 ells and 2 inches, narrowing to 11 feet 9 inches at the eastern end. It was bounded on the north side by yet another tenement belonging to John Herteshorne.²⁸ The impression created by Bradmore's acquisitions of property over a period of 16 years is that he was trying to build up a block of property in the area near St. Botolph's church whenever the opportunity for purchase arose. This is in contrast with his attitude to the property in the Barbican, which he did not apparently attempt to increase in this way.

In contrast to the minute details surviving of his property, very few references exist to Bradmore's surgical activities in the 1390s, though they were clearly remunerative. In 1390-1 he was called in, with other practitioners, to Westminster Abbey Infirmary.²⁹ One of the others called in at the same time as Bradmore was John Middleton, physician to Richard II.³⁰ At what stage Bradmore himself became involved in the royal household is not clear. Beck states that 'John Bradmore ... had served Richard [II] for several years',³¹ but no reference can be found to his service in the royal household before 1399,

²⁶ Husting Roll 120 (8), membrane 2; Beck, p.75.

²⁷ Husting Roll 128 (32) membrane 7, Beck, p. 76, Basing, p. 44.

²⁸ Husting Roll 135 (58 & 59) Membrane 10 (dorse), Beck, p.76.

²⁹ B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100 - 1540* (Oxford, 1993) p. 234. Also called in to treat the monks of Westminster in the 1390s was one John Emme, who may possibly be identified with the John Emme who joined the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity with Joan, his wife, at the same time as John and Margaret Bradmore (Basing, p. 5); for John Emme see Talbot & Hammond p. 142 and Getz p. 265.

³⁰ Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, p. 233. For details of John Middleton's life see also Talbot & Hammond, pp. 172-3, and Getz, p. 266.

³¹ Beck, p. 55, where he gives no reference for this statement.

the date of a case-history given within the *Philomena*.³² This case, on f. 144v, deals with the cure of a member of the king's household, the Master Pavilioner (*'magister tentarum domini Regis'*) after he had attempted to commit suicide by stabbing himself.³³ The incident is said by Bradmore to have taken place in the first year of the reign of Henry IV (1399-1400). It seems that Bradmore was actually present in the royal household, for those who heard the cries of the injured man ran to fetch him and begged him to help, which implies that he was known to be near at hand in case of an emergency. Carole Rawcliffe suggests that in the later fifteenth century 'royal consultants worked on a rota system, ensuring that at least one physician and one surgeon were in attendance at all times. Some were even given accommodation in or near the palace of Westminster or in the City of London so that they could more easily be summoned in emergencies'.³⁴

Bradmore's presence in the royal household this early in Henry IV's reign could mean that he had already been for some years in royal employment under Richard II, as Beck supposed. Even if this were so, however, Bradmore appears to have been a convinced supporter of Henry IV, who usurped the throne in 1399, not only working for him throughout his reign, but even inserting a passage into the *Philomena* defending Henry's right to the throne. This occurs in the section dealing with scrofula, the 'King's Evil', on f.46v, as part of a chapter based mainly on the work of Guy de Chauliac, a prominent fourteenth-century French surgeon. However, whereas Guy deals with the reputed ability of the French king to heal this disease in just one sentence: *'concedo tum quod virtute diuina serenissimus rex Francie tangendo liberat'*,³⁵ Bradmore replaces this with the following lines, stating that Henry's ability to heal the sickness by touching is a gift from God which proves that he is the true king, *verus Rex*:

³² The following accounts for the Royal Household of Richard II were checked without finding reference to Bradmore: E101/400/25 (1382-3); E101/401/2 (1383-4); E101/402/5 (1389-90); E101/402/10 (1392-3); E101/402/20 (1393-94); E101/403/10 (1395-6); E403/554 (1395-6); BL Add. MS. 35,115 (1392-3). I am grateful to Dr. Chris Given-Wilson of the Department of Medieval History, University of St. Andrews, for kindly lending me his transcriptions of these accounts.

³³ See pp. 71-78 for a detailed study of this case, and for identification of the patient concerned.

³⁴ Carole Rawcliffe, 'Consultants, Careerists and Conspirators: Royal Doctors in the Time of Richard III', *The Ricardian* vol. VIII no 6, (1989) 250-258, on p. 251.

³⁵ Guy de Chauliac, *Cirurgia* (Venice, 1513): the passage quoted appears on p. 15.

But it is necessary that you know that when scrophula is connected to the sinews, veins or arteries it should not be presumed that it might be cured with medicine nor with iron, because it is to be feared that his members will be injured through this. But then one should have recourse to kings, because by their touch alone kings have customarily cured this infirmity, and therefore it is called by many King's Evil. And I attest this, that my most serene lord and most excellent king Henry IV of England and France, in the presence of many lords and magnates, by divine grace has freed many in my time merely by touching and blessing and by giving them his touch-piece. Through which I assert boldly, and it appears clearly, that he is the true king, through the grace which God has granted him to cure so many with this infirmity.³⁶

Other medical writers mention the ability of kings to heal scrofula³⁷ and political writers made use of its obvious propaganda value,³⁸ but as far as I am aware this is the only instance of a medical writer inserting such a fervent piece of political propaganda into his work. Given that a text such as the *Philomena* was more likely to be read by fellow-practitioners than by king or courtiers, this passage may rather be seen as a sincere expression of Bradmore's support for Henry IV and belief in him as rightful king than as an attempt to ingratiate himself with the new regime. His eagerness to 'show off' his royal connections is understandable, since it must have increased his prestige amongst his

³⁶ *Sed oportet te scire quod quando scrophula est coniuncta nervis venis aut arteriis non est presumentur ut curetur cum medicina neque cum ferro quoniam timendum est ne huius membra inde ledantur. Sed tunc recurrendum ad Reges quoniam solo tactu reges consueverunt istam infirmitatem curare et ideo a multis Morbus regius appellatur. Et hoc attestor quod serenissimus dominus meus et excellentissimus Rex Henricus quartus Anglie et francie multis presentibus dominis ac magnatibus gracia diuina multos liberauit (meo tempore) solum tangendo et benedicendo et elemosinam suam eis tribuendo, per quod audacter dico (et euidenter apparebit) quod (si^d) est verus Rex (per) gratiam quam ei deus concessit in ista infirmitate (in^d) tam multos curare' Sloane 2272, f.46v. Note the telling deletion of *si* 'if' and its replacement with *est* 'is', so that all doubt is removed as to Henry's being the true king. It is possible that John Bradmore's desire to emphasise this passage is indicated by the insertions added after the main text was complete. Attention has also been drawn to this section by a crown sketched in the margin. (see illustration on facing page).*

³⁷ For example Bernard de Gordon, who states 'kings, and especially the most Serene King of the Franks, were wont to heal by their mere touch', Luke Demaitre, *Doctor Bernard de Gordon, Professor and Practitioner* (Toronto 1980) p. 3. See also Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, tr. J. E. Anderson (London, 1973) pp. 67-69, and Frank Barlow 'The King's Evil', *English Historical Review* 95 (1980) 3-27, for a discussion of the royal touch in medical literature.

³⁸ For example Sir John Fortescue, writing against Edward IV; see Bloch, *Royal Touch* p. 65. The development of the touching rite and its political background are also discussed in Barlow, 'King's Evil'. It is strange that this particular piece of evidence to support Henry's claim does not appear in more 'political' sources, for chroniclers of the time were certainly aware of the propaganda value of such spiritual or magical attributes. See for example Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles of the Revolution 1397-1400* (Manchester, 1993) pp. 200-201, for 'the bizarre story of the miraculous holy oil used to anoint the new king...yet another example of the lengths to which the new regime went in order to justify Henry's rule'.

fellows, and in this sense his interest in the justice or otherwise of Henry's claim to the throne could be said to be personal, for to be the servant of a just and true king would add more to his standing than to be the servant of a usurper.

The successful treatment of the Prince of Wales after the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403³⁹ must have added to Bradmore's reputation among his fellow surgeons and the royal household, more particularly because, according to his account, he had succeeded where others had failed. There was more to be gained from royal service than prestige, however. In 1403 John Bradmore, *chirurgico domini regis*, received payment of 40s for medicines for the king and his household,⁴⁰ and in the same year also received an allowance of 40s for robes.⁴¹ A payment for robes was again made to Bradmore in 1406.⁴² In 1408 he was appointed Searcher of the Port of London,⁴³ an appointment which Carole Rawcliffe suggests⁴⁴ was a reward for his treatment of the Prince of Wales after the battle of Shrewsbury. It seems more likely that this appointment, five years after the battle, indicates Bradmore's continued connection with the royal household. In spite of the fact that he employed a deputy to carry out the duties of this post,⁴⁵ Bradmore must still have added a substantial portion of the £10 salary⁴⁶ to his annual income. Such appointments were a useful way for the king to reward favoured practitioners, and this particular post passed on Bradmore's death to another royal surgeon, Thomas

³⁹ For this case see also pp. 65-71 for an analysis of Bradmore's treatment, and pp. 134-140 for the Middle English version of the case in Harley 1736.

⁴⁰ PRO Exchequer Various Accounts, E101/404/21, f. 40v. I am grateful to Dr. Chris Given-Wilson of the Department of Medieval History, University of St. Andrews, for lending me his transcription of this manuscript. See also Rawcliffe, p. 69 n.40, and J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry the Fourth*, vol. iv (London, 1899) pp. 153, 204. Wylie assumes that these medicines were for Henry IV himself, as his health was often poor. However, it is possible that the payment also relates to Bradmore's treatment of Henry Prince of Wales in that year.

⁴¹ PRO Exchequer Various Accounts, E101/404/21, f. 45. For incomes of royal physicians and surgeons in this period see E. A. Hammond 'Incomes of Medieval English Doctors', *Journal of the History of Medicine* 15 (1960) 154-169, and Rawcliffe, throughout.

⁴² BL MS. Harley 319, f. 46.

⁴³ *Calendar of Fine Rolls* 1405-1413 p. 104.

⁴⁴ Rawcliffe, p. 69.

⁴⁵ See *CCR* 1405-1409, p. 336; *CPR* 1408-1413, pp. 138-9.

⁴⁶ *CPR* 1405-1408, p. 454.

Morstede.⁴⁷ Bradmore was apparently also in receipt of an annuity of 10 marks from the household of the Prince of Wales, which could well have been a reward for his successful treatment of the Prince in 1403.⁴⁸

Members of the royal household are not John Bradmore's only recorded patients. He treated Brother William Asshewell at Westminster Abbey for an illness lasting through August and September 1402, earning a fee of 6s 8d,⁴⁹ and in his book *Philomena* he gives case-histories of several other patients.⁵⁰ These patients are not named, but simply called 'a man', 'a woman', and 'a carpenter of the city of London', presumably because being obscure, ordinary people their names would neither mean anything to his readers nor, therefore, add anything to his prestige. Some of them may have been his fellow-parishioners and members of the Trinity Fraternity, with which he maintained a close connection. In 1400 he was a churchwarden of St. Botolph without Aldersgate⁵¹ and in 1409-1410 he was Master of the Fraternity of the Trinity.⁵² In his will he left money to the church and to the Fraternity of SS Fabian and Sebastian, and a cloth of silk to the Fraternity of the Trinity.⁵³ The Trinity Fraternity also benefited by the reversion of the tenements Bradmore bequeathed to his wife and children.⁵⁴ Certainly membership of the Fraternity would have put him in contact with people from a wide social range, for other

⁴⁷ *Calendar of Fine Rolls 1405-1413*, p. 234. Talbot & Hammond, p. 352, state 'This appointment was meant, no doubt, to relieve the royal exchequer from the burden of paying his normal wages as a surgeon'. See also Rawcliffe, pp. 69-72.

⁴⁸ *CPR 1413-1416*, p. 92: '...to the king's servant William Somercotes in lieu of grants to him for life by letters patent of the king when prince, surrendered, of 5 marks yearly at the hands of his receiver general ... and 10 marks yearly which Master John Bradmore lately had at the hands of the same.'

⁴⁹ E. H. Pearce, *The Monks of Westminster* (Cambridge, 1916) p. 114, and Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, pp. 234-5.

⁵⁰ See below, pp. 61-91 for an analysis of these cases..

⁵¹ Basing, p. 53, *CPR 1399-1401*, p. 362.

⁵² Basing, p. 17.

⁵³ For a translation of Bradmore's will, see Basing, pp. 42-3. The will is transcribed in its original Latin in Appendix 6 below.

⁵⁴ Basing, pp. 42-3. These tenements were later the subjects of a costly dispute (see Basing, p. xvi, and Helena M. Chew (ed.), *London Possessory Assizes, a Calendar* (London, 1965), p. 126), possibly due to Bradmore's grant in fee simple of all his lands and tenements in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate to William Pynchebeck, John Bynle and Henry Edward, on 5th March 1407/8 (see Guildhall Add. MS. 88). This action on Bradmore's part and his subsequent bequests of these properties in his will seems inexplicable. William Pynchebeck had been associated with John and Nicholas Bradmore in their dispute with Richard Asser (see above, p. 7).

members listed include craftsmen, tradesmen, clergy, royal serjeants-at-arms, and gentry.⁵⁵ Basing points out the influx of individuals of high status joining the Trinity Fraternity in the period 1408-9, and associates this with the presence of Henry IV at the nearby Priory of St. Bartholomew during the summer of 1409. Indeed, the prior, sub-prior, and two canons of St. Bartholomew's were among the entrants during this year.⁵⁶ Bradmore was, of course, already connected with the royal household before this time. Moreover, Henry IV had a previous connection with the church of St. Botolph: his anniversary was celebrated in the church from 1403.⁵⁷ Bradmore's connection with the court must have increased his status in the parish, particularly during this period when the court and parish were in such close proximity.

Some time after May 1410, when she appears with him in a property transaction,⁵⁸ John Bradmore's wife Margaret died, and he remarried. His second wife, Katherine, was pregnant at the time of his death. In his will, dated 7th January 1412,⁵⁹ he left three of his four tenements to Katherine, to pass at her death to the child she was carrying and its legitimate heirs. Should her child die without legitimate heirs, these three tenements were to pass to the wardens of the Trinity fraternity, in order that the anniversary of his death might be kept in the church and prayers said for his soul, the souls of Margaret and Katherine his wives, his father and mother, all his benefactors and the faithful departed. By 1447 Katherine and her child, a son Nicholas, were dead, for the tenements were in the hands of the fraternity.⁶⁰ His fourth tenement he left to his daughter Agnes for life, and after her death to the fraternity. This tenement was also in the hands of the fraternity by 1447.⁶¹ Goods were left to Katherine for her dowry should she remarry, but not to Agnes,

⁵⁵ Basing, pp. xxi-xxiv.

⁵⁶ Basing, p. xxiv. A previous connection between the priory and the church of St. Botolph was the burial in St. Botolph's church of John Mirfield, a secular cleric attached to St. Bartholomew's and the author of the medical compendium *Breviarum Bartholomei*, who died in 1407. Connections between Mirfield's compendium and Bradmore's *Philomena* will be treated below on pp. 33-36 and in Appendix 3.

⁵⁷ Basing, p. xxiv note 21.

⁵⁸ Husting Roll 137 (88) Membrane 18; Beck, p.76.

⁵⁹ BL Add. MS. 37664, ff. 46r-47v; Basing, pp. 42-3.

⁶⁰ Basing, pp. 44-5.

⁶¹ Basing, pp. 44-5.

which may suggest that she was already married at this time. The fact that property left to Agnes was to revert to the fraternity at her death may suggest that she had no children living and was not expected to have any.⁶² In addition to the tenement, Bradmore's daughter Agnes received a basin and ewer, six silver spoons, a silver vessel, and linen cloths. Joan, daughter of his brother Nicholas, received a gold ring set with unicorn's horn. Alexander Boner⁶³ received a baselard set with silver, and Philip Brychford a sword.⁶⁴ Bradmore also left three books; a black book made of paper (*unum nigrum librum de papiro*)⁶⁵ to his brother Nicholas, his black book of surgery (*meum nigrum librum de chirurgica*)⁶⁶ to Philip Brychford, and to John Longe his book called '*Philomena gratie*' (*meum librum vocatum Philomena gratie*).⁶⁷

John Longe, who inherited the book *Philomena*, was the son of Nicholas Longe, a butcher,⁶⁸ and his wife Alicia. Alicia died in 1409, and left goods in her will to John, his wife Agnes, and his son John junior.⁶⁹ A John Longe and his wife Agnes had joined the Trinity fraternity in 1403-2.⁷⁰ Although the name John Longe is rather common, a fairly secure identification can be made of this John Longe, inheritor of the book of surgery *Philomena*, with the London surgeon of that name. In 1436 a dispute arose about the will of his widow Agnes, who had after his death married a London stonemason called William Mody, and was herself dead by 1436.⁷¹ A more speculative identification may be made of Agnes, wife of John Longe, with Agnes, daughter of John Bradmore. This possibility is

⁶² However, if my suggested identification of Agnes as the wife of John Longe is correct, she had a son John living at the time Alicie Longe made her will in 1409 (see below).

⁶³ Alexander Boner was officer of the bailiwick of the River Thames (*CPR* 1413-16, p. 94), and was perhaps known to Bradmore through his office as searcher of the Port of London.

⁶⁴ Philip Brychford was a surgeon on the Agincourt campaign of 1415; see Talbot & Hammond, p. 256.

⁶⁵ BL Add MS. 37664, f. 46r. See Appendix 6 for a complete transcription of Bradmore's will.

⁶⁶ BL Add. MS. 37664, f. 46r.

⁶⁷ BL Add. MS. 37664, f. 46r. Of all the bequests, the possessive *meum* is used only in the case of this book and that bequeathed to Philip Brychford. It seems possible that both these books, in contrast to '*unum nigrum librum*' bequeathed to his brother Nicholas, were of John Bradmore's own composition.

⁶⁸ Nicholas died in 1394. His will is preserved in Guildhall Library MS. 9171, vol. 1, ff. 319v-320r.

⁶⁹ Guildhall Library MS. 9171, vol. 2, f. 185r.

⁷⁰ Basing, p. 15.

⁷¹ Getz, p. 266; Stuart Jenks, 'Medizinische Fachkräfte in England zur Zeit Heinrichs VI (1428/29-1460/61)', *Sudhoffs Archiv*, 69 (1985) 214-27, p. 220.

strengthened by evidence that William Mody, stonemason, who had married the widow of John Longe, was involved in a dispute after laying claim to property which had formerly belonged to John Bradmore and had been left by him to his daughter.⁷² A John Longe received 40s from the royal household for fees and robes in 1406,⁷³ but as his occupation is not given, there is no way to be sure whether or not the recipient of this sum was John Longe the surgeon. The same is true of the entry in the Lay Subsidy Roll of 1412, where John Longe is assessed as having annual rents to the value of 29s 6d.⁷⁴ However, it may not be without significance that the entry for John Longe in the roll immediately precedes that for the widow of John Bradmore, assessed as owning property to the value of £4.3s.6d per annum, and that both these entries occur in a concentration of names of members of the Fraternity of the Trinity, suggesting that the entries are to a certain extent organised by parish.⁷⁵

It seems likely that at the time this assessment was made, soon after his death, Bradmore's estate had not yet been split between his widow and daughter, so that the £4.3s.6d represents the value of all his property.⁷⁶ Judging from the annual rental value of his property, assessed as 29s 6d, John Longe was not making as much out of his profession as was John Bradmore (he was probably a younger man, and his career consequently was not so far advanced as Bradmore's). Nor indeed was he making as much as his brother-in-law John Rawlyn, a brewer,⁷⁷ whose property was valued at 57s.⁷⁸ Moreover, neither Bradmore nor Longe were approaching the heights later reached by Thomas Morstede, whose property was valued at 52s in the 1412 Lay Subsidy Roll at the

⁷² One of the tenements in the Barbican. See Chew, *London Possessory Assizes, a Calendar*, p. 126.

⁷³ BL MS. Harley 319, f. 46.

⁷⁴ J. C. L. Stahlschmidt, 'Original Documents', *Archaeological Journal* 44 (1887) 56-82, p. 74.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-5. Of the 44 names between Thomas Willesden on p. 74 and John Grene on p. 75, nineteen were members of the Trinity Fraternity and one, though not a member, was a parishioner of St. Botolph without Aldersgate. I have not found members of the fraternity elsewhere on the list.

⁷⁶ See Thrupp, p. 125 note 66.

⁷⁷ Husband of his sister Anne. See Nicholas Longe's will, Guildhall Library MS. 9171, vol. 1, ff. 319v-320r.

⁷⁸ Stahlschmidt, 'Original Documents' p. 67.

start of his career,⁷⁹ but by 1436 had reached a value of £154.⁸⁰ Morstede's wealth was the exception rather than the rule, however, and at least some of it was gained by his second marriage to a wealthy widow, rather than through the practice of surgery.⁸¹ M. F. Walton, applying the formula that rents amounted to four percent of a property's value, calculates Bradmore's tenements in 1412 to have been worth £175.8s.4d and Morstede's in 1436 to have been worth £3850.⁸²

While the Lay Subsidy Roll figures do give useful information, it would be a mistake to base assumptions about an individual's wealth on them alone. Not all wealth was necessarily sunk into property, and moreover not all property held, even by people normally resident in London, was necessarily within the city itself.⁸³ John Bradmore's brother Nicholas does not appear on the 1412 list, yet his will of 1417⁸⁴ reveals him to have held property in Kent and to have had a quantity of luxury goods in his gift - silver spoons, copper pots, linen, bedding, belts with buckles of silver⁸⁵ - as well as the wherewithal to make several cash bequests both as personal gifts and for the benefit of his soul.

Bequests of goods and cash such as those made by Nicholas and John Bradmore reveal a high standard of living. Walton believes that the fact that medical practitioners needed little of their income to be tied up in their business meant that they could reach a higher standard of living on a smaller income than could most craftsmen or merchants.⁸⁶ Nor were the obviously luxury items such as jewellery or silver the only valuable goods mentioned in wills. Books, frequently bequeathed by medical practitioners, could represent a value of anything from 8d to £10,⁸⁷ and while medical books are more likely

⁷⁹ Stahlschmidt, 'Original Documents', p. 79.

⁸⁰ Thrupp, p. 383.

⁸¹ Beck, p. 80.

⁸² Walton, pp. 187-8.

⁸³ See Thrupp, pp. 126-7.

⁸⁴ Public Record Office, PROB11/2B; Beck, pp. 74-5.

⁸⁵ One of these, a red belt buckled with silver, was left to his female apprentice, Agnes Wodekok. See Public Record Office, PROB11/2B; Beck, pp. 74-5.

⁸⁶ Walton, p. 184.

⁸⁷ Thrupp, p. 162. For a list of books bequeathed by practitioners in fifteenth-century London, see Walton, pp. 243-8.

to have been working texts than objects of beauty, and thus to have been towards the lower end of this scale of value,⁸⁸ they may still be classed as luxury goods, their cost representing quite a high proportion of annual income.⁸⁹ Their value is also shown by their generally being bequeathed, as were John Bradmore's, to other medical practitioners; for example, Thomas Dayron's books were bequeathed to Thomas Morstede⁹⁰ and Thomas Morstede's book to Roger Brynard.⁹¹ In both these cases books were bequeathed by master to pupil, but whether this was also the case with John Bradmore's bequests to Philip Brychford and John Longe is not evident.⁹² Books were occasionally made more generally available by being left to an appropriate guild, as in the wills of Richard Elstie⁹³ and Hugh Herte.⁹⁴

How much Bradmore was earning in any given year would be hard to assess. As noted above⁹⁵ he was probably in receipt of annuities from the royal household to a total of £12 at the time of his death, and the addition of 10 marks from the household of the Prince of Wales would bring this total to £18.13s.4d. If one can assume that about three quarters of the rental value of his properties was actually paid to him as rent (allowing that he owned four properties and was living in one of them) he would have received approximately £1.0s.10d each year from these, bringing his income to roughly £19.14s.2d, before any money is added for patients he may have treated from outside the royal household. The only evidence we have as to how much his patients would have been charged is the payment to him of 6s 8d for the treatment of William Asshewell at Westminster Abbey in 1402,⁹⁶ which, given that the illness lasted for two months and may

⁸⁸ Walton places them at between £1 and £4; Walton, p. 185.

⁸⁹ For discussion of income and wealth generally in this period see Thrupp, pp. 103-154, and for medical practitioners in particular see Walton, pp. 171-192. He estimates the incomes of physicians and surgeons as between £10 and £40 per year.

⁹⁰ Talbot & Hammond, p. 338.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 352, Beck, pp. 95-6

⁹² All that can be said about John Longe on the evidence of this bequest is that it seems fairly certain that he could read Latin, as Bradmore would be unlikely to leave his own compilation where it would be useless.

⁹³ Talbot & Hammond, p. 277.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁹⁵ See pp. 13-14

⁹⁶ See above, p. 14.

therefore have necessitated more than one visit, does not seem an excessive sum. Barbara Harvey considers that the surgeons employed by the Abbey infirmary, because they were not retained regularly but were called in as needed, were paid comparatively more than the physicians.⁹⁷ Even so, this fee looks modest in comparison with some of those discussed by Carole Rawcliffe,⁹⁸ who quotes charges of anything from 10s to £40. To what extent Bradmore tailored his fees to the status and wealth of the patient, and therefore how far this particular fee can be taken as typical, cannot be seen.

It would appear from what we know of his property and income that, although not hugely wealthy by merchant standards, nor by the standards later set by Morstede, John Bradmore was a wealthy man. The evidence existing for his life has enabled a picture to be built up not only of his property, but also of his family and associates. He maintained strong connections both with the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, in which he lived, and with the royal household, and was clearly among the more successful surgeons of his day.

⁹⁷ Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, p. 85.

⁹⁸ Rawcliffe, pp. 63-66.

Chapter Two

Sloane 2272, John Bradmore's *Philomena*: Manuscript Description

The treatise on surgery, in Latin, entitled *Philomena*, which has been shown to have been compiled by the London surgeon, John Bradmore, and to have passed on his death in 1412 to another London surgeon, John Longe,¹ appears on ff. 9r-375v of Sloane 2272. The manuscript itself contains 375 folios, of which the first eight are vellum, the remainder paper.² The watermarks compare closely with mid- to late- fourteenth century examples in Briquet.³ The manuscript also contains a liturgical calendar on ff.1r-6r, with medical notes added: lunar tables on ff.7r-8r: and a calculation of the years since the Creation on f.8v,

Foliation

The manuscript is given a modern foliation throughout on the top right margin recto, but there is also mediaeval foliation, from modern f.15 (numbered 1 in the older foliation), with some duplication of page numbers⁴ and some omissions.⁵ Catchwords are provided in the main hand (see designation of hands below) at the foot of gatherings 4-10, 13, and 15-17. The manuscript was rebound in November 1990 in two volumes, volume two beginning at f.175r, and no details exist at the British Library of its previous binding. Ruling of lines and marking of margins are visible throughout the manuscript from f. 9 onwards.

¹ See Lang, and further discussion on pp.3 and 16 above.

² Folios 1-8 measure 285x200mm. The remainder of the manuscript consists of folios of varying size, mainly c.294x212mm, though the width from f. 176 onwards varies from 215 to 221 mm.

³ G. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, 4 vols (Amsterdam, 1968); see diagrams no. 12091 (1391) and 2846-2851 (from c. 1346-1369).

⁴ For example, modern ff.131 and 132 are both numbered 112.

⁵ For example, there is a break in the mediaeval foliation between (modern) ff.200 and 201, which can, I think, be accounted for by the insertion of a slip, correcting the cancelled chapter table on f.201, which has since been lost.

Hands

Five scribal hands may be distinguished in the entire manuscript.

Hand A, the main hand, is responsible for the table of contents on ff.9r-14v and the surgical treatise on ff.15r-375v. This hand appears to date from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries.⁶

Hand B is responsible for the liturgical calendar on ff.1r-6v and the lunar tables on ff.7r-8r, annotations to the calendar (e.g. f.3r '*Estas hic incipit et durat usque ad vij Augusti*') and the notes on f.8v. All these are extensively rubricated.⁷ The liturgical calendar is written in a slightly more formal hand than the various notes.⁸ This hand also appears to date from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, and indeed one of the notes it adds to the calendar gives a date compatible with this, on f.2r: '*scriptum in anno regni Henrici V primo dat. dm. mlccccxij*' (1413). This may be the hand of John Longe himself, as its additions to the calendar include the obits of his parents (on ff. 4v and 5r) and the accession date of Henry V (whose accession took place shortly after John Longe inherited the manuscript from John Bradmore in 1412) on f.2r.

Hand C is responsible for annotations to the lunar tables on ff.7r-8r and for marginal annotations throughout the manuscript, e.g. on ff.20r, 34r, 59r, 293v. It appears to date from the sixteenth century.⁹

Hand D is responsible for marginal annotations throughout the manuscript, e.g. on ff.14r, 17r, 124v, some of which are signed *Tho. Thomasius*. The script appears to date

⁶ In comparison with examples in M.B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500* (Oxford 1969) especially plates 1 and 2.

⁷ The lunar tables appear to be rubricated for ease of consultation, alternating use of red and black ink preventing confusion between the different columns.

⁸ For an example of the same scribe using more and less formal scripts see Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, plates 2 (i) and 24.

⁹ In comparison with Hilda E.P. Grieve, *More Examples of English Handwriting*, (Essex Record Office Publications no. 9, 1950), plates 4 and 5.

from the late sixteenth century.¹⁰ This writer may possibly be identified with Thomas Thomasimus, a physician in practice in Ermington, Devon, in 1613.¹¹

Hand E is responsible for an entry on the calendar for July (f.4r), and notes elsewhere, for example on ff.8v, 34v. The hand appears to date from the sixteenth or seventeenth century,¹² and indeed the entry in the calendar for July gives a date, 1620.

Contents

(following the modern foliation)

Ff.1r-6v (gathering 1) contain a liturgical calendar, in Latin, in Hand B. This, and ff.7r-8v following, may not have been part of the book as originally written, being on vellum rather than paper, and not written in the same hand as the main text on ff.9r-375v. However, they must have been added by someone who knew the manuscript to be connected with John Bradmore, as his obit on 27th January has been added to f.1r in Hand B. It is perhaps not without significance that this entry is completely rubricated. If the calendar was added after the manuscript left John Bradmore's possession, this was probably done by John Longe, as the obits of his parents Nicholas Longe (August 16th 1393) and Alicie Longe (September 17th 1410)¹³ have also been added to the calendar by Hand B, on ff.4v and 5r respectively. Also added to the calendar in this hand are the accession dates of Henry V (21st March) on f.2r and Henry VI (1st September) on f.5r,¹⁴ and notes on the duration of each season of the year.

That the book was still in use in the sixteenth century is indicated by the deletion from the calendar of the word *pape* following saints' names, e.g. Saints Gregory and Leo

¹⁰ In comparison with Grieve, *More Examples of English Handwriting*, plates 8 and 9.

¹¹ See J.H. Roach, *A Directory of English Country Physicians 1603-1643* (London 1962) p.86. The unusual surname may have been local at that period: in the Civil War the treasurer of the Dartmouth garrison was called John Thomasius (see E. A. Andriette, *Devon and Exeter in the Civil War* (Newton Abbot 1971) p.105).

¹² Compare with Grieve, *More Examples of English Handwriting*, plates 9 and 10.

¹³ In fact the year is given in both these entries in the form of the regnal year, 17th year of Richard II in the case of Nicholas and 11th year of Henry IV in the case of Alicie.

¹⁴ Both these entries are rubricated. Henry V came to the throne in 1413, and Henry VI in 1422; the day from which their reigns were dated is recorded in the calendar, but the years are not.

on f.2r, and of festivals prohibited by the reforms of the 1530s, e.g. St. Thomas Becket on f.6v.¹⁵

Seventeenth century usage is indicated by an entry in the calendar for July (f.4r) *This day I borrowed this book 1620*, in Hand E.

Apart from the religious festivals, the calendar contains notes in Latin, in Hand B, of the beginning date of each season of the year, relative length of day and night in each month, signs of the zodiac (their character, effect on health, and relationship to parts of the body), and general medical information, e.g. the complexions, elements, diet in particular seasons. The signs of the zodiac are related in these notes to appropriate biblical events, e.g. Leo to Daniel in the lions' den, Aries to the story of Abraham and Isaac, and Pisces to Jonah.¹⁶

ff.7r-8v (gathering 2) contain lunar tables, in Latin, in Hand B: on f.7r is a table to find the position of the moon in the signs of the zodiac, and on ff.7v-8r are tables of the influence of the moon's position on the human body. These tables have been annotated by Hand C.

On f.8v is a description of the five ages of man and the eight ages of the world, written in Latin in Hand B.¹⁷ This is continued in Middle English, also in Hand B, with a calculation of how many years each age of the world lasted. The dates of the Black Death (1349) 'the grete (dethe) was in the date of oure lord anno m ccc lix yer', and of the battle of Shrewsbury (1403) 'the bataile of shrovisbery was in the date of oure lord anno m iiij and iij yer' are noted (both of which are mentioned in the main text of the manuscript, on f.34v and f.137r respectively). This Middle English conclusion ends with a working out

¹⁵ For a full discussion of the religious reforms of this period, and prohibited festivals in particular, see E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven and London, 1992) part 2, especially pp. 395, 412, 416.

¹⁶ A Middle English text containing a similar relation of astrology to biblical events is printed in J. Krochalis and E. Peters, *The World of Piers Plowman* (Pennsylvania, 1975) pp. 3-17, from Cambridge University Library MS. LI.4.14.

¹⁷ The first age of the world from Adam to Noah, the second from Noah to Abraham, the third from Abraham to David, and so on to the Last Judgement.

of the number of years from the incarnation of Christ to the feast of the Annunciation in the eleventh year of the reign of Henry VI as 1434. Next to this is written, in Hand E, the sum of 192 years, six weeks, and 5 days, (giving a date of 11th May 1626).

At this point the vellum pages end.

Ff.9r-14v (gathering 3), in paper, contain, in Hand A, the table of contents for the main text of the manuscript, which follows on ff.15r-375v. This gathering, considerably smaller than any following,¹⁸ must be missing leaves, for the table of contents which it contains begins with the contents of Part 2 of the text, which follows on f.29r. That pages were present here is suggested by the mediaeval foliation in the table of contents, in which modern ff.10-14 are numbered 9-13. This indicates the presence at one time of an additional seven leaves at either side of the gathering, making it up to 20 leaves in all, comparable with other gatherings in the manuscript, which vary in size between 18 and 28 leaves. Throughout the manuscript main hand A, which I believe to be the hand of the author of the main text, John Bradmore,¹⁹ frequently changes the chapter tables at the head of each distinction, cancelling them with pen-strokes and inserting slips of paper with the correct tables as near as possible in the gathering, and also has the habit of cutting out (presumably spoiled) pages from gatherings (for example at the end of gathering 10, where the last 3 leaves of the gathering are missing without any break in the sense between the last existing leaf and the beginning of gathering 11). Clearly this habit could easily lead to the accidental loss of the corresponding leaves. It is possible that the lost leaves of gathering 3 contained not only the contents table for Part 1, but also a general prologue to the treatise. Such a prologue exists in the *Chirurgia Magna* of Guy de Chauliac, which is a work extensively used and quoted by Bradmore. In Guy de Chauliac's work the prologue contains his reasons for making a compilation of surgical texts, and is followed by a chapter describing surgery and its history up to the time of

¹⁸ Collation of gatherings is as follows. Vol. 1: 16²² (vellum); 36⁴²⁰⁺¹ (wants first four) 528⁺¹ (wants final page) 624⁺¹ 724 8-922 1022⁺² (wants final three). Vol. 2: 1128⁺² (wants final three) 1222 1326⁺⁴ (wants final page) 1424⁺² 1524⁺¹ 1624⁺² 1726⁺² (of which one vellum) 18¹⁸ (last leaves damaged).

¹⁹ See below, pp. 28-29.

writing, and giving a statement of authorship. This prologue and chapter appear before the table of contents for the whole work.²⁰ Harley 1736, which is closely related to Sloane 2272,²¹ also contains a prologue before the treatise of surgery with which it begins, setting out the author's reasons for compiling the text, and its date. In this case the prologue appears after the table of contents, on f.6.²² It is possible that the lost pages from gathering 3 of Sloane 2272 contained the missing portion of the contents tables before modern f.9 and a prologue, similar to those found in these related texts, after modern f.14v.²³

The table of contents has many marginal annotations, mainly in Hand C. It also contains drawings appropriate to the titles of various chapters, for example on f.9v a pot containing fire beside a chapter on burns and scalds, and a saw by that on amputations. On f.14r is a note in Hand D signed *Tho. Thomasius*. It gives a common English name for an ailment - *Herpes* - *some kall it amongst other thynges the Runninge Rodent*.

Ff.15r-375v (gatherings 4 to 18). These fifteen gatherings are of irregular size, usually between 22 and 28 leaves, sometimes with small slips of paper inserted to hold additions or corrections, and frequently with pages cut out, though there is no break in the text (see example given above). They contain the main text of the manuscript, a treatise of surgery, which begins on f.15r with '*Benedictus sit deus pater, unigenitusque eius (filius), sanctus quoque spiritus. In cuius nomine incipit hic prima pars presentis Philomene gracie*'. This is written throughout in Hand A, the writing small and regular, with about 40-50 lines to each page. Marginal notes in the same hand provide useful pointers to

²⁰ Guy de Chauliac, *Cirurgia*, printed at Venice, 1513, pp. 2r-4v.

²¹ See Lang, and further discussion on p.3-4 above, and in Chapter 6.

²² It is of course possible that the prologue in Harley 1736 is a translation of John Bradmore's prologue, since lost. Although this gives the date of compilation as 1446, a date not compatible with Bradmore's life, the translator could have adapted the prologue, altering the date to suit his own work, in the same way as Bradmore, for example, alters Guy de Chauliac's account of the Black Death to fit London in 1349 rather than Avignon in 1348, while leaving the text substantially unaltered; see below, pp. 54-56. For the full text of the prologue of Harley 1736, see Appendix 4.

²³ From the writing remaining on the folios cut out before modern f. 15, it appears that these may have contained a table of contents of the whole work, which was later removed and replaced by that on ff. 9-14 (probably in order to bring the table of contents into agreement with the *corrected* versions of the chapter tables within the text).

particular stages in the text, e.g. *signa*, *causa*, *cura*, and chapter numbers. Chapter titles are written in the same hand, but in a larger, clearer script. The initial letter of each chapter is also large, and sometimes decorated, for example on ff.89v, 90r, 214v.

The text is divided into seven Parts, thus: anatomy, apostumes, wounds and ulcers, fractures and dislocations, diseases treatable by surgery with the exception of those treated in previous parts, types and preparations of medicines, and a recapitulation of the whole text. Each Part is subdivided into a varying number of Distinctions and Chapters. Each Part begins with a short introduction, in larger script, usually invoking the aid of the Trinity, and describing what subject is to be undertaken. This is followed by a summary of the distinctions, giving their subject matter and the number of chapters in each. Then the first distinction of that part begins, with a statement of its contents and, usually, an invocation to one of the Trinity - e.g. (f.29r) '*hic incipit distinctio prima secunde partis presentis compilationis in qua Jhesu Christi gracia mediante tractabitur de Apostematibus...*', also in a larger script. A table of chapters for the distinction follows, then the text of the first chapter. As has been stated, the tables of chapters are often cancelled with lines crossed through and a corrected version substituted. Distinctions and parts end with an *explicit*, in larger script, for example on f.200v '*Explicit distinctio septima et ultima tertie partis presentis compilationis. Et etiam explicit totum tertie pars presentis Philomene*', and often also end with *Amen* or *Laus Christo*.

It is possible that the text lacks not only its prologue, but also its conclusion. The final distinction was initially planned with eight chapters, the last being a recapitulation of the common rules of surgery. This chapter was never written, and has been cancelled from the introduction and table of contents for Part 7 Distinction 3 on f.369v. The final chapter present, chapter 7, may not be complete. The manuscript ends on f.375v, but here, unlike the ending of every other distinction and part in the manuscript, there is no *explicit* in large, decorated letters, nor is there a prayer (see above). The text is so clearly mapped out throughout that it seems unlikely that its author would begin with no

introduction, and even more unlikely that he would end his text with a mere full stop, and no conclusion, leaving nearly a whole page blank.

Apart from the marginal notes belonging with the text, there are numerous notes throughout the manuscript, mainly in Hands C and D. There are also drawings, for example owls on ff.59r and 69v²⁴ by the chapters on Buboes (a word-play on buboes, swellings, and the Latin *bubo*, meaning 'owl'), stars in the section describing astrological causes for the Black Death (f.33r), didactic fingers as indicators to the text (e.g. f. 26r), a crown by the description of King's Evil (f.46r).²⁵ Of particular interest, as showing continued use of the text for practical purposes, are the translations into English of various terms on ff. 254v, 299v, 300v, 307v and elsewhere (Hand D), and the note on f.34v (Hand E) working out the number of years between the pestilence year of 1348 and 1609.²⁶

Sloane 2272 as a compiler's holograph

It seems probable that the manuscript is not a scribal copy, but is in John Bradmore's own hand. Although this cannot be proved conclusively, I would argue its strong likelihood from the following points:

- 1) The calendar on ff.1r-6v seems to have been connected with John Longe (no-one else would be likely to have added the obits of his parents but John Longe himself). As the inheritor of this very lengthy manuscript,²⁷ John Longe would have been unlikely to make a copy of it himself.
- 2) As the layout of the manuscript would be clear to him, a scribe copying the manuscript would be unlikely to make incorrect tables of chapters. An author/compiler, on the other hand, is quite likely to find as he progresses that his

²⁴ See illustration facing p. 54

²⁵ See illustration facing p. 12

²⁶ J.F.D. Shrewsbury, in *A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1970) p.299, records 1609 as having been a plague year..

²⁷ See Lang, and further discussion on pp. 16-17 above.

capit. De mteoribus sanctorum alioquin que dicitur in alio. et exa libent. et comedit
 ymo et alio alio qd abfinito capto ymo
 Explicat distinao. e. 3. p. 3. f. 3. compilacione.

Incipit distinao. y. 3. p. 3. p. 3. f. 3. compilacione que tractat de vlcerib.
 vniuersalib. et de cancro et de fistula. et continet in se ca. 13.

¶

ca. 1. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 2. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 3. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 4. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 5. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 6. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 7. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 8. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 9. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 10. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 11. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 12. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 13. de vlcere vniuersali

¶

Differencia inter vlcera et vlcera
 vniuersalia. et de cancro et de fistula. et continet in se ca. 13.
 Officium vero de vniuersali et de cancro et de fistula. et continet in se ca. 13.
 vniuersalia. et de cancro et de fistula. et continet in se ca. 13.
 Officium vero de vniuersali et de cancro et de fistula. et continet in se ca. 13.

et de cancro et de fistula. et continet in se ca. 13.
 Officium vero de vniuersali et de cancro et de fistula. et continet in se ca. 13.

tractat de vlcerib.
 se ca. 13.

et de cancro et de fistula. et continet in se ca. 13.

et de cancro et de fistula. et continet in se ca. 13.

et de cancro et de fistula. et continet in se ca. 13.

et de cancro et de fistula. et continet in se ca. 13.

¶

ca. 1. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 2. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 3. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 4. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 5. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 6. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 7. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 8. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 9. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 10. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 11. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 12. de vlcere vniuersali
 ca. 13. de vlcere vniuersali

Sloane 2272, f. 161v (upper illustration) and f. 162r (lower illustration). These illustrations show Bradmore's table of chapters for part 3, distinction 5. He has at first attempted to correct the table on f.161v to bring it into line with the text he has produced, but finding the alterations too extensive and the result too confusing, he has written an entirely new table on a slip of paper and inserted it into the text, marking both copies of the table with a sign to show that they correspond. The edges of the small slip of paper can just be seen on the lower illustration.

original plan was not quite right, and to alter the chapter divisions accordingly. As the chapter tables were written as part of the text, and not on separate sheets, his only resource would then be to cross them out and insert new tables, if space did not allow for correction within the tables, or if the corrections were too extensive. A comparison of cancelled and corrected versions of the tables by main hand A displays this process, for example on ff. 161v and 162r.²⁸

²⁸ See illustration facing this page.

Chapter Three

Bradmore's use of medical authorities in his compilation

Identification of Bradmore's sources

In his study of the thirteenth-century Montpellier physician Bernard de Gordon, Luke Demaitre remarks that 'Of the authors whom he named, he may have known several only indirectly, from commentaries and compendia..'¹ In the same way, although in the course of the *Philomena* Bradmore cites a large number of medical authorities, from Galen and Hippocrates, the Arabic authorities Rhases and Avicenna, to later authors such as the fourteenth-century French surgeons Henry de Mondeville² and Guy de Chauliac³, it is unlikely that he had consulted all of these named sources directly⁴. Indeed it should be remembered that some authors may only have been available to him via other compilations; 'The mass of books, which exist in medicine, can neither be in everyone's possession nor be carried from region to region.'⁵ In discussion of the compiler's sources, therefore, an important distinction to bear in mind is that between the authors *named* by the compiler and his *actual* direct sources. While listing the former may show whose opinions the compiler considered worth copying, whose names he felt would add authority to his own work, and to an extent, therefore, could show which

¹ L. Demaitre, *Doctor Bernard de Gordon, Professor and Practitioner* (Toronto, 1980) p.104 Bernard de Gordon appears to have lectured at Montpellier from 1283. For brief details of his life see Talbot & Hammond p. 25, and E. Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire Biographique des Médecins en France au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1936, reprinted Geneva, 1979) pp. 75-6 of the 1979 edition.

² For brief details of Henry de Mondeville's life see Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire Biographique*, pp. 282-3. See also M. Pouchelle (tr. R. Morris) *The Body and Surgery in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1990). His textbook on surgery was written c. 1306. It has been printed in a Latin edition, *Die Chirurgie des Heinrich von Mondeville* ed. J. Pagel, (Berlin, 1892) and translated into French by E. Nicaise, in *La Chirurgie de Maître Henri de Mondeville (1306-1320)* (Paris, 1893).

³ For brief details of Guy de Chauliac's life see Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire Biographique*, pp. 214-5 of 1979 edition. His *Chirurgia Magna* was written c. 1363.

⁴ An analysis of the sources cited by Bradmore in some sample sections of the *Philomena* appears below in Appendix 3.

⁵ MS. Vat Pal Lat 1240, fol. 41r, quoted by L. Demaitre 'Scholasticism in compendia of practical medicine 1240-1450', *Manuscripta* 20 (1976) 81-95, p. 85.

'schools of thought' he favoured, only tentative conclusions could be drawn from such a list because the selection from the originals would not necessarily be that of the compiler himself but that of his immediate source.

If it were possible to identify the main sources for a compilation, then the compiler's own selection from these texts, his preference for particular authors and areas of work, the availability of texts to him, and, perhaps most importantly, his own personal contributions whether of content or in the organisation of material, could all be demonstrated with more confidence (particularly in a work such as Bradmore's *Philomena*, which can be shown to exist in the compiler's holograph).⁶ How easily these texts can be identified will depend on how strongly the compiler himself felt the need to signal his own contributions and how readily he acknowledged his sources. For example, Tony Hunt notes that Bradmore's contemporary, John Mirfield, (d. 1407) a secular cleric associated with the Priory of St. Bartholomew at Smithfield and the compiler of the medical and surgical compendium *Breviarium Bartholomei*, 'when copying out extensive passages tends to employ the verb *inquit* and substitute for the real identity of his source the phrase *magister meus*.' Hunt goes on to note that when in his sources Mirfield finds the expression 'as I did' 'he replaces it with 'as my master did' and similarly when the source itself contains a source reference'.⁷ This tendency of Mirfield's has led in the past to passages being interpreted as within his own experience when in fact they are taken directly from his sources.⁸ Fortunately, Bradmore's references to his authorities are

⁶ See pp. 28-29 above.

⁷ T. Hunt, *Popular Medicine in 13th Century England* (Cambridge, 1990) p. 38. John Mirfield does not appear to have been a medical practitioner. For details of his life and writings see P. H. S. Hartley and H. R. Aldridge, *Johannes de Mirfield* (Cambridge, 1936), and Faye Getz, 'John Mirfield and the *Breviarium Bartholomei*', *Society for Social History of Medicine Bulletin* 37 (1985) 24-26. Part of the *Breviarium Bartholomei* has been translated in James B. Colton, *John of Mirfield: Surgery* (New York, 1969).

⁸ For example, Sir Norman Moore *On the History of the Study of Medicine in the British Isles* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908) p. 42, cited in Hartley and Aldridge, *Johannes de Mirfield*, p. 23, took as Mirfield's own experience a passage drawn from the *Cirurgia Magna* of Lanfranc of Milan. The Middle English translation of Lanfranc's text appears in *Lanfranc's Science of Chirurgie* ed. R. von Fleischhacker, (Oxford, 1894).

generally much more helpful. Like Mirfield, he will copy passages from his source at length, word for word, including all its references to authorities, but unlike Mirfield, he tends not to disguise the identity of his source. He may copy a section, for example, from Guy de Chauliac's *Chirurgia Magna* and give no reference or acknowledgement until Guy uses the expression 'as I did'. Here, where Mirfield would replace it with 'as my master did', Bradmore instead expands to 'as I did, says Guy de Chauliac',⁹ thereby clarifying his source. In the same way he sometimes signals his own contributions not merely by 'I have seen' or a similar phrase, but with some addition such as 'at the time of compiling this present *Philomena*'¹⁰. It appears, therefore, that Bradmore is not particularly concerned about acknowledging the sources of his compilation all the time, but does wish to distinguish quite clearly their personal contributions from his own.

Where Bradmore states his source in the manner described above, sometimes even giving an exact book and chapter reference¹¹, it is possible to go back to the text he quotes and by making a word-for-word comparison, to confirm the text as his direct source. Having established in this way several of Bradmore's direct sources, it is possible also to assign to them some passages in his work in which he acknowledges no source (presumably because the prompting phrase 'as I did' was not found), but which by comparison clearly derive from equivalent chapters in one or other of these direct sources. This still leaves a fair proportion of the text in which Bradmore could be relying on his own practice and observation, or on an amalgamation of several sources possibly from memory, or on a single source which, because he does not actually name it at any

⁹ For example at f.156r '*Guido enim de Cauliaco inquit utor ego.....*'.

¹⁰ As on f.157r, for example: '*tempore compilationis presentis philomene*'

¹¹ For example on f.118r, where a reference is given to Guy de Chauliac tract 7 doctrine 1 chapter 5.

time, cannot readily be identified.¹² Fortunately, by recognition of certain passages, it has been possible to identify two authors not named by Bradmore in his work as sources for some of these passages; one, the fourteenth-century English surgeon John of Arderne¹³, as source for only a few short pieces¹⁴, but the other, John Mirfield, as a major source throughout the text. This reduces the proportion of the text for which the sources are problematic to only a tiny part of the whole. Before moving on to discuss in more detail how Bradmore makes use of his sources, it may be of interest to consider why, although normally so ready to acknowledge his sources, Bradmore never names these two. In the case of Mirfield it may simply reflect the fact that the 'as I did' phrases which tend to prompt Bradmore into acknowledging his sources have already been removed by Mirfield, himself a compiler, and replaced with 'as my master did'. This does not, however, apply to the passages quoted from John of Arderne without acknowledgement. One thing that Arderne and Mirfield have in common is that they were both nearly contemporary with Bradmore; Arderne died in the late fourteenth century and Mirfield in 1407. To return at this point to Luke Demaitre's comments on Bernard de Gordon's use of his sources, we find that '...authors whom Bernard did not name were undoubtedly the source of several views which he presented as his own...'. Further, Demaitre notes that 'The scarcity of 'contemporary', that is to say thirteenth-century, authors among those identified by Bernard seems most peculiar. In spite of the fact that he rarely cited recent sources there are several indications that Bernard regularly consulted not only general encyclopaedias but also medical compendia such as that of Gilbertus Anglicus. Such works were probably too commonly known to require identification.'¹⁵ This view is certainly a

¹² While so many medieval medical texts remain unedited, the latter must always be a problem, as a close comparison of a work the length of the *Philomena* against all its possible sources existing in manuscript would be a lifetime's work.

¹³ For details of the life of John of Arderne, surgeon, b.1307, see Talbot & Hammond, p.111-112 and Peter Murray Jones 'John Arderne and the Mediterranean tradition of scholastic surgery' in *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*, ed. Luis Garcia Ballester, Roger French, Jon Arrizabalaga and Andrew Cunningham (Cambridge 1994), pp. 289-321.

¹⁴ For example ff.185v-186v, dealing with fistula in ano.

¹⁵ Demaitre, *Doctor Bernard de Gordon*, pp. 104, 107.

charitable one. A less charitable explanation of Bradmore's failure to acknowledge his contemporary sources is that they were, as recent writers, not yet so well known that their names would add any air of authority to his work, or reflect any glory on him as a learned man. So, far from being so commonly known that they require no identification, it may be that they were so little known that it was not necessary or worthwhile to acknowledge them. It must also be borne in mind that works by practising physicians and surgeons were in a sense advertisements of their skills, and that citation of very close contemporaries might therefore be avoided as drawing attention away from the author and too much in favour of competitors or rivals.

It is of course possible that Bradmore does not quote the authors of these works by name because he does not know who they are. This may seem unlikely, particularly in the case of Mirfield, who was not only a near contemporary of Bradmore's but also a near neighbour (he chose to be buried not in St. Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield, where he lived, but in the parish church of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, with which Bradmore was so closely associated).¹⁶ It is, however, supported by cases where having copied Mirfield's 'as my master did' Bradmore has then deleted 'my master' and inserted the name of an author, for example William of Saliceto, a thirteenth-century Italian surgeon,¹⁷ presumably on discovering the actual source of Mirfield's text. This shows again a concern to identify the author where personal experience is to be quoted. Of course it is possible that it is simply because Mirfield *is* a compiler, not a trained physician or surgeon, that Bradmore does not feel it necessary to acknowledge him.

¹⁶ See pp. 9-17 above for details of Bradmore's involvement in this parish.

¹⁷ For example see Sloane 2272, f.63v. For William of Saliceto, whose *Cirurgia* was written c. 1268-1276, see Nancy G. Siraisi 'How to write a Latin book on Surgery: organising principles and authorial devices in Guglielmo da Saliceto and Dino del Garbo', in *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*, ed. Luis Garcia Ballester, Roger French, Jon Arrizabalaga and Andrew Cunningham (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 88-109. William of Saliceto's surgery has been translated into French by P. Pifteau, in *Chirurgie de Guillaume de Salicet achevée en 1275* (Paris, 1898).

On comparison of Bradmore's text with his main direct sources, it becomes clear that by far the majority of his citations of authorities are drawn from Guy de Chauliac's *Chirurgia Magna*.¹⁸ This text is a major source for the *Philomena*, and Bradmore frequently copies long passages, even whole chapters, verbatim from Guy's work.¹⁹ The second main source for Bradmore, both in terms of the number of citations he derives from it and the number and length of passages he draws from it, is the *Breviarium Bartholomei* of John Mirfield. Of lesser importance, but still a major source, is the *Cirurgia* of William of Saliceto. As William of Saliceto is also a source commonly used by Mirfield, distinguishing those passages drawn from William directly from those derived indirectly through Mirfield can be problematic, but it seems likely that Bradmore had access to both texts, as will be discussed further below.

Nancy Siraisi describes medieval surgical texts as 'simultaneously highly derivative and in significant ways individual and innovative'.²⁰ She then shows that innovation appears mainly in the text and in difference of emphasis of various topics, e.g. anatomy, rather than in the actual content. For the general organisation of his text Bradmore follows the model of John Mirfield's *Breviarium Bartholomei*, dividing into parts (very general divisions), which are then subdivided into distinctions and finally into chapters.²¹ This is not to say that Bradmore slavishly follows Mirfield's plan; as the

¹⁸ See Appendix 3 for analysis of Bradmore's citations and sources in selected sections of his text.

¹⁹ Guy de Chauliac's *Chirurgia Magna*, which was translated into European vernaculars soon after its first appearance, was clearly a popular work in England also; four different Middle English versions of the text exist, the most important being those represented by Bibl. Nat. Angl. 25 (Paris) and New York Academy of Medicine 12: the Paris manuscript is that used for the Early English Text Society edition (*The Chirurgie of Guy de Chauliac*, ed. Margaret S. Ogden, (London, 1971)) while the New York manuscript is used by Bjorn Wallner in his edition of the text, published in separate parts in various publications of the University of Lund, Sweden; for example in B. Wallner 'The Middle English Translation of Guy de Chauliac's Treatise on Apostumes', *Publications of the New Society of Letters at Lund* 82 (Stockholm, 1989) and B. Wallner, 'The Middle English Translation of Guy de Chauliac's Treatise on Wounds', *Acta Universitatis Lundensis Sectio 1, Theologica, Juridica, Humaniora* 28 (Stockholm, 1979).

²⁰ Siraisi, pp.167-8.

²¹ For a table of contents of the *Philomena* see Appendix 1.

Breviarium Bartholomei contains much material not included by Bradmore, and vice versa, this would not be possible. While Bradmore's division of material appears to be his own, the inclusion of a final part, briefly recapitulating what has been said in each previous part, may be based on the scholastic form as adopted by Henry de Mondeville, for example.²² This part was added, as Bradmore states in his introduction to it, to make the text easier to use:

In this seventh part I desire briefly and in small and succinct sermons to recite some of that aforesaid in this my recapitulation, and so that readers may find this my brief compilation easier to use and more simply and perfectly find the necessary remedies' (f.347v)²³.

In practice the recapitulation does not notably ease the task of finding any particular topic within the text, for it contains as much new material as genuine repetition. Both Bradmore's text and Mirfield's, however, because they deal with fewer topics in any one chapter, are easier to refer to than, for example, Guy de Chauliac's *Chirurgia Magna*.

Bradmore's method of dealing with his sources is perhaps best displayed by means of examples, giving passages from the *Philomena* alongside likely sources. The passages which appear below have been selected rather for the light they cast on Bradmore's methods as a compiler than for any particularly interesting medical content.

Comparison of Bradmore's text with his sources

For ease of comparison, the texts are presented in parallel, followed by brief comments. Where more than one source is used, both will be identified in the table heading, and changes of source will be indicated in the text as they occur. The line

²² For a discussion of the influence of scholastic surgical texts on English surgeons, see Peter Murray Jones, 'John Arderne and the Mediterranean tradition of scholastic surgery', pp. 289 and 306.

²³ *Nunc in ista 7^{ma} et ultima parte presentis compilationis desidero breuiter et in sermonibus paucis atque succinctis aliquos de predictis in hac mea recapitulatione recitare. Et ut legentes hanc continued...*

numbers appearing in the central column are inserted for ease of reference in the commentary which follows, and bear no relation to lines in the original manuscripts.

The first passage is taken from the chapter 'Of regenerative medicines and the method of regenerating'. In this chapter, Bradmore begins by discussing simple medicines, and passes on to compound medicines in the section quoted here. The equivalent passage of Guy de Chauliac is given for comparison.

John Bradmore, <i>Philomena</i> Part 3 distinction 7 chapter 4 f.193v ²⁴		Guy de Chauliac, <i>Chirurgia Magna</i> Book 7 doctrine 1 chapter 6 ²⁵
<p>Quarum prima est unguentum Basilicon dictum a Galieno tetrafarmacum quod sic fit.</p> <p>¶ Recipe pices nigre resine cere cepi vaccini olii ana quantum vis fundantur et fiat unguentum et si adderetur de olibano dicitur melius ab hebenmesue et a Galieno macedonicum</p> <p>¶ secunda forma est unguentum Aureum hebenmesue in quo vero</p>	<p>1</p> <p>5</p> <p>10</p>	<p>Quarum prima est unguentum basilicon dictum a Galieno tetrafarmacum</p> <p>Recipe picis nigre resine cere sepi vaccini olei ana quantum vis fundantur: et fiat unguentum. Et si poneretur de olibano dicitur maius ab Hebenmesue. Et a Galieno macedonicum. ¶ Secunda forma est unguentum fuscum secundum Nicolaum quod in apotecis inuenitur factum.</p> <p>¶ Tertia forma est unguentum aureum Hebenmesue in quo vt</p>

meam breuem compilationem facilius potuerint predicta agnoscere et remedia eis necessaria lenius atque magis perfecte adimplere.

²⁴ All references to John Bradmore's *Philomena* are naturally taken from Sloane 2272.

²⁵ The text used here is Guy de Chauliac, *Cirurgia*, printed in Venice, 1513. This extract appears on p. 70.

<p>sit aliquantulum mundificatium modicum addo de melle quod sic fit. Recipe cere ζ 5 resine qr 1 terebentine li 1 mellis qr <i>f</i> masticis thuris sarcocolle mirre</p>	15	<p>sit aliquantulum mundificatium modicum addo de melle. Recipe cere ζ v resine quar. j terebentine lib. j mellis quar. <i>f</i> masticis thuris sarcocolle mirre</p>
<p>aloen croci ana ζ 2 fiat unguentum ¶ tertia vero forma est unguentum viride Galieni concessum per Avicenum et sic fit. Recipe olei cere ana ζ 6 liquifiant et in descensu ab igne addatur viride eris ζ 1 ducendo et permiscendo fiat</p>	20	<p>aloes croci ana ζ ij fiat unguentum. ¶ Quarta forma est unguentum viride Galieni concessum per Auicennam Recipe olei cere ana ζ ij liquefiant et in descensu ab igne addatur viride eris ζ j ducendo et permiscendo</p>
<p>unguentum ¶ quarta autem forma est unguentum de lino quod Auicenum appropriavit ad consolidandum. Ego tamen dicit Guido inveni eum plus regeneratium et etiam</p>	25	<p>fiat unguentum. ¶ 5^a forma est unguentum de lino quod Auicennam appropriavit ad consolidandum. Ego tamen eum plus inveni regeneratium. Et secundum hebenMesue Recipe</p>
<p>hebenmesue et sic fit. ¶ Recipe rasure panni linei bene mundati partem <i>f</i> opponaci partes 2 vini mellis olei rosati ana partes 5 litargiri aloes sarcocolle ana 3^m partem illius fiat unguentum</p>	30	<p>hebenMesue Recipe rasure panni linei bene mundati partem 5 opponacis partes ij vini mellis olei rosati ana partes v litargiri aloes sarcocolle ana tertiam partem illius: fiat unguentum. ¶ 6^a forma est emplastrum croceum</p>
	40	<p>magistri petri de Bonanto Recipe seminis fenugreci quar. j</p>

addebat in fine decoctionis de thure mastice aloen et viridis eris quod sibi videbatur et multum laudabat eum	70	addebat in fine decoctionis de thure mastice aloie viridis eris quod sibi videbatur et laudabat eum ¶ 8a forma est ... (8-10 not included by Bradmore)
sexta forma est unguentum de yreos et est magister dini de fflorenzia	75	¶xia forma est unguentum de yreos et est magistri Dini de florentia

This extract illustrates how closely Bradmore follows Guy de Chauliac's text. It seems likely that he owned a copy of the *Chirurgia Magna*, or at least had a copy readily available to him.²⁶ In this particular passage, although Bradmore's text is entirely derived from Guy, some re-arrangement of Guy's material has been made by the omission of some of Guy's twelve recipes and the consequent re-numbering of Bradmore's, as at lines 9-13 (possibly omitted by Bradmore because, as it can apparently be bought already made up, Guy includes no recipe) and 72-73. At line 57, where Bradmore substitutes *thanaseti* for Guy de Chauliac's *tamarisci*, it is interesting to note that the reading *thanaseti* is shared by a Middle English translation of Guy de Chauliac, suggesting that this reading may reflect the exemplars available in England at that time, giving as it does a common English plant in place of an exotic.²⁷

The passage is typical of those Bradmore copies from Guy in its treatment of

²⁶ It is frustrating that although Bradmore mentions more than one book in his will, he names none of them except for his own *Philomena*. For Bradmore's will, see pp. 15-16 and appendix 6

²⁷ '...of oculus christi, of tanneseeye, of smallache, of verueyne....' Margaret S. Ogden, *The Cyrurgie of Guy de Chauliac*, (London, 1971) p. 604

citations. There is no indication in Bradmore's text that the authorities he cites (e.g. Hebenmesue and Galen in line 8, Avicenna in line 23) are not taken directly from their original texts, but Bradmore does indicate more than once that he is using Guy as a source. What prompts these references to Guy (again typically of Bradmore's work as a whole) is any statement by Guy that is clearly personal. Bradmore lets pass the use of the first person in a verb (e.g. *addo* in line 16) but when Guy uses *ego* as in line 30, Bradmore immediately adds *dicit Guido*, and replaces *acceptum a cartulario meo* (lines 52-53) with *acceptum a cartulario Guidonis de Cauliaco*. Similarly, while references to Galen and Avicenna pass unremarked, what appears to be a personal recollection by Guy of another practitioner, Petrus de Bonant, on lines 67-72 is clearly indicated as such with *ut dicit Guido*, distancing it from Bradmore and distinguishing it clearly from his own personal contributions elsewhere in his book.

The following extract, from the chapter 'on scabies and pruritus', contains a general definition of these complaints, their nature and cause, and the people who will, according to their habits of life, be most susceptible. Once again, an equivalent passage from Guy de Chauliac is given for comparison.

John Bradmore, <i>Philomena</i> , Part 2 distinction 4 chapter 8, f 99r		Guy de Chauliac, <i>Chirurgia Magna</i> book 6 doctrine 1 chapter 3 ²⁸
¶ Iste etiam secundum Guidonem de Cauliaco tracta 6° ca 3° doctrina 2m sunt infectiones cutis ulcerose pruriginose cum squamis et crustis	1	Iste etiam sunt infectiones cutis ulcerose pruriginose cum squamis et crustis que
que quandoque sunt virulentia et sanie plena quandoque absque ipsa	5	quandoque sunt cum virulentia et sanie et quandoque absque ipsa. Vt

²⁸ The text used here is Guy de Chauliac, *Cyrurgia*, printed in Venice, 1513. This extract appears on p. 47

<p>ut ponit Gordonius ¶ Quorum materia secundum Avicennam est sanguis cui commiscetur colera conuersa in malencoliam aut fleum salsum baurachium Ex prima enim materia fit scabies sicca ex secundum scabies humida ¶ Sunt igitur secundum hoc 2° species scabiei si humida et sicca sub qua pruriginem pono ¶ Cum enim talem materiam natura ab interioribus ad extrinsecam cutim protulerit si sub cute permanserit et fuerit subtilis facit pruriginem si grossa scabiem ut euidenter ponit halyabbam parte 1m sermone 8° ¶ Et ibidem ponitur quod tales materie fuerit maxime plurimum comedentibus et qui malis utuntur cibis salsis videlicet et amaris dulcibus et acutis ut addit Auicenna Et qui balneum dimittunt et vestes non mutant laborant vigilant et vinum non purum potant ulterius dicit Rases quod fit in senibus propter cutis debilitatem et quod in eis plurimum generatur salsus humor.</p>	<p>10</p> <p>15</p> <p>20</p> <p>25</p> <p>30</p>	<p>ponit Gordonius ¶ Quorum materia secundum Avicennam est sanguis cui commiscetur colera conuersa in melencoliam aut flegma salsum baurachium. Ex prima enim materia ut dicit fit scabies sicca: ex 2a humida. Sunt igitur secundum hoc due species scabiei humida et sicca sub qua pruriginem pono. Cum enim talem materiam natura ab interioribus ad extrinsecam cutem protulerit si sub cute permanserit: et fuerit subtilis fuerit pruriginem. Si grossa scabiem ut euidenter ponit Hali ^{a<bbas>} parte prima sermone 8°. Et ibidem ponitur quod tales materie fiunt maxime plurimum comedentibus: et qui malis utuntur cibis salsis videlicet et amaris dulcibus et acutis ut addit Auicenna. Et qui balneum dimittunt et vestes non mutant laborant et vigilant et vinum purum potant. Addit Rasis fit autem senibus propter cutis debilitatem et quia in eis salsus humor ut plurimum generatur.</p>
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Having given at the beginning a full reference to Guy de Chauliac as his source, Bradmore here goes on to copy Guy's text word for word without alteration of order or content. Once again, there is typically no indication that references to other sources (e.g. to Bernard de Gordon in line 7, or to Haly Abbas in line 21) are not taken directly from the original text, but via Guy. Guy's use of the first person at line 15 does not provoke Bradmore into a further indication that Guy is the source of the text, presumably because as in similar cases in the first passage given above, the text does not strongly suggest Guy's personal experience in any way that would make Bradmore wish to distinguish it from his own. As in the first passage, the closeness of Bradmore's text to Guy's would seem to indicate that he worked directly from a copy of Guy's text, not from memory or via an intermediate source.

The following passage is taken from the chapter dealing with 'simple head wounds in the flesh only, in which there is no injury to either skull or brain'. It begins with a general discussion and definition of this type of injury, before moving on to specific instruction. The sources given for comparison are Guy de Chauliac and John Mirfield.

John Bradmore, <i>Philomena</i> part 3 distinction 2 chapter 1, f.133r.		Guy de Chauliac <i>Chirurgia Magna</i> ²⁹ book 3 doctrine 2 chapter 1: John Mirfield, <i>Breviarium Bartholomei</i> part 9 distinction 2 chapter 1 ³⁰
Caput quandoque contingit vulnerari cum incisione quandoque cum concucione et	1	(Chauliac) Caput quandoque contingit vulnerari cum inscicione quandoque cum contucione et

²⁹ For Guy de Chauliac I have here used the Latin text given in Bjorn Wallner 'The Middle English translation of Guy de Chauliac's treatise on wounds', part II: notes, glossary and Latin appendix. *Acta Universitatis Lundensis sectio I, Theologica, Juridica, Humaniora*, 28 (Stockholm 1979), pp 90-91.

³⁰ All quotations from John Mirfield, *Breviarium Bartholomei* are taken from BL MS. Harley 3. This extract appears on f.161r.

<p>utraque quandoque est absque vulnere et fractura cranei quandoque cum fractura quedam non est penetrans quedam vero est penetrans et utraque quedam parua quedam magna et cum hoc quedam sunt pure quedam cum accidentibus de dolore et apostemate et panniculorum lesione composite. Iste sunt diuisiones communes vulnerum capitis. ¶</p>	5	<p>vtraque quandoque est absque vulnere et fractura cranei quandoque cum fractura quedam non est penetrans quedam vero est penetrans et vtraque quedam parua quedam vero magna, Et cum hoc quedam sunt pure quedam cum accidentibus de dolore et apostemate et panniculorum lesione composite. Iste sunt diuisiones communes vulnerum capitis</p>
<p>Speciales vero tales sunt vulnera cum incisione cranei penetrancia quedam sunt sine deperdicione substantie quedam cum deperdicione eiusdem et utraque istorum quedam sunt plana et equalia quedam aspera squirrelosa et utraque etiam istorum quedam sunt in summitate capitis quedam in lateribus</p>	10	<p>speciales vero tales sunt vulnera cum insciciones^(sic) cranei penetrancia quedam sunt sine deperdicione substantie quedam cum deperdicione eiusdem Et vtraque istorum quedam sunt plana et equalia quedam aspera squirrelosa et vtraque eciam istorum quedam sunt in summitate capitis quedam in lateribus.</p>
<p>¶ Et ideo (accedens^d) medicus accedens ad eum qui est vulneratus in capite cum ense vel alia re si certus sit quod lesio non est in craneo debet in ipsa prima visitatione (remouere pilos^d)</p>	15	<p>(Mirfield) Accedens aut medicus ad eum qui est in capite vulneratus cum ense vel re altera modo consilio vulnerate Si certus sit quod lesio non est in craneo debet in ipsa prima visitatione remouere pilos cum</p>
	20	
	25	
	30	

considerare (7 ^d) (9) documenta		forpicibus.....
Guidonis de Cauliaco huic		
curacionis multum necessaria ¶¶		
Quorum primum		(Chauliac). Quorum primum per
documentum est quod vulnera	35	viam notabilis est quod vulnera
capitis maxime cum fractura ossis		capitis maxime cum fractura ossis
multas specialitates et differencias		multas specialitates et differencias
habent a vulneribus aliorum		habent a vulneribus aliorum
membrorum tum propter		membrorum tum propter
propinquitatem et nobilitatem	40	propinquitatem et nobilitatem
medulle cerebellaris tum etiam		medulle cerebellaris tum etiam
quia propter eius formam spericam		quia propter eius formam spericam
non potest uniri neque seruari cum		non potest uniri neque seruari cum
ligatura ut alia membra		ligatura vt alia membra
¶¶ Secundum est quod in vulneribus	45	Secundum est quod in vulneribus
capitis precipue notabilibus oportet		capitis precipue notabilibus oportet
ut seruentur intenciones communes		vt seruentur intenciones communes
.....	

In the chapter of which this is the opening passage, Bradmore combines extracts from Guy de Chauliac and John Mirfield. He begins with Guy's general discussion of wounds to the head, their types and causes, and then moves on to the more specific instruction from Mirfield as to what the practitioner should do on his first visit to the patient. Bradmore then apparently decided that he wished to include more of Guy's general rules before going into detail, and rather than delete what he had already copied from Mirfield,

he altered the last sentence so that the surgeon at his first visit is told to 'consider the nine rules of Guy de Chauliac'. Mirfield's instruction that on his first visit the practitioner should shave the hair of the patient is deleted (lines 30-31). As shaving the hair is one of Guy's nine rules, Bradmore does not need to repeat this paragraph when he returns to Mirfield's text later. It appears from this that Bradmore had not planned each chapter completely when he began to write; rather, he had a vague idea of what it should contain, and revised the finer detail and blending of his various sources as he worked, in order to obtain a clear text.

This method of construction for his chapters is mirrored by his method of ordering the text as a whole, as shown by the tables of contents for each distinction. These are almost all heavily corrected as chapters have been added, deleted, amalgamated or divided in the course of writing, so that each distinction varies in final form from Bradmore's original plan. This method of work can lead to the duplication of large passages, and to major contradictions of sense. An example of the former occurs in part 5 distinction 5, where chapter 6 on f.267r has been cancelled and marked *VACAT* by Bradmore, presumably because he realised that the same material had already appeared in chapter 3 on f.266v. A similar mistake appears in part 4 distinction 1 chapter 19, on f.212, and occasionally elsewhere in the text. The uncritical blending of two different sources in part 3 distinction 5 chapter 10 leads Bradmore to copy the method of a fistula operation using the pith of elder³¹ when on the previous page he has copied Guy de Chauliac's warning about this operation,³² apparently without himself noticing the contradiction.

³¹ *'In primis aperiatur os fistule cum cortice radice laureole vel cum radice brionie vel cum cortice radice gentiane quod fortius operatur et dimittatur per noctem vel cum medulla sambuci vel cum tenta de radice aristologie rotunde....'* f.169r

³² *'per foramen imponitur tenta de radice gentiane aut mali terre aut brionie aut dragante vel de frustris spongieQuia de medulla sambuci et ebulli dicit Guido de Cauliaco non mihi placent quia in extrahendo sepe frangiunt...'* f.168v

From a chapter entitled 'of the gathering of water in the heads of infants', the next extract deals with the difficulty of extracting the fluid by incision, and is given alongside the equivalent chapter from William of Saliceto.

John Bradmore, <i>Philomena</i> part 2 distinction 2 chapter 2, f52v.		William of Saliceto <i>Cirurgia</i> book 1 chapter 1 ³³
¶ Et quidam alii volunt extrahere istam aquam cum incisionibus eisdem factis in loco decliniori vel in parte posteriori dummodo aqua possit ex illo loco exire.	1	Et quidam alii volunt extrahere istam aquam cum incisionibus eidem factis in loco decliniori vel parte posteriori dummodo aque possit ex illo exire loco
Et in hoc conueniunt omnes ne aqua ista hora incisionis tota extrahatur sed paulatim et diurne. Et hoc secundum viam istam optimum est ut dicit Williamo de saliceto ¶ Sed ego dicit	5	et in hoc conueniunt omnes ne ista aqua hora incisionis tota extrahatur: sed paulatim et diurne. Et hoc secundum viam istam optimum est: sed ego
idem Williamo tempore meo non vidi aliquem curari per viam istam nec credo alium posse euaderi. Cum autem hec infirmitas non appareat ni in hominibus qui	10	meo tempore non vidi al quem curari per viam istam quod euaderet nec credo per viam istam euadere posse. Cum aut hec infirmitas non appareat nisi in hominibus qui
nascuntur cum ea vel qui nati sunt infra 7 dies non videtur ni propter debilitatem ipsorum infantium uti talibus incisionibus ¶ Ego autem inquit idem Williamo vidi quendam in	15	nascuntur cum ea vel qui nati sunt infra vij dies non videtur propter debilitatem ipsorum infantium uti talibus incisionibus. Ego autem vidi quidam in quodam

³³ Quotations from William of Saliceto *Cirurgia* are taken from the edition printed in Venice, 1490, which also contains his *Summa curationis in conseruatione*. This extract appears on p. 145 recto.

quodam hospitali Cremonie quem natura rectificauit per se secundum longitudinem temporis et vixit puer ille longo tempore. Post hoc sumpsi ego ex ista operatione nature modum operacionis per me ipsum cum	20	hospitio cremone quem natura rectificauit per se secundam longitudinem temporis ut vixit puer ille longo tempore post hec sumpsi ex illa operatione nature modum
exsiccantibus paulatim. ¶ Et sic venit ad manus meas filia cuiusdam amici et tractaui eam in curacione quam ponam tibi hic inscriptus. ¶ Omni die faciebam inungi caput eius totalitur cum oleo camomille et sulphuri facta hac porcione	25	curacionis per me cum exsiccantibus paulatim et cum venit ad manus meas filiam cuiusdam mei amici et tractaui eam modum curacionis pro processi in cura illius hac via omni die incipiebam inungere caput eius totaliter cum oleo camomille et sulfure facta hac proportione.....
	30	

This passage follows Bradmore's typical pattern in working from his sources in that having referred to William's text at the beginning of the chapter, he copies without acknowledgement William's general discussion of the method of treatment; but once William gives a personal opinion followed by an illustrative story, he is acknowledged as the source (at lines 8-10; *ut dicit Williamaoego, dicit idem Williamao, tempore meo...*). William's second use of *ego* at line 18 is again marked by Bradmore as referring to William, not himself: *ego autem inquit idem Williamao*. Apparently realising that the *ego* at line 23 and *ad manus meas* at line 27 were not so marked, Bradmore added a marginal note beside this passage, *Cura W.de Saliceto*. In the same way, when on f.144v Bradmore follows a case taken from William of Saliceto with one drawn from his own experience, and having failed to mark his own case clearly within the text, Bradmore

inserts marginal labels beside each case, *Cura W. de Salc'* and *Cura Johannis Bradmor*, so that they are easily distinguished.

Once again, here, the closeness of Bradmore's copy to his original suggests that he was not working from memory but had a copy of William's text before him. That he was working from William of Saliceto directly here and not from John Mirfield (who, as stated on p. 35 above, frequently also used William of Saliceto as a source) is in this case clear, for although Mirfield has an equivalent chapter (*Breviarium Bartholomei* part 8 distinction 2 chapter 2) copied from William of Saliceto, he does not include all William's illustrative material, so that lines 10-28 of this extract could not derive from Mirfield.

The two passages that follow both apparently derive from John Mirfield, and are given to show how Bradmore deals with Mirfield's lack of source references. The first case deals with an old man wounded in the hip with a spear.

John Bradmore, <i>Philomena</i> part 3 distinction 1 chapter 2, f 129r.		John Mirfield, <i>Breviarium Bartholomei</i> part 9 distinction 1 chapter 2 ³⁴
¶ Magister autem meus curauit hominem segenarium qui fuit percussus telo in hancha et transciuit in carne hanchi per	1	¶ Magister autem meus curauit hominem sexegenarium qui fuit percussus telo in hauncha et transiuit in carne hanchii per
longitudinem unius digiti et plus sed non tectigit aliquid neruum quod bene intellexit per carenciam doloris. Tenuit autem vulnus apertum cum parua et curta tenta per unum diem	5	longitudinem unius digiti et plus sed non tetigit aliquem neruum quod bene intellexit per carenciam doloris Tenuit enim vulnus apertum cum parua et curta tenta per 1 diem

³⁴ BL MS. Harley 3 f.159r.

ut videret si in crastino doleret et percepit vulneratum quiescere ¶ Mane autem facto quod nullum invenit dolorem nec inflacionem	10	ut videret si in crastino doleret et percepit vulneratum quiescere Mane autem facto quod nullum inuenit dolorem nec inflacionum (nec inflacionum) ^d
abiecit illam tentam et permisit vulnus claudi et iterum precepit vulneratum quiescere alia die et tertia die omnino fuit curatus.	15	abiecit illam tentam Et permisit vulnus claudi Et iterum percepit vulnera quiescere alia die. Et tertia die omnino fuerat curatus.

In this case, Bradmore retains Mirfield's characteristic reference to *magister meus* (line 1), as he does in many passages copied from Mirfield. Presumably this is because he is unable to identify Mirfield's source. As can be seen from the passage quoted below, when he is able to identify the source, he does so. The following passage is from the chapter 'of hardness and apostumes in the mouth of the stomach', and deals with the causes of hardness in this area and the reason why it is often mortal.

John Bradmore, <i>Philomena</i> part 2 distinction 2 chapter 29, f 63v		John Mirfield, <i>Breviarum Bartholomei</i> part 8 distinction 2 chapter 13 ³⁵
...¶ Et sedetur dolor cum auxiungo et camomille et mellelote et similibus ¶ In duricie autem in hoc loco aliter secundum (quosdam ^d) (Williamo de Saliceto Ca 25 ^o) est precedendum	1Et sedetur dolor cum auxiungo et camomilla et mellelot et similibus In duricie aut in hoc loco aliter secundam quosdam
Nam duricies ista cum fuerit ut	5	est precedendum Nam duricies ista cum fuerit ut

³⁵ BL MS. Harley 3 f.140r

Williamo de Saliceto (lines 15-16) into the text in order to clarify, in his customary fashion, that the *meo tempore* in line 16 does not refer to himself. Had he been using William's text directly throughout, of course, the *secundam quosdam* in line 4 would not have appeared at all, as it is not in William's text.

In the short passage below, Bradmore has altered Guy de Chauliac's reference to the *Rosa Medicinæ* of thirteenth century English physician, John Gaddesden.³⁶ Whether he did so because he considered Guy's tone to be rather dismissive or whether because, in contrast to Bradmore's usual practice, it does not make clear the name of the author, is uncertain.

John Bradmore, <i>Philomena</i> part 5 distinction 2 chapter 3, f 240v		Guy de Chauliac, <i>Chirurgia Magna</i> Book 6 tract 2 chapter 2 ³⁷
..¶ Et (illa Rosa anglicana) ^d (Chaddesdene in suo Rosario) ⁱ dictat aquam que sic fit Recipe ceruse lote		Et illa rosa anglicana Recipe ceruse lote.....

The two short passages that follow, both derived from John Mirfield, contain references to related chapters elsewhere in the text, which Bradmore has dealt with in different ways. The first passage is taken from Bradmore's chapter on *Ignis persicus*, a skin disease.

³⁶ John Gaddesden, c.1280-1349. For brief details of his life see Talbot & Hammond, pp. 148-150; see also H. P. Cholmeley, *John of Gaddesden and the 'Rosa Medicinæ'* (Oxford, 1912), and *Rosa Anglica Seu Rosa Medicinæ, Johannis Anglici*, ed. Winifred Wulff, Irish Texts Society¹⁵ (London, 1929), which provides the text of a translation into Irish Gaelic, edited with an introduction, glossary and English version.

³⁷ Guy de Chauliac, *Cyrurgie* (Venice, 1513), p. 54. Guy's reference to the *Rosa Medicinæ* of John Gaddesden in the history preface to his book of surgery is dismissive in tone.

<p>Et Anno regni Regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum Anglie xxij^o.</p>	10	<p>preuidenciam si iterum accideret narrabo eam.</p>
<p>Incepit autem predicta mortalitas nobis in mense Septembri (circa festum sancti Michaelis) et durauit</p>	15	<p>Incepit autem predicta mortalitas nobis in Mense Ianuarij et durauit</p>
<p>per 10 menses usque ad festum sancti petri qui dicitur Ad vinculam proximo sequenti ¶ Quequidem pestilencia habuit 2^{os} modos. Primus modus fuit sic per 2^{os} menses febris continua et sputo sanguinis et isti moriebantur infra 3 dies. ¶ secundus modus fuit per residuum temporis cum febre etiam continua et</p>	20	<p>per septem menses et habuit duos modos. Primus fuit per duos menses cum febre continua et sputo sanguinis et isti moriebantur infra tres dies. Secundus fuit per residuum temporis cum febre eciam continua et</p>
<p>Apostematibus et antracibus in exterioribus potissime in subassellis et in Inguinibus et moriebantur etiam infra 5 dies.</p>	25	<p>apostematibus et antracibus in exterioribus potissime in subassellis et Inguinibus et moriebantur infra quinque dies.</p>

Guy de Chauliac's detailed account of the arrival of the Black Death in Avignon is the basis for this passage. Guy de Chauliac, writing in 1363, was here recalling events which he had himself witnessed, and his very vivid description of the effect of the pestilence, and the search for its cause, is given by Bradmore without substantial alteration after this passage. The alterations he makes here are not to the medical details

but to the time of the plague's arrival and its duration, so that what Guy de Chauliac wrote of Avignon is altered here to fit London. Guy de Chauliac gives the date and the year of the pontificate of Clement VI, in whose service he was (lines 4-6). Bradmore adds the regnal year of king Edward III (lines 11-12; his twenty-second year, i.e. 1348) adjusts the month of arrival to September (line 14) and adds the fine detail that the plague reached London about Michaelmas (line 15) and lasted until the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (1st August) the following year (line 17). The precision of the dates gives the impression that Bradmore was also writing from his own recollection of events. The date of Bradmore's birth is not known, but given that he died in 1412, it seems likely that if he was alive in 1348-9, he would only have been a child. The dates may of course have been readily available to him from other sources, whether medical (e.g. plague tracts) or non-medical (e.g. city records or chronicles).

The following passage is from Bradmore's last section, the chapter entitled 'recapitulation of paralysis and all infirmities in general'. It contains a charm for spasms and cramp, with an illustrative story. A passage for comparison from a manuscript of John of Arderne is given below (the texts have not been presented parallel in this case as they differ radically in places). Once again, the line numbers given here in the right-hand column are for ease of reference in the commentary following, and bear no relation to lines in the original manuscripts.

John Bradmore, <i>Philomena</i> part 7 distinction 1 chapter 6, f 360	
¶Item Experimentum nobile contra spasmus et sepius probatum quod numquam vidi deficere a tempore quo illud didici ffit ergo sic scribe hec tria nomina in parcameno vidilicet	1
In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Amen ✕ Jhesus Maria ✕ Johannes ✕ Michael ✕ Gabriel ✕ Raphael ✕ Verbum caro factum est Ista tria verba precedencia scripta sunt litteris grecis ne a quolibet de laici percipiatur et sunt	5

<p>suum retro trahebatur fere usque ad collum suum, ad modum balistae, qui pro dolore et angustia fere exspiravit. Quo viso, dictus Miles accepit carmen, in pergamento scriptum in bursa positum, in collo patientis apposuit dicentibus circumstantibus orationem dominicam ad dominam Maria[m] et ut mihi juravit fideliter, infra quatuor horas aut quinque sanitati est restitutus. Et postea multos alios a spasmo ibidem liberavit, unde magna fama de illo carmine in illa civitate exercuit:</p>	10
<p>In nomine patris ✕ et filii ✕ et Spiritus sancti ✕ Amen. †Thebal † Enthe † Enthanay † In nomine Patris † et Filii † et Spiritus sancti † Amen. † Ihesu Nazarenus † Maria † Iohannes † Michael † Gabriel † Raphael † Verbum caro factum est. †</p>	15
<p>postea claudatur ista cedula admodum unius litera ut non leniter possit aperiri, unde solebam scribere istud literis grecis, ne a laicis perspicetur Quum ut istud carmen scriptum, se honeste in dei omnipotentis nomine gesserit et crediderit, sine dubio a spasmo non erit aggravatus. Istud habeatur in reverentia propter dominum qui virtutem dedit verbis, petris et herbis, et secreta fingitur ne omnes nostant carmen ne forte virtutes datas a deo amittat.</p>	20

The charm quoted here by Bradmore, with the accompanying anecdote about the English in Milan at the time of the marriage of Lionel, Duke of Clarence to the daughter of the duke of Milan, in 1368, is clearly related to the passage from John of Arderne, but is by no means a faithful copy in the manner of the examples given earlier. Arderne gives more details about the 'spasms'. He refers to their cause as overeating and the drinking of strong wine (line 5), and describes one man so badly affected that he was bowed backwards 'in the manner of a ballista' (line 9). Consequently his account of the incidents in Milan reads like a first hand report, where in Bradmore's text it is mentioned as an

example of the charm's effectiveness, but with no circumstantial detail, as if quoted from memory.⁴² The charm itself is not an exact copy from Arderne's text either, but is clearly the same charm and contains all the same elements, including the reference (Arderne line 21, Bradmore line 6) to the use of Greek letters to prevent lay people understanding it. All this brings to mind the *caveat* of Luke Demaitre in his discussion of Bernard de Gordon's sources that 'it is impossible to know whether his source was defective or altogether different, or whether he quoted from faulty memory or knowingly omitted...'.⁴³ Bradmore does use Arderne as a source elsewhere in his text without acknowledgement, for example in part 3 distinction 6 chapter 23, of *fistula in ano* (ff. 184v-186v) and chapter 24 (186v-187r), of ulcers in the penis and womb, so he is certainly a possible source for this passage also.

Bradmore appears to have deliberately minimised the number of charms in his text.⁴⁴ In part 3 distinction 4, for example, while using John Mirfield's *Breviarium Bartholomei* as a source, he omits all Mirfield's charms from chapter 1 'on the flowing of blood from veins and arteries' and chapter 4 (on extracting thorns etc.). It is possible that what governs the inclusion or otherwise of charms by Bradmore is how confident he is in his main medical treatment for the condition (in much the same way that alternative medicine tends to be used today in areas where conventional medicine appears to be of limited effectiveness). Several prayers are included for the relief of toothache,⁴⁵ and

⁴² The case of a pregnant woman with spasms mentioned in Bradmore's text (lines 11-14) is also taken from Arderne: see BL. MS. Sloane 2002, ff.80v-81r.

⁴³ Demaitre, *Doctor Bernard de Gordon, Professor and Practitioner*, p. 108.

⁴⁴ I have not included, in the definition of charms, practices which may have, or possibly in the eyes of Bradmore appeared to have, a rational rather than supernatural basis. An example of this would be the gathering of herbs on the feast of St. John Baptist, recommended for example on f.326r, of which Bradmore states (f.335r) that they have the greatest virtue at that time, thus giving a rational reason for what might appear on the surface to be a supernatural association. Nor have I included the various recipes for drinks used to foretell whether a wounded man might live or die (f.131v). I have only included as charms those which appear to contain an appeal to, or method of control over, supernatural forces which will effect a cure, for example the prayers to saints and God on folios 32v and 262r, and the passage cited above.

⁴⁵ For these see f. 262r.

some for internal apostumes⁴⁶ - areas possibly less straightforward to diagnose and treat than haemorrhage or removal of thorns, where Bradmore may have felt much more confident that his methods and recipes would meet all eventualities. Indeed, in the chapter on haemorrhage, Bradmore describes two comparatively simple techniques which are his own favoured treatments, and gives as an example of their effectiveness an account of his own use of them on a patient. In this account, he balances his dependence on named and respected authorities with the equal validity of his own experience as another form of authority.

⁴⁶ For these see ff. 32v-33r.

Chapter Four

Bradmore's own surgical techniques

Nancy Siraisi comments of surgical texts that 'One noteworthy feature of the surgeons' books is their willingness to tell stories about themselves ... personal anecdote is markedly more prevalent in surgical than in other books'.¹ Bradmore both copies such anecdotes and illustrative stories from his sources (as for example the passage on fluid gathering in the heads of infants, copied from William of Saliceto, which was quoted above on pp. 47-48), and adds some of his own, usually clearly indicated as such either within the text or in the margin. Three such clearly-identified passages describe cures undertaken by Bradmore, and two further less detailed descriptions of cases appear to have been drawn from his own experience. In addition there are various recipes and techniques described throughout the text which may be tentatively assigned to Bradmore. The importance of these passages is that they give an insight into Bradmore's actual surgical practice, rather than the theories he adopted from his sources, but may not have followed in practice.

Less than half a dozen cases described out of a long and successful career are not very many, and before passing on to a detailed discussion of the passages concerned, some consideration may be given to what factors would govern the selection of such stories, and what purpose they were intended to serve. Nancy Siraisi suggests the following reasons for the inclusion of personal anecdotes: 'to provide examples of the narrator's success...'², 'to indicate the large number, and, wherever possible, the social distinction of the patients successfully treated...'³, and 'to illustrate principles and information derived from a learned,

¹ Siraisi, p.170.

² *ibid*, p.171

³ *ibid*, p.172

textual tradition...'⁴. To this list could be added the surgeon's desire to demonstrate some new or improved instrument, medicine or technique which he has developed. It also seems possible in the case of a compilation such as Bradmore's that a wish to emulate his authorities could be responsible for the inclusion of a case; for example, William of Saliceto's description of his successful cure of an abdominal wound, copied by Bradmore on f.144v, is immediately followed by an account of a similar case treated by Bradmore himself. Which of these reasons appears paramount will vary from case to case, and will also vary according to how charitably one views the author's motives. One would have to be unduly cynical to consider self-advertisement as the only reason for the inclusion of personal anecdotes, but it is surely there as a motive, even in cases where the main purpose of such stories is educational and illustrative.

In order that a clear picture of his methods may be obtained, Bradmore's own illustrative stories will be given here in full, each followed by a detailed commentary on points of interest, before passing on to a more general discussion.⁵ The passages will be presented in the order in which they appear in the manuscript.

A woman with scrofula⁶

Truly a certain woman had scrofula in her breast, with such pain that she almost despaired of herself and all others who saw it considered that she would die from it. At length, asked by the friends of the said woman, I went to her and with God's help and with this plaster which is called Black *Gracia Dei Major* I cured her completely. Which is thus

⁴ Siraisi, p.173

⁵ For clarity in the discussion, the main text will be given in English, and the original Latin in the footnotes.

⁶ Sloane 2272 f.63r.

made: Take of betony,⁷ pimpernel,⁸ vervain, comfrey, daisy, mouse-ear, plantain, laurel,⁹ yarrow, centaury,¹⁰ avens, laurel leaves,¹¹ corn cockle,¹² sage,¹³ of each a handful, and boil in a flagon of wine until reduced by half and more, and afterwards leave to stand for twelve hours and strain through a cloth and put in gums thus: terebentine, wax, of each a pound, litarge of gold a pound and a half, galbanum a pound and one $\frac{z}{3}$, ceruse, tuthie, mastic, armoniac, of each $\frac{z}{3}$ $\frac{z}{3}$, colophonie, storax liquid or red of each ten $\frac{z}{3}$, myrrh, bedellium, oppoponax, astrologia longa, of each $\frac{z}{3}$, olibanum an $\frac{z}{3}$ and $\frac{z}{3}$, viride eris half an $\frac{z}{3}$, old oil a pound or two if it is necessary. Boil and stir with a spatula and at the end of the boiling add terebentine and the plaster is made. This plaster is called Black *Gracia Dei Major* because it was invented and made firstly by the grace of God rather than through the understanding of men. And it has the virtue of dissolving and consuming and maturing all hardnesses and sedating all pains from a cold cause and some from a hot cause and it has the same virtues as *Gracia Dei Major* which is given in the antidotary concerning Wounds.¹⁴

⁷ For identification of plants named in this recipe and others in the passages to follow I have used Tony Hunt, *Plant Names of Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1989). Where Hunt supplies only one possible identification, I have used the common English name of the plant in the text and will give no further reference in the footnotes. Where more than one possible identification is given by Hunt, I have used the closest modern equivalent of the name in the text but given all Hunt's suggestions in the footnotes. Without a secure identification of the plants concerned, it would be difficult to assess the medicinal value of the recipes. Sometimes the medicinal actions of the alternative plants suggested is similar, so that a secure identification would not be needed, but this is not always the case.

⁸ *Anagallis arvensis* (Scarlet Pimpernel), *Pimpinella saxifraga* (Burnet Saxifrage), *Sanguisorba officinalis* (Great Burnet). See Hunt, p.207.

⁹ *Daphne laureola* (Spurge Laurel), *Laurus nobilis*, (Bay), *Daphne mezereon* (Mezereon). See Hunt, p.156.

¹⁰ *Centaurium erythraea* (Common Centaury) or *Blackstonia perfoliata* (Yellow-wort). See Hunt, p. 75.

¹¹ see footnote 9 above.

¹² *Agrostemma githago* (Corn Cockle) or *Silene dioica* (Red Champion). See Hunt, p.119.

¹³ *Salvia officinalis* (Sage) or *Teucrium scorodonia* (Wood Germander). See Hunt, p.225.

¹⁴ *Quedam vero mulier habuit scrophulas in mamilla cum tanto dolore quod fere de se ipsa disparavit et omnes alii eam videntes iudicauerunt eam morituram. tandem rogatus ab amicis dictae mulieris ad eam accessi et cum dei adiutorio et cum isto emplastro quod dicitur Gracia dei maior (et^d) nigrum eam perfecte curavi. quod sic fit. ¶ Recipe betonice pimpernelle vervene consolide maior et minor piloselle plantaginis laureole millefolii centauree auence foliorum lauri flos campi*

Continued....

Although Bradmore does not clearly mark this story as his own, it may be tentatively attributed to him for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is not his usual practice¹⁵ to use the first person in a story such as this, when adopted from another source, without indicating in some way that it does not refer to himself. Secondly, the rest of the chapter in which it appears is based on John Mirfield (*Breviarium Bartholomei* part 4 distinction 4 chapter 10), but Mirfield does not include this story - nor does it appear in any of Bradmore's other main sources. Thirdly, the pious interjection that the cure was achieved 'with God's help' (*cum dei adiutorio*) is typical of Bradmore, as will be seen in his other cases.¹⁶ Further, the anonymous author of Harley 1736 plainly considered that Bradmore was here quoting from his own experience, though whether this is because he knew Bradmore and remembered the incident (this possibility will be discussed further below, pp. 141-143) or simply because he assumed the first person here must refer to Bradmore, is not clear.¹⁷

The story appears to be included by Bradmore simply to illustrate the virtues of the plaster *Black Gracia Dei Major*. No details are given of the process of the cure, and the sick woman is not identified, but the recipe for the plaster is given in full, together with a list of its

(salgemine^d) salgie ana m 1 et bulliantur ad medietatem et plus in lagena vini et postea permitte stare per 12 horas et coletur per pannum et ponitur intus gummi sic terebentine cere ana li. 1 litargiri auri li. 1 et f galbani li. 1 et z 1 ceruse tuthie masticis armoniac ana z z colofonie storacis liquide vel rubie ana z 10 mirre bedellii oppoponacis astrologie longe ana z 1 olibani z 1 et z 1 viride eris z f olei veteris li. 1 vel 2 si necesse fuerit. bulliantur et moveantur cum spatula et in fine bullicionis addatur terebentine et fiat emplastrum. ¶ Istud emplastrum Gracia dei maior nigrum vocatur quia inventum et factum fuit primo per dei gratiam (quam^d) magis quam per sensum humanum. Et habet virtutem dissoluendi et consumendi et maturandi omnes durities et sedat omnes dolores ex causa frigida et aliquos in causa calida et habet easdem virtutes sicut et gracia dei maior que dicitur in Antitodario de vulneribus.

¹⁵ As can be seen from the extracts quoted in the chapter describing Bradmore's use of his sources, for example on pp. 37-41.

¹⁶ Bradmore's surgical text contains numerous religious references, particularly in the short introductions he writes for each new part and distinction, such as the following: '*in qua gracia saluatoris nostri Jhesu Christi auxiliante tractabitur de Algebra...*' (f.201r), '*in qua spiritu sancto succurrente tractabitur de omnibus egritudinibus capitis.*' (f.225r). In comparison with other surgical writers, for example Guy de Chauliac and John Mirfield, both, as has been seen, major sources for Bradmore, the degree of religious evocation in Bradmore's text is striking.

¹⁷ See pp. 131-134 for the version of this case in Harley 1736.

many uses. It would be hard to evaluate its efficacy, both because of the difficulty of identifying with certainty many of the plants used in the recipe, and because of the equal difficulty of being absolutely sure from what disease the patient was suffering.

The next case concerns Henry, Prince of Wales, the future King Henry V of England, and, as will become clear, is given in much greater detail than the case of the woman with scrofula just described. This extra detail reflects the interest of the case, which involved the use of an instrument specially designed for the purpose, as much perhaps as the status of the patient.

The cure of the Prince of Wales¹⁸

And it is to be known that in the year of our lord fourteen hundred and three, and the fourth year of the reign of King Henry the Fourth after the conquest of the English, on the vigil of St. Mary Magdalen, it happened that [Henry *in margin*] the son and heir of the aforesaid most illustrious king, and Prince of Wales, duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, was at the battle of Shrewsbury struck in the face with an arrow beside the nose on the left side, which arrow entered from the side, and the head of the said arrow, after the arrow was extracted, remained in the back part of the bone of the head six inches deep.¹⁹ Which noble Prince was cured by me thus, in the castle of Kenilworth, by me, the collector of this present *Philomena*, thanks to almighty God. To the which castle came divers skilled doctors, saying that they wanted to extract the head of the arrow with potions and other cures, but they were unsuccessful. At length I came to him. First I made small tents of the pith of old elder, dried well and sewed well in a clean linen cloth, to the length of the wound, and put these in the

¹⁸ Sloane 2272 f.137r.

¹⁹ Thomas de Elmham mentions the wounding of the Prince in this battle in the third chapter of his *Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti*, written c. 1415. I am grateful to Dr. Simone Macdougall for checking Elmham's account of the battle in the 1727 edition of Elmham's work (printed at Oxford by Hearne)

wound. These tents were dipped in rose honey. And afterwards I made larger and longer tents and thus continued, always *enlarging* the aforesaid tents until I had the width and depth of the wound as I wished. And after the wound became so dilated and so deep that in my imagination the tents had reached to the bottom of the wound, then I made new tongs small and hollow to the size of an arrow, and in the middle of the tongs entered a certain screw, which end of the tongs inside and out were well curved and also the end of the screw which entered into the middle was well curved and around to the manner of a screw so that it held better and more strongly, whose form is here (*illustration*).²⁰ The which tongs I put in transversely in the same manner that the arrow first entered then I also put the screw in the middle and at length the tongs entered the cavity of the arrowhead and then moving it to and fro, little by little, with God's help, I extracted the arrowhead. Various nobles and the servants of the aforesaid prince were standing by and all gave thanks to God. And then with a *squirtillo* filled with white wine I cleansed the wound and then put in new tents of *fibres of tow* dipped in a mundificative which is thus made: take white breadcrumbs and boil in good water and strain through a cloth. Then take enough barley flour and honey and boil all together over a gentle fire until thick and afterwards add sufficient terebentine²¹, and the mundificative ointment is made. And the said *tow* dipped in this ointment on the second day in two days I shortened and so within 20 days the wound was perfectly and well cleansed. And afterwards I regenerated flesh with *Unguentum Fuscum*. And note that from the beginning of the cure to its end I anointed him daily morning and evening in the neck with *Unguentum neruale* and above I put a hot plaster, because of the fear of spasm, which was my greatest fear, and thus, thanks be to God, he was perfectly cured.²²

²⁰ For the depiction of Bradmore's instrument, see illustrations bound between pp. 135 and 136.

²¹ i.e. turpentine resin, the product of the shrub *Pistacia terebenthus*.

²² *Et sciendum (est) quod (contigit^d) anno domini m^o cccc^o iij^o Et anno regni Regis illustrissimi henrici quarti post conquestum (anglium) quarto in vigilia sancte marie magdalene contigit quod*
Continued....

'Like the successes of the saints', Nancy Siraisi remarks, 'surgeons' successes frequently follow or are contrasted with others' failures....'²³. This case is no exception, Bradmore apparently being summoned only after other doctors had tried without success.²⁴ It is also quite likely that the prince himself was more in favour of removing the arrowhead with 'potions and other cures' rather than surgical instruments.²⁵ As will be seen in another of Bradmore's cases²⁶ the surgeon as well as the patient may have been eager to try less painful treatments at first, using the more invasive techniques only as a last resort. However,

[henricus in margin] filius et heres dicti iamscripti illustrissimi Regis et princeps Wallie dux acquetanie et lancastrie apud bellum de Shrouesbury in facie iuxta nasum ex sinistra parte cum sagitta fuit percussus quequidem sagitta intrauit (pars^d) ex transverso et capud dicte sagitte postquam sagitta fuit extracta stetit in posteriori parte ossis capiti secundum mensuram 6 uncharum. Quiquidem nobilis princeps per me collectorem huius presentis philomene gratias immensas deo ago per me taliter fuit curatus in Castello de Kyllingworth. Ad quodquidem castellum diuersi periti medici uenerunt dicentes quod caput sagitte uoluerunt extrahere cum pocionibus et aliis curis sed non potuerunt. Tandem ego ad eum accedens, In primis tentas paruas feci et uulneri imposui de medulla sambuce ueteris et bene siccate et bene sute in panno lineo mundo ad longitudinem uulneris. Quequidem tente intincte fuerunt in melle rose. Et postea maiores tentas feci et longiores et sic continuauit praedictas tentas semper ~~auum~~ ~~metando~~ usque dum habui latitudinem uulneris et profunditatem ad meum libitum. Et postquam vulnus fuit tam dilatatum et tam profundum quod per meam ymaginacionem (tente) deuenerunt ad fundum uulneris tunc reparaui de nouo tenaculas paruas et concauas (ad) quantitatem unius sagitte et in medio tenacule intrauit quoddam vyse cuius finis tenacule interius et etiam exterius erant bene lunate et etiam finis illius vyse qui in medio intrauit erat bene lunatus circumque ad modum unius vyse ut melius et forcius teneret cuius forma hic est [illustration]. Quamquidem tenaculam ex transverso inposui eodem modo sicut et sagitta primo intrauit deinde illud vyse in medio etiam imposui et tandem tenacula in foramine capitis sagitte intrauit et tunc parum et parum vibrando (cum dei adiutorio) caput sagitte extraxi. diuersis gentilibus et de predicti principis seruiantibus astantibus et omnibus deo gratias agentibus. Et tunc cum uno squirtillo inpleto cum uino albo vulnus mundificaui et tunc nouas tentas de stupis lini inposui intinctas in mundificativo quod sic fit. ¶ Recipe micam panis albi et bulliantur in aqua bene et stringantur per pannum. tunc Recipe farine ordeii et mellis quod sufficit et omnia bulliantur super lentum ignem donec spissetur et postea addatur terebentine quod sufficit et fiat unguentum mundificativum. Et dictas stupas in dicto unguento intinctas de 2^o die in 2^m diem abbreviaui et sic infra 20 dies vulnus fuit perfecte et bene mundificatum. Et postea carnem regeneraui cum unguento fusco. Et nota quidem in principio cure et usque ad finem cure mee (semper^d) (cotidie) inunxi eum mane et sero in collo cum unguento neruale et desuper emplastrum calidum inposui propter timorem spasmi qui meus maximus fuit timor et sic gratias deo agente perfecte curatus fuit.

²³ Siraisi, p.172.

²⁴ He may not have been in the royal entourage at the actual battle, but have been summoned afterwards from London. The fact that he says he cured the prince at Kenilworth, and does not mention being present at Shrewsbury, argues in favour of this.

²⁵ Bradmore himself gives recipes for similar potions, eg. at f.157v, where he recommends some for extracting thorns, splinters etc.

²⁶ The case of the carpenter, see below pp. 80-87.

these other measures had failed - sadly we are given no indication of how many had been tried, nor over how many days, so that the state of the wound when Bradmore arrived can only be guessed at. Carole Rawcliffe speculates that part of Bradmore's success may have been due to the beginning of an abscess cavity forming around the arrowhead because of the delay in removing it.²⁷ Whether or not this was in fact the case, Bradmore's first action on commencing treatment was to enlarge the wound, using 'tents' (that is, shaped pads to pack the wound) made of the pith of elder²⁸ dried and sewn in linen, continually enlarging these until the wound was opened out enough for his purpose. His aim in this was clearly to reach the arrowhead effectively, and he probably also wished to keep the wound open in this way so that he would not later be drawing the arrowhead back through partly healed flesh. It is interesting in this regard that he dipped the tents in rose honey, for one of the properties of honey when applied to a wound is to delay healing. It would also aid in keeping the wound dry, and prevent the tents from sticking in the wound; added to this it has a marked antibacterial effect.²⁹ The addition of roses to the honey would mildly increase the astringent properties of the dressing.³⁰

When the tents had in his estimation reached the arrowhead at the bottom of the wound (how long this took is not stated) he prepared an instrument for its removal. This instrument is hard to visualise, in spite of Bradmore's detailed description: the drawing which he includes, being very small, is not clear enough to be helpful.³¹ The instrument was made small, to pass along the path created by the arrow, and in the form of tongs. The description of these as having a curved exterior and interior, and a hollow within, suggests that when

²⁷ Carole Rawcliffe *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England* (Stroud, 1995) p.76.

²⁸ Probably chosen for its lightness.

²⁹ For these properties of honey when applied to wounds see Majno, pp.116-118.

³⁰ See Mrs. M. Grieve *A Modern Herbal*, ed. C. F. Leyel, (London, 1931) pp.688-9.

³¹ See illustrations bound between pp. 135 and 136.

closed they formed a hollow tube which could pass through the wound smoothly. Within the hollow Bradmore put a screw (he uses the Middle English word *vyse* to describe this).³² He states that this would enable a better grip to be obtained, but how it would operate is not clear, since in his description of the procedure Bradmore only mentions the tongs as entering the hollow in the neck of the arrowhead. Possibly the screw operated in the same way as the screw in a modern dilating speculum to hold the ends of the tongs steadily apart once they had entered this hollow. Bradmore was then able, by moving the arrowhead to and fro, to loosen it from the bone and remove it.

After the removal of the arrowhead, Bradmore's first action was to wash out the wound with wine - which has a powerful, though shortlived, antiseptic effect.³³ It appears that he wished to ensure the healing of the wound cleanly from the bottom upwards, and in order to achieve this he again made use of tents and a cleansing substance, in this case an ointment made of honey and terebentine (the flour and bread-thickened water are presumably present here only as a vehicle for the more active ingredients).³⁴ The properties of honey have already been mentioned. Terebentine also has an antiseptic effect.³⁵ Every second day Bradmore shortened the tent, allowing the wound to close. This process took

³² He is probably using the Middle English word here for the sake of clarity, where he may have been uncertain which Latin word would provide an accurate translation. There is another instance where he uses a Middle English word to describe an instrument, and once again the impression is given that he wished to be quite clear and so used what he knew was the exact word: the tool with which the carpenter wounded himself (see below, p. 82) is called '*uno instrumento vocatur cheselle*'.

³³ See Majno, pp. 186-188, for a full discussion of the effects of wine on wounds..

³⁴ In this instance, therefore, Bradmore was not following the dry healing method advocated by Theodoric of Cervia, but the more conservative methods of Guy de Chauliac. For the debate in the Middle Ages on the best methods of wound healing, see Siraisi pp. 169-170. The relative merits and demerits of the two approaches can still be debated: see Edward D. Churchill, 'Healing by First Intention and with Suppuration' *Journal of the History of Medicine* 19 (1964) 193-214, and Crissey, J. & Parish, L.C., 'Wound healing: development of the basic concepts' *Clinical Dermatology* vol. 2 part 3 (1984), 1-7.

³⁵ This is not individually analysed by Majno but discussed by him on pp. 215-219; he speculates that resins may have been used on wounds partly at least to disguise the smell.

twenty days. He then applied *Unguentum Fuscum*, for which he does not give the recipe within the text of the case (it appears in the antidotary for Wounds, on f.194r). This could be because it was a more standard treatment and less personal to him. Its main ingredients are resins and gums, which while they could have no effect on 'regenerating flesh', Bradmore's stated purpose, would at least have a mildly antiseptic effect while the natural process of healing took place.

The final item in Bradmore's description deals with a treatment not used directly on the wound, but on the patient's neck, a preventive measure against a spasm, 'which was my greatest fear'. Presumably in this context the spasms he feared were those of tetanus. Once again, Bradmore does not give the recipe for the ointment he uses within the text - *Unguentum neruale* appears in the antidotary for the whole book.³⁶ It is a compound of more than twenty herbs, with wax, butter, and some resins, and it is stated in the antidotary that it is good for 'chilled nerves and sinews... and for all cold causes'. It seems likely that a warming effect was the main aim, strengthened by the hot plaster Bradmore put above twice daily. This would tie in with ancient thinking on spasms,³⁷ and with the advice copied by Bradmore in his chapter on spasms (Part 2, distinction 5, chapter 5, f.108v) that no cold air should be allowed near the patient. In the same chapter (f.107v) it is noted that 'all spasms following wounds are mortal', so Bradmore's fear was understandable.

Elsewhere in the chapter in which this case occurs, Bradmore recommends a regimen for the wounded which includes purging and bloodletting, but no mention is made in this case of any special regimen recommended to the patient. Bradmore had the satisfaction of a successful treatment of the Prince, observed by others who would be favourably

³⁶ The recipe is given on f. 338v, Part 6, distinction 7, chapter 11. This distinction deals with ointments in general.

³⁷ For which see Majno pp. 181-2.

impressed by his skill. It is possible that the grant of 10 marks which he received annually from the Prince's household (see above, p. 14) may date from this time.

The survival of the Prince can of course be proved from external sources, not only from Bradmore's text. The same is true of the patient involved in the next case related by Bradmore, a case which also involved a member of the Royal Household.

The cure of the King's Pavilioner³⁸

[*Marginal note: John Bradmore's cure*] Moreover I myself cured a certain gentleman of the king's household in the city of London, in the first year of the reign of King Henry, the fourth after the conquest of England; which gentleman was at that time Master Pavilioner of the king's household. The which gentleman of his own free will was in a chamber on his own and by diabolical temptation opened his doublet and took out a great and wide baselard and took the baselard in his hands by its point and thus by running to the wall he wounded himself with this baselard twice in the belly, penetrating from the *umbilicus* until the back, so that the intestines were wounded and he immediately fell. And servants of the said gentleman were in another chamber working, and hearing him cry out entered and discovered him wounded so that they believed he would immediately die. And at length they ran to me and begged me for the love of God that I would go to him with haste. When I came to him at first I washed the wound with warm white wine then made a short thick tent dipped in mundificative ointment for sinews, the recipe of which is in the Antidotary, the chapter on mundificatives, and I put the said tent thus dipped into the wound and above the tent I put *Emplastrum Nervale* which is called by some *Gracia Dei Minor*. And above this plaster I put pads of *cow* dipped in warm white wine above the wound and over the whole belly, and above these pads

³⁸ Sloane 2272, f.144v.

I put other pads sewn, and then I wound the whole belly in one strong new linen cloth, which was sewn thus as strongly as the patient was able to bear. And above with bandages of the width of one division of a foot truly I bandaged him strongly, the whole belly from the chest to the thigh, and I did thus once every day. And thus I continued up until 20 days and in every removal I washed the wound with hot white wine as aforesaid. And also every day in the morning he drank of the potion for the wounded given in the antidotary concerning wounds, in the chapter of potions, with a great quantity of butter (butter thus in every potion). Moreover every day I dieted him with one or at the most two spoonsful of breadcrumbs with ale, and at night with $\frac{3}{2}$ of the flesh of quinces. And after 20 days when I saw that he was a little improved I dieted him bit by bit with chicken broth and with small chickens cooked, up to another 10 days. And afterwards when he was not able to go to stool well or he was even a little constipated in his belly, then I gave him in his food and in his drink powdered senna $\frac{3}{2}$ on an empty stomach and thus within 20 days with God's help he was perfectly cured. And in this way for certain I cured also a fruiterer in the said city, and also various others in various places.³⁹

³⁹ *Preterea curavi ego ipse quendam Armigerium (domini Regis) in Ciuitate Londoni Anno regni Regis henrici quarti post conquestum Anglium primo quiquidem Armiger fuit eodem tempore magister tentarum domini Regis Quiquidem Armiger voluntarie per se ipsum fuit in una camera solus (et) per temptationem diabolicam aperuit doublettum suum et extraxit unum magnum et latum baselardum et per punctum baselardum in manu accepit et (sic) currendo ad parietem se ipsum cum dicto baselardo bis in ventre vulnerauit (penetrauit secundum umbilicum usque ad dorsum) ita quod intestina erant vulnerata et confestim cecidit Et seruietes dicti Armigeri in alia camera extiterunt operantes et audientes eum clamare intrauerunt et inuenerunt ipsum taliter vulneratum quod crediderunt quod statim moreretur. Et tandem ad me cucurrerunt et per dei amore me rogauerunt ut ad eum (ac^d) cum festinacione accederem. Cui quando adueni primo lauabam vulnus cum vino albo calido deinde feci tentam spissam et curtam intinctam in unguento mundificatiuo pro neruis cuius receptio (est) in Antitatorio de capitulo de mundificatiuis et in vulnere dictam tentam sic intinctam imposui et desuper tentam posui emplastrum neruale quod ab aliquibus vocatur ~~receptum~~ Gracia dei minor Et desuper emplastrum inposui plagellas de stupis intinctas in vino albo calido super vulnus et super totum ventrem et desuper illas plagellas posui alias plagellas sutas. Et tunc (totem corpus) (en^d) inuolui in uno panno lineo nouo et forti qui sic erat tam fortiter sutus sicut patiens potuit sustinere. Et desuper cum bendis ad quantitatis latitudinem unius dimidii pedis fortiter ~~et~~ ligavi a pectore totum ventrem usque ad femur et sic fecit quolibet die semel Et sic continuaui usque ad 20 dies et in qualibet remotione lauau vulnus cum vino albo calido ut*
Continued....

In this case, as in the last, the patient can be identified. Bradmore does not name him directly, but by giving the position he held in the king's household, and the year in which the incident happened, he makes an identification possible. The attempted suicide is said to have taken place in the first year of the reign of Henry IV (that is, 1399-1400), but without any indication of when in the year it happened. On Henry IV's accession in 1399 the Master of the King's Pavilions was William Wyncelowe.⁴⁰ On October 8th 1399 (nine days into the new reign) he was replaced in this office by John Drayton.⁴¹ While it cannot be stated with complete certainty which of these two men was the patient described by Bradmore, William Wyncelowe seems the more likely candidate. His removal from office on October 8th 1399 may have been merely part of a general reorganisation of the royal household following Henry IV's accession, but it could equally well be because he was no longer fit for his duties.⁴² Someone who seemed at first unlikely to survive his injuries, and whose cure took about two months, would most probably have been replaced. John Drayton, who remained Pavilioner until his death in 1408,⁴³ appears to have been fairly active during his first year in office, more so than would seem likely had he been the patient described by Bradmore here.⁴⁴ William

dictum est. Et etiam quolibet die mane potauit de potu vulneratorum dicto in Antitatore vulneratorum (capitulo) de pocionibus cum magna quantitate butiri (in omni potionem sic butirum) Insuper quolibet die dietai ipsum cum coeliare uno vel duobus ad maximum de micis panis cum seruicia et ad noctem cum 3 2 de carnibus sitoniorum. Et post (illos ins and del over line) 20 dies quando videbam ipsum (br^d) aliquantiter emendatum dietai ipsum (cum^d)parum et parum cum brodio pullarum et cum paruis pullis coctis usque ad alios 10 dies Et (postea) quando non potuit bene assellare vel quando erat ita constipatus in ventre tunc illi dedi in potagiis et in potu puluerem seni 3 ieiunio stomacho et sic infra 20 dies cum dei adiutorio perfecte curatus fuit. Et isto (modo) pro certo curavi etiam unum fruterarium in dicta ciuitate et etiam diuersos alios in diuersis locis.

⁴⁰ CPR 1391-6, p. 568.

⁴¹ CPR 1399-1401, p. 9.

⁴² It is tempting to link the attempted suicide with the change of regime, as the two events are so close in time; Bradmore assigns no motive but temptation of the devil. However, the fact that grants to Wyncelowe were confirmed by the new king would tell against his being a fanatically committed adherent of Richard II (CPR 1399-1401, p. 111, and CPR 1401-1405, p. 314).

⁴³ CPR 1408-13, p. 68, and see also his will, Guildhall Library MS 9171/2, f.145v, in which he refers to himself as Master of the King's Pavilions. I am indebted for this reference to Vivienne Aldous, archivist at the Corporation of London Record Office.

⁴⁴ For example, arranging workmen and shipment for the king's pavilions and tents: CPR 1399-1401, p.147.

Wyncelowe also survived for several more years. Various grants made to him by Richard II were confirmed by Henry IV on November 3rd 1399, and one was re-confirmed on November 19th 1403.⁴⁵ The will of a William Wynslow esquire was proved in 1416, and this may be the same man.⁴⁶ For the present purpose it is enough to know that whichever of these two men was Bradmore's patient, he survived both his injuries and Bradmore's treatment of them, and lived for several years afterwards.

The attempted suicide is very vividly recounted by Bradmore, so that the cry of the wounded man and the panic of the servants form a sharp contrast to Bradmore's calm description of his method of treatment. His first action was to wash out the wound with warm white wine, the antiseptic properties of which were mentioned above (p. 69). Incidentally, although he described the infliction of two wounds, Bradmore refers in his treatment only to one. It seems reasonable to suppose that the first wound had not been severe - perhaps no more than skin-deep - and that only the second attempt had produced a deep wound, penetrating to the back, 'so that the intestines were wounded and he immediately fell', for had this wound been first the man would presumably have been unable to make another attempt. Naturally, it would be this deep wound which would have concerned Bradmore most.

In contrast to the case copied from William of Saliceto⁴⁷ concerning a severe abdominal wound, which immediately precedes this case in Bradmore's manuscript, there is no mention of intestines protruding from the wound. This may be the reason that Bradmore makes no further mention of the wound to the intestines; either it was not severe enough to require stitching, or he was unable to assess it without enlarging the surface wound to make

⁴⁵ *CPR* 1399-1401, p. 111, and *CPR* 1401-1405, p. 314.

⁴⁶ See J. Challenor C. Smith, *Index of wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1383-1558*, 2 vols (London, 1893 & 1895), vol. II p. 594.

⁴⁷ William of Saliceto, *Cirurgia*, (Venice, 1490), book 2, chapter 15, p. 162 r&v.

an investigation, which he would presumably be unwilling to attempt. One must imagine then a deep wound without a very wide opening, with the possibility of internal damage.

Bradmore's reaction to this was similar to that in the case of the Prince of Wales' arrow-wound, that is, he clearly wished to keep the upper part of the wound open until he could be certain that the deeper levels had healed without infection. This accounts for his use in this case of 'short, thick' tents which cannot have penetrated far into the wound, but which would hold the mouth of the wound open for as long as required. These tents he dipped in a 'mundificative' (i.e. cleansing) ointment, and covered with a plaster called *Emplastrum Nervale*, or *Gracia Dei Minor*. Neither of these recipes are given by Bradmore within the text of the case, and the reference he gives for the mundificative ointment is not clear. Neither the antidotary to part 3, in which part this case appears, nor the main antidotary for the whole book, has a chapter specifically on mundificative medicines. However, such a chapter does appear in the antidotary for part 2 (which deals with apostumes and related illnesses), and contains a recipe, which may be the one used here by Bradmore, for an ointment consisting of rose honey, barley flour, olibanum and sandragon⁴⁸ boiled in water until thick.⁴⁹ No reference is given by Bradmore for the plaster used over the tents, but a recipe called *Gracia Dei Minor* appears in the antidotary for part 2, on f. 199v, and consists of betony, vervain and pimpernel⁵⁰ cooked in wine, then mixed with pitch, resin, wax, woman's milk, terebentine⁵¹ and mastic. Betony and vervain are mildly astringent⁵² and if pimpernel can be

⁴⁸ A resin from a variety of species - see Hunt, p. 228.

⁴⁹ *Mundificative for sinews and muscles*, f. 126v. For the medical properties of roses, honey, and resins, see above, pp. 68-69.

⁵⁰ See page 63, footnote 8 for identification of pimpernel.

⁵¹ See page 66, footnote 21 for identification of terebentine. For the medical properties of the various resins, see above p. 69.

⁵² See Grieve, *A Modern Herbal*, pp. 97-8 and 831-2.

identified with Greater Burnet (*sanguisorba officinalis*), this herb has, as its Latin name suggests, an antihæmorrhagic effect.⁵³

Above this plaster Bradmore placed a pad dipped in wine, followed by more pads covering the whole abdomen, and then - presumably with the intention of keeping the whole area as still as possible - wrapped a strong linen cloth around the patient's body and stitched it, then bandaged over this to keep the patient immobile from the chest to the thigh. This whole sequence of dressings he changed daily for twenty days, each time washing out the wound with wine. The patient was also given a potion to drink, which once again cannot be identified with certainty because Bradmore's reference for it is confusing. He refers to the chapter on potions in the Antidotary for the wound section, but no such chapter exists, though a general chapter on 'waters' appearing in the main Antidotary to the whole text contains a recipe for a water to drink 'for healing all wounds' (f.309v), and in the first distinction of the section on wounds chapter 8⁵⁴ is entitled 'of potions for the wounded' and contains several recipes for such potions. As several are given it is of course impossible to know which of these, if any, was the recipe used in this case by Bradmore. Most of the drinks consist of a large variety of herbs boiled in wine. The addition of butter by Bradmore may simply have been an attempt to get some easily digestible food to the patient, and indeed from this point his interest shifts from the treatment of the wound to the diet used, clearly a matter of concern in a case where even if the intestines had escaped injury themselves, the presence of an open abdominal wound meant that the patient must not in any way strain either the intestines or the muscles of the abdominal wall. At first Bradmore only allowed him to eat breadcrumbs

⁵³ See Mrs. Grieve, *A Modern Herbal*, pp. 145-6 and also R. C. Wren, *Potter's New Cyclopaedia of Botanical Drugs and Preparations*, revised by Elizabeth M. Williamson and Fred J. Evans, (Saffron Walden 1988), p. 50. Without secure identification of this herb it is hard to assess the possible effect of this recipe.

⁵⁴ See f. 131r.

soaked in ale in the morning, and at night a small amount of the flesh of quinces. The latter, an interesting choice in view of the standard medieval dietary advice to avoid fruit, may have been used with the intention of preventing bowel movement - being astringent, they were at one time used to treat diarrhoea.⁵⁵ After twenty days⁵⁶ a stronger diet was given, of chicken broth and chicken meat, for another ten days. The patient being by this stage (not surprisingly) a little constipated, was given powdered senna as a laxative. Within twenty days more the cure was complete. No further mention is made of the treatment of the wound, and one is left to assume that at the end of the first twenty days Bradmore ceased to insert tents and either stitched the surface wound or continued to bandage it until it healed naturally (the former seems more likely). The concern with diet tallies with advice given by Guy de Chauliac, quoted by Bradmore immediately after this case, that the diet in abdominal wounds should be weak, so that faeces and superfluities generally are not created, but should be sustaining. Bradmore states finally that he had used this method to cure other patients, including a fruiterer in the City of London.

In case it should be thought that the cure of the type of abdominal wound discussed here by Bradmore, and that quoted by him from William of Saliceto in which the intestines had come out through the wound, were unlikely to be successful before modern aseptic surgery, a similar case occurring in Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century may be given. A man repairing a thatched roof fell, and was caught upon a meat hook in his descent, which tore open his abdomen so that 'his intestines, covered with soot and straw, hung to his knees'. A doctor was summoned, rode home to fetch his instruments, but receiving a

⁵⁵ Mrs. Grieve, *A Modern Herbal*, pp. 665-666.

⁵⁶ It seems that the twenty days mentioned here are the first twenty days of the cure, i.e. those in which the wound was being dressed and bandaged as described above, since the patient must have been given food in this time. Mistakenly reading this as twenty further days after that treatment, and the misreading of another number, led me to extend by 30 days the length of time taken for this cure in the brief mention I made of it in my paper: see Lang, p. 124.

message that the man had died, did not return to treat him. The following day he found that the man was not dead, and indeed appeared to be recovering: after the doctor's departure a local labourer had washed the intestines clean in soapy water in a large milk pan, and stitched the wound 'with an uninterrupted suture of twine, by means of a large packing needle', reinserting the intestines as he worked. The doctor merely added a pad and a bandage. The patient 'never complained of more than soreness', and survived the wound, dying three years later of bronchitis at the age of 73.⁵⁷ With the existence of this more recent recorded case of a patient surviving severe abdominal injury with only very basic treatment, it need not be assumed that medieval surgeons were necessarily exaggerating the extent of the patient's injuries in order to increase their own prestige.

In his descriptions of the treatment of the Prince of Wales and of the king's Pavilioneer, Bradmore fulfilled several of the purposes suggested at the start of this chapter for the inclusion of such stories. He displayed the high status of his patients; he demonstrated his own skill in treating cases which seemed impossible to cure (or which had even been attempted without success by others), he followed the example of a case-history given in his sources, and demonstrated a new instrument devised by himself. In both these cases his skill was rewarded by a successful cure. The case now following also demonstrates a principle suggested by Nancy Siraisi, that of claiming 'only the more or less successful outcomes for himself, referring the total failure of treatment to an un-named colleague...'⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Quoted by Robert C. Cummins in an address entitled 'Some Selections from the *Transactions of the Cork Medical Society, 1854-63*', delivered to the Cork Clinical Society in the late 1930s. The story appears to have been extracted by Cummins from *Transactions of the Cork Medical Society, 1857*.

⁵⁸ Siraisi, p.173.

The Death of a Man⁵⁹

But among all bites the bite of a man is the most perilous. Because if a man bites another fasting or with an empty stomach, unless by the grace and help of God death will come through that bite, especially if it were the bite of a mad or rabid man, or of a melancholic man. For as I have seen in my time one man bite another in the thumb, through which bite the whole hand became apostumed and the whole arm swelled up to the body, and within ten days he was dead; notwithstanding that all the masters and best surgeons of the City of London laboured over him and practiced their carefulness on him. And furthermore I have seen others dead withⁱⁿ five days from a human bite....⁶⁰

The unfortunate patient appears to have died of septicaemia. No details of the treatment are given - Bradmore clearly feels that there is no point in detailing a treatment that has failed - but in case the reader should assume that an ignorant practitioner alone had undertaken the cure, which would account for the failure, or worse still that the failure was due to Bradmore himself, we are assured that the man was in good hands - 'all the masters and the best surgeons of the City of London' took care of him. Bradmore's presence among these is implied.

An early modern instance of death from a human bite is given in the diary of Ralph Josselin, where he records on 18th June 1657 'Heard of Mr. Whitings death minister of Lexden, who putting his finger into a mans mouth whose throat was ill with a squinsey, and

⁵⁹ Sloane 2272, f.152v.

⁶⁰ ...sed inter omnes morsuras morsus hominis est maxime periculosus. Quia si unus homo momordeat, alium ieiunus (si^d) vel ieiuno stomacho nisi per gratiam et auxilium dei accidit mors pro illo morsu maxime (su^d) si fuerit morsus de homine demente vel rapido vel de homine malencolico. Quia ut vidi meo tempore unum hominem momordor' alium per pollicem per quemquidem morsum totus manus apostemaui et tumorauit totum brachium usque ad corpus et infra 10 dies moriebatur. nonobstante quod omnes magistri et optimi chirurgici Ciuitatis londonii circa eum laborabant et diligentiam eorum ad eum faciebant Et etiam aliquos vidi infra 5 dies mortuos ex morsu hominis.....

non compos mentis, he bitt it vehemently on which it gangrened, and kild him about 8 days after'.⁶¹ The human bite is still considered difficult to treat.

Both this case and the next to be considered are a salutary reminder that in spite of the stress which has sometimes been laid by medical historians on battlefield experience as a factor of major importance in the development of surgical techniques, the wounds treated by surgeons were not only those inflicted in battle. Untimely death could result not only from such spectacular causes as war and plague but from relatively minor and everyday accidents.

A London carpenter, careless with his chisel⁶²

[*Marginal note* : secret and *tested* medicine] Moreover truly when you see from the signs aforesaid that blood is flowing excessively from a vein or an artery then you ought to operate in the following way. First, make knots of strong linen cloth according to the size of the wound such that they are hard round knots in the form of a button. And then wisely and discreetly consider where the cut vein or artery lies and above it put the Red Powder aforesaid, and then above the head of the vein or artery put the aforesaid nodes similarly, and then above these nodes put a strong strictory, and then bandage strongly with strong bandages so that the nodes press hard and constrain the vein or artery so strongly that nothing may go out from that place. This medicine I have often proved and it is one of my secrets. But when in any way it happens that a principal vein is cut so that it opens and a furious flux of blood comes out, in which case the aforesaid medicine is not able to restrain it, then take my secret corrosive powder, whose recipe you will find in the chapter of powders,

⁶¹ *The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616-1683*, ed. Alan MacFarlane (London, 1976), p.402.

⁶² Sloane 2272, f.157r.

and of this powder sprinkle a little over, which so violently dries the vein that it holds back and keeps off all furious flux of blood in the place through the arrival of sudden (sharpness?) through its burning. And this powder I have in my time often proved and have never been deceived with it. [*Marginal note* : an example of my own]. And for the greater proof and demonstration I will lay before you an example which I myself proved at the time of compiling the present *Philomena*. A certain carpenter in the city of London struck himself in the arm with an instrument called a chisel, and cut the principal vein, and suddenly a flux of blood so vehemently came out that all who were near and saw it declared that he would die before I came to him. And when I came to him I first restrained the furious flux of blood with the medicine of knots aforesaid. But on the third day before I touched my aforesaid medicine to change it then by itself the flux of blood came out again as violently as before. And then I burned the vein with a hot iron as I approved and learned by the authority of divers authors. Notwithstanding this burning within the second day the blood came out again for the third time. And then when I saw that through no means was I able to restrain the flux of blood then above the vein I put my secret corrosive powder and thus with this powder at length I restrained the furious flux of blood. This powder certainly restrains the flux of blood miraculously and also corrodes veins, cankers, fistulas, pustules, and verrucas, and also all superfluities in the flesh. But beware that with this powder you do not operate if through any other way you are able to set it right. For this powder is so furious and harsh that it is most oppressive to the patient, and thus do not operate with it unless in peril of death or in great necessity....⁶³

⁶³ *Preterea vero cum videris per signa superius dicta quod sanguis a vena vel arteria nimis fluat tunc tali modo operare te oportet. [medicina secreta et experta in margin] In primis facies nodos de forti panno lineo secundum quantitatem vulneris ita quod sint nodi duri et rotundi secundum formam unius botoni. Et tunc sapienter et discrete considera ubi vena vel arteria incisa iacuerit et super appone pulverem rubrum predictam et tunc super caput vene vel arterie predictos nodos similiter*
Continued....

This extract begins with the description of a technique which Bradmore calls 'one of my secrets', goes on to give a recipe which is also claimed as 'my secret', and then follows these with the description of a case in which both were used. The case itself is clearly identified as one from Bradmore's own experience, both by the marginal note 'an example of my own' and the description of it as taking place 'at the time of compiling the present *Philomena*'. The attribution of the recipe and technique for treatment seem likely, from their connection with the case, to be as clear, but consideration of the rest of the *Philomena* leads one to treat the statement 'one of my secrets' with some caution. It seems to be a phrase which, unusually for him, Bradmore lifts from his sources without a qualm - see for example f.48r, 'and this is for certain one of my secrets',⁶⁴ taken from Mirfield's *Breviarium Bartholomei*, and f.32v 'and this is of my secrets'⁶⁵ also from Mirfield. Even finding two or three instances

appone et tunc super illos nodos appone strictorium forte et tunc fortiter liga cum forti ligamento ita quod nodi illi tam fortiter oppressent et constringant venam vel arteriam quod sanguis nullo modo habeat exitum per locum illum. Istam medicinam sepe probavi et est una(m) de meis secretis. ¶ Sed tum in aliquibus quando accidit quod principalis vena inciditur vel aperitur et fluxus sanguinis furiosus emanaverit In quo casu medicina predicta non potest restringere tunc accipe de meo secreto pulvere corrosivo cuius receptionem invenies in capitulo de pulveribus et parum de illo pulvere desuper asperge quam tam violenter adurit venam illam quod omnes furiositates fluxus sanguinis in loco illo prohibet et defendit per askaram subito superuenientem per arsuram illam. Et istum pulverem meo tempore sepe probavi et numquam cum illo fui deceptus. Et ad maiorem evidenciam et probacionem ponam tibi unum exemplum quod egomet probavi tempore compilationis presentis philomene. [Exemplum meum proprium in margin] ¶ Quidam carpentarius in Ciuitate londoni se ipsum percussit in brachio cum uno instrumento vocato cheselle et venam principalem inscidit et fluxus sanguinis subito tam vehementer emanuit quod omnes astantes et ipsum videntes iudicauerunt ipsum mortuum antequam ad ipsum adueni. Et quum ad eum accedebam primo cum medicina de nodis predicta fluxum sanguinis furiosum restrinxi Sed ad tertium diem antequam tetigi (medicinam vel ante^d) medicinam meam predictam ad remutandum tunc per se ipsum iterum fluxus sanguinis (tam) violenter emanauit sicut et ante Et tunc s^r (?) cum ferro ignito venam illam comburi sicut per auctoritatem diuersorum auctorum approbavi et didici Nonobstante illa combustione infra secundum diem tertio iterum sanguis emanauit. Et tunc cum vidi quod per viam nullam potui fluxum sanguinis restringere tunc super venam illam apposui de meo secreto pulvere corrosivo et (tunc^d) sic cum illo pulvere tandem illum fluxum furiosum sanguinis restrinxi. Puluis iste pro certo mirabiliter fluxum sanguinis restringit et etiam corrodit venas cancras fistulas pustulas et verucas et etiam omnes superfluites in carne. Sed caueas quod cum pulvere isto non operare si per aliquam aliam viam expedire poteris quum puluis iste est tante furiositatis et grauedinis quod multum aggrauabit patientem et ideo cum illo noli operare nisi (in) periculo mortis vel in magna neccessitate.....

⁶⁴ istud (est) pro certo de meis secretis.

⁶⁵ et istud est de meis secretissimis.

where this statement is lifted directly from a source makes attribution of any such statement to Bradmore problematic.⁶⁶ On one occasion Bradmore copies from Mirfield the following statement, on f.99v: 'here follows a secret of Chaddesden for scabies.....and it is also one of my secrets...'.⁶⁷ If one thinks of 'secrets' here as possibly implying 'speciality' rather than 'totally secret invention', then this sort of statement makes rather better sense. There is no way of knowing with certainty which, if any, of the recipes and treatments marked 'of my secrets' are in any way original to Bradmore. In the instance given in the passage above the most that can be said is that it does not seem to derive from either John Mirfield or Guy de Chauliac, the sources for the rest of the chapter in which it appears, and that Bradmore's decision to illustrate the techniques with a case-history may be an indication that he felt they were not in the usual repertoire of other surgeons.

The method suggested by Bradmore here is to apply 'red powder' to the cut vein or artery, and to cover it with a bandage which will press a knot of linen tightly over the vessel. The pressure thus applied would act more strongly and more reliably than the pressure of fingers over the vessel advocated elsewhere in the chapter. The identification of the 'red powder' is problematic, for once again, as in the last case described, Bradmore does not give the recipe within the text, and has failed to provide a clear indication of which red powder he has in mind. In spite of his reference to 'the *aforesaid* red powder', there is no recipe in the rest of the chapter with this name. Two recipes are given for red powder in the antidotary to this part of the *Philomena*, both in the section beginning on f.191v dealing with medicines to restrain blood. The only ingredients these two recipes have in common are bole armoniac and sandragon, both of which would colour the resulting powder red and so give rise to the

⁶⁶ It is for this reason that the numerous recipes marked 'of my secrets' have not been included in this discussion of the passages in the text which are original to Bradmore.

⁶⁷ *Item sequitur de uno secreto Chaddesdene pro scabie et est etiam de meis secretis.*

name.⁶⁸ In his reference to 'the aforesaid red powder' it is possible that Bradmore had in mind one of the recipes he had mentioned earlier in the chapter in which the case is given, which contain these ingredients, but which he had failed to distinguish with a name; for example, that on f.156r derived from Avicenna (via Guy de Chauliac), or that on f.156v derived from Lanfranc of Milan (via John Mirfield), both of which contain bole armoniac and sandragon. Lanfranc's recipe is given greater prominence, being followed by a descriptive case history,⁶⁹ but which, if either of these, Bradmore recommended for use with his special pressure bandage, is impossible to tell.

Should this combination of medicine and pressure bandage fail to work, Bradmore suggests use of a corrosive powder to close the vein. Once again, although recipes for corrosive powders are given in the earlier part of the chapter, as well as in the relevant section of the Antidotary, it is not clear which if any of these Bradmore had in mind. He refers to the powder as his own secret recipe, and says that the recipe is to be found in the chapter on powders. The antidotary to this section of the Philomena, however, does not contain a chapter on powders, though it does contain a chapter on corrosive medicines, of which some are in powder form. Though there is a chapter on powders in Part 6, the main antidotary for the whole text, it does not appear to contain a corrosive powder of this description. Bradmore clearly intended to include such a recipe in one or the other of these chapters, but apparently failed to do so - or at least, by the time of compiling his antidotary, failed to remember that the powder concerned should be specially marked as the one described in this case.

⁶⁸ The application of a specifically red powder to the haemorrhage may be employing the principles of sympathy - the curing of like with like - in applying the red coloured powder to the red blood; but compare the recommendation on f.155v (based on Guy de Chauliac) that all red things should be removed from the vicinity of the patient with haemorrhage (presumably here lest the sight of red should by sympathy cause the red blood to flow).

⁶⁹ See f.156v.

Having given his favoured method of treatment, Bradmore proceeds 'for the greater proof and demonstration' of it to describe its use in a case of his own. This, in contrast to the description of the method, is very clearly labelled as Bradmore's own experience, both by the marginal note 'an example of my own' and by the statement in the text that it occurred 'at the time of compiling the present *Philomena*'.

Bradmore's patient, a carpenter, cut himself in the arm with a chisel, causing a haemorrhage so severe that it was thought he must die before the surgeon could reach him. When Bradmore arrived he first used the pressure bandage with knots described above, leaving it in place for three days. The removal of such bandages, or of the scabs caused by medicines, or the pads placed over the wound, was considered a dangerous moment, for unless carefully done it could cause the haemorrhage to break out again. For this reason, whatever had been used to stop the bleeding would be left in place for some days and then usually moistened before being gently removed, as described by Lanfranc in the case history quoted by Bradmore shortly before the passage given here.⁷⁰ Presumably it is to make clear the dangerous nature of this particular wound that Bradmore stresses that it was after three days had passed, but before he had attempted the removal of the bandage, that the bleeding broke out again. Faced with this he resorted to the more delicate and painful procedure of closing the end of the vein by cautery 'as I approved and learned by the authority of divers authors', in spite of which the bleeding broke out again on the second day following. Bradmore then used his own 'secret corrosive powder' to burn the vein, and thus cured the man. This powder Bradmore clearly regarded as his last resort, 'when I saw that through no means was it possible to restrain the flux of blood'. His reason for this reluctance was that in spite of its many virtues this powder should not be used 'unless in peril of death' because it is

⁷⁰ For Lanfranc's case, see f. 156v.

too painful for the patient, 'so furious and harsh that it is most oppressive....'. This is the first mention of pain made by Bradmore in any of his case histories, and it seems to be made for two reasons; the first being simply to warn other practitioners of the nature of the medicine, and the second presumably to counter the obvious point that if this medicine really is infallible he could have used it in the first place and saved all the later problems. His aim in this course of treatment was clearly to spare any unnecessary pain, progressing as it does from the basic pressure bandage which was presumably merely uncomfortable, through cautery, to the acutely painful corrosive powder.⁷¹

Another point of interest in Bradmore's treatment of this patient is its simplicity in comparison with some of the other methods of restraining bleeding given by him in the chapter in which the case appears. There are in this chapter, for example, more than half-a-dozen physical techniques for stopping bleeding, ranging from simply pressing pads on with a finger through to complex procedures such as hooking up the cut vessel and sewing it closed. There are also over twenty different recipes for preparations to restrain blood, and some of the medicines are described in the text as infallible, proven cures. Why, if these cures were indeed considered infallible, does Bradmore not use them? Why, if he does not use them (and from his statement that he has often used and proved the worth of his pressure bandage and corrosive powder it appears that these were the treatments he regularly used in such cases) does he give these other treatments at all - perhaps in deference to the authorities he is quoting?⁷² A discrepancy between the treatments

⁷¹ An interesting discussion on the question of whether medieval (and other pre-modern) people were less sensitive to pain than people today is given in Daniel de Moulin, 'A Historical-Phenomenological Study of Bodily Pain in Western Man', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 48 (1974), 540-570.

⁷² In a discussion of William of Saliceto's work, Nancy Siraisi remarks that 'despite Guglielmo's strong and genuinely impressive insistence on the need to subject traditional surgical doctrine to the test of experience, he and his readers probably assumed that, except in a very few specific instances, such doctrines would successfully pass this test, even when no actual trial had been performed within the scope of their personal knowledge.' Nancy Siraisi, 'How to write a Latin book Continued....

recommended in a text and the treatments actually used by its author was noted by Michael McVaugh in his study of the *experimenta* of the thirteenth century Montpellier physician, Arnald of Villanova. He found that although Arnald recommended a wide range of medicines in his other works, in these *experimenta*, cases drawn from his everyday practice, Arnald used only a much more limited number of medicines. Moreover, the courses of treatment described in the *experimenta* were not those which Arnald recommended for similar conditions in his more formal works.⁷³ McVaugh considers that Arnald may have 'actually practiced two medicines; one learned and formal, carefully prepared and polished for circulation among his professional colleagues, and one empirical, or, in Arnald's own sense, 'experimental', practiced as a matter of routine when scholarly learning was not required'.⁷⁴ It would be hard to be certain that this was true of Bradmore's work on the basis of the few cases he gives, but the same tendency towards simplicity does appear to be present in this case at least.

This case is the last description in Bradmore's text of a patient he himself treated. There is one further description of a method of treatment, however, which may be tentatively assigned to Bradmore. This appears in the chapter 'Of superfluous flesh in the eye or in the eyelids', part 5, distinction 2, chapter 19.

on surgery', pp. 106-107. This could provide another motive for the inclusion of cases based on personal experience within surgical texts: to indicate, by examples tried and tested by the author, a suitable alternative method in cases where the methods recommended by authorities are found to be lacking.

⁷³ See Michael McVaugh, 'The *Experimenta* of Arnald of Villanova', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 1 (1972) 107-118, on pp.109-110.

⁷⁴ McVaugh, 'The *Experimenta* of Arnald of Villanova', p. 111.

To remove superfluous flesh from the eyelids ⁷⁵

Item, another manual treatment tested by me myself. Take of a slender tree such as is in the wayside, of Whityntree (Hawthorn?) or of *corusa*, that is, hazel tree, and draw the fleshiness with a hand from the eye and the aforesaid fine wood is put between the fleshiness and the eye and let another assistant hold the wood firmly to the eye so strongly that ^{it} will not be possible for anything to enter in the eye, because of the nobility of the member, which if any of the medicine entered it would destroy the eye; and with a small spatula of wood anoint the fleshiness with the corrosive given below. And when you see that this fleshiness is dead and black then with a brush such as painters paint with, made of hogshair, dipped in white wine, let the fleshiness be washed so that the blackness and deadness and the corrosive are totally and well washed before removing the aforesaid wood, because of the destruction of the eye, and then let it be dried. And when you are secure that none of the corrosive remains then remove the wood. And plaster with white plaster made in the form of a crescent, and put above the eyelid and the fleshiness, you have taken away, and bandage the plaster well and finely, and it will be well in a short time. ¶ The corrosive medicine truly thus: take black soap, new quicklime, of each the same, mix with the corrosive water said above in part 3 distinction 7 chapter 7, of corrosive medicines, and then make into an ointment. For indeed I have tried this medicine, and before this time it was never written in any book, and is of my secrets.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Sloane 2272, f.247r.

⁷⁶ *Item alia medicina manualis per me ipsum experimenta. Accipe unum lignum tenuem tale sicut est in vagiam de Whityntree vel de curusa quod heseltree et trahe carnositatem cum manu ab oculo et ponitur dictum lignum tenue inter carnositatem (et oculum) et firmiter alius minister teneat lignum ad oculum tam fortiter quod nichil poterit intrare in oculum propter nobilitatem membri quod si aliquid (de medicina) intret inficeret oculum et cum parua spatula lignea ungetur carnositas cum corrosiuo (dicenei) Et cum videris quod illa carnositas sicut mortua et nigra tunc cum pensello tali quod pinctores pingunt factum de pile porcorum intinctum vino albo abluatur carnositas sicut nigra et morficata et corrosiuo totaliter et bene abluatur antequam lignum predictum remoueat propter mortificationem oculi (et tunc desiccetur) Et cum fueris securis quod nichil de corrosiuo ibi remanserit tunc remoueat lignum Et emplastretur cum emplastro albo facto ad modum lune et positum super palpebram et quam accepisti carnositatem et ligetur bene et subtiliter emplastrum et sanabitur infra breue. ¶ Medicina vero corrosiuo sic Recipe saponis nigri calcis viue noue ana misceantur cum aqua corrosiuo dicta (inferius^d) superius parte 3^a distinctione 7^m ca^o 7^o de medicinis*
Continued...

The problem of assigning those recipes and methods designated 'of my secrets' to Bradmore with any confidence has already been discussed on pp.82-83 above. One could consider the reference here to a recipe appearing 'below', deleted and corrected to 'above', to be an error of copying, noticed and corrected in time by Bradmore, but it could equally well be that he realised while writing that he had already given the recipe in question and would not, therefore, need to give it again in the general antidotary which followed in part 6. That this passage may be original to Bradmore is suggested by the fact that the rest of the chapter in which it appears is wholly copied from Mirfield⁷⁷, but this method of treatment does not appear in Mirfield's text. The presence of English names for the trees mentioned suggests an English origin - Bradmore does not generally insert anglicisations into the recipes he takes from Latin sources, and indeed most of his English words are copied directly from Mirfield. As has been seen above, however, he does occasionally insert an English word into his own case histories. On balance, these indications, together with the very strong assurance in the text that the treatment 'before this time was never written in any book...' may tip the decision in favour of Bradmore as deviser of the method. It is not clear whether Bradmore is claiming as his own invention the recipe for the corrosive alone, or the whole method, including the use of fine wood to protect the eye, though the latter seems more likely.

The procedure described relies on the absolute steadiness of hand of both the surgeon applying the corrosive mixture and his assistant who holds the protective shield of wood against the eye.⁷⁸ In contrast to the case of haemorrhage discussed above, there is no

corrosiuis donec fiat qualiter unguentum Istud enim medicamen expertus sum et ante istud tempus numquam in aliquo libro scribebatur et est de meis secretis.

⁷⁷ *Breviarium Bartholomei* part 3, distinction 3, chapter 20.

⁷⁸ This is the first time in any of his cases that Bradmore mentions an assistant. The presence of another assistant to hold the patient's head still can be assumed in this case, where it would be necessary as a further precaution against injury to the eye, and probably also in that of the Prince of Wales (see above, pp. 71-73).

mention of pain caused by the use of the corrosive, and yet it must have been a fairly strong mixture, apparently acting quickly to remove the flesh without the need of any further application. A great deal of stress is laid on the need to ensure that all the corrosive is washed away before the protective shield of wood is finally removed. The exact shape and size of the wooden shield is not described, nor is any advice given as to how it should be made, beyond the suggestion of the two suitable woods. Perhaps its nature seemed obvious to Bradmore, or possibly he felt it was too difficult to describe in writing rather than demonstrate practically. The other unusual, or at any rate non-surgical, instrument used in this treatment, the brush for washing away the corrosive medicine, is not actually described by Bradmore, but its nature is made plain: 'a brush such as painters paint with, made of hogshair...'.

After this, there are no further passages in the manuscript which can be considered personal to Bradmore. In spite of the fact that there are so few of these personal passages in Bradmore's work, they cover a wide range of his experience. We know from the cases he describes that he treated both men and women, and that his patients came from a wide social range; from the anonymous, 'a woman with scrofula', 'a man bitten on the thumb', and the tradesmen, 'a carpenter', 'a fruiterer of the city of London', through to the highest in the land, a member of the Royal Household and the Prince of Wales himself. We know that Bradmore operated in London, but that he could also be called away to attend an important patient elsewhere, as when he treated the Prince of Wales in Kenilworth. Some of the accounts Bradmore gives are fairly brief, but others provide vivid, detailed, blow by blow accounts of the treatment used, and one can see Bradmore trying to add to the clarity of the

description by inserting more detail as he works,⁷⁹ almost as if he is re-living the experience as he writes. That his reason for including these cases is chiefly to illustrate new and successful techniques he has developed, rather than for his own personal glory, is indicated by the inclusion of just one example of his successful treatment of an abdominal wound, after which he states (in order to show that this one success was not a fluke) that he has used the method on other patients, but he does not promote himself by giving any of these other cases in detail.⁸⁰ Whether they were included to illustrate the virtues of a particular medicine, or to display a new instrument or technique,⁸¹ or to show his successes in difficult cases, the cases included by Bradmore were obviously considered by him to be worthwhile and of importance.⁸² Most importantly, these cases show us Bradmore's own practice, the treatments he actually used, which he includes with confident regard to their efficiency and practicality.⁸³ In these cases we see surgery as it was actually practiced in London in the opening years of the fifteenth century.

⁷⁹ For example in the treatment of the King's Pavilioner, where several insertions are made above the line in order to give extra information or to clarify what has been said: see p. 71 above.

⁸⁰ It is, however, noticeable that he chooses to give a detailed account of the patient of the highest social standing.

⁸¹ It is noticeable that the more detailed cases are those which deal with new instruments or successful techniques, rather than that which deals with the virtues of a particular medicine (see pp. 62-65 above).

⁸² In the discussion of these cases I hope I have been able to counteract the disparaging and negative attitude to the medical treatments offered which is shown by some modern writers on medieval medicine.

⁸³ In discussing the writings of two very different medical men, the fifteenth century English rural practitioner Thomas Fayreford and the late fifteenth century English royal physician John Argentine (for whom see Talbot & Hammond pp. 134-6), Peter Murray Jones points out that 'the doctrinal writings on medicine of earlier authorities were to be treated as quarries of practical information, and remedies recommended by word of mouth, or tested by personal experience, were to be given equal value with them, to be written down in their turn for the use of future generations of practitioner'. Peter Murray Jones, 'Information and Science', in *Fifteenth Century Attitudes: perceptions of society in late Medieval England*, ed. Rosemary Horrox (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 97-111, on p. 108.

Harley 1736, f.6r. This shows the prologue, placed between the table of chapters and the opening of the surgical treatise based on Bradmore's Latin text. It is written in the main hand of this manuscript, and is typical of the appearance of the manuscript as a whole.

I praye as betwixt Whete, & Darnell wholl
y^e erbes be given and selves not shap
of y^e erbe, tha y^e ther so ovet lybnes i y^e erbe
that y^e Darnell fro y^e whete may not be
dyssempd. but wha y^e erbe of whet spewty.
we may y^e Darnell apply be knowe be duff
ingua well y^e knowe fro y^e whet thate for
same man of wyse as longe as falsed and
y^e color of tuelty y^e hys y^e may may not
be dyssempd ther fro. And for that now
admo i surgery y^e Darnell of arvor. in y^e
whete of tuelty evolve to adde among
sill symple lett y^e me. in be forty y^e of a
pempion i dms. & y^e malyse bol y^e and for
the ovet lybnes y^e y^e be thyn y^e given
Whete & y^e Darnell be for y^e heynge
dyssempion may not be ovyer between the
so longe as ther be hys vnder y^e color of
prouance. but wha y^e erbe of tuelty y^e
knowe. tha may y^e Darnell of arvor
be applyd ovt be y^e vote and casto dway
therfor y^e y^e Darnell of surgery may be
dond away y^e y^e neednt y^e y^e erbe of
y^e whet of tuelty may be mad applyd be
y^e knowe of y^e pnyppyll of the craft
of surgery. wherfor to y^e worschappe of all
myghty ovr and his glawed mod y^e pnynt
may and all halowe & to y^e spete of all
cuyte pnynt. and naty of fendyars of
practys and surgery y^e hand copyd & mad
thys boke in y^e y^e of ow lorde. &
pl. G. in y^e wyse y^e have set y^e pnyppyll

Chapter Five

The Middle English Version of Bradmore's *Philomena*

Introduction

In the case of the Latin text of Bradmore's treatise, we are fortunate enough to possess the text in the form and order in which it was originally composed. This is not the case with the Middle English version of Bradmore's text, as will be seen in the manuscript description below. The Middle English text consists of versions of Bradmore's sections on Anatomy, Wounds, and Apostumes, with a small antidotary. Bound later in the manuscript is a drastically reduced version of Bradmore's section on Ulcers. Thus, we have no Middle English version of part four of Bradmore's text, which covers fractures and dislocations, nor of part five, dealing with other diseases which may be treated by a surgeon, arranged in head-to-toe order. A wide range of problems are included in Bradmore's part five, ranging from headache, various eye and ear diseases, toothache, kidney and bladder stones, and some types of tumour, through to skin diseases, baldness, bones stuck in the throat, castration, and worms. Details of cautery and phlebotomy are also given in this section.¹ None of these appear in the Middle English version. The antidotary of the Middle English text is not apparently based on Bradmore's main antidotary, and the Middle English text does not include a recapitulation such as Bradmore's. In other words, what we have in the Middle English text is derived only from parts one to three of Bradmore's work. Whether this is due to an incomplete translation in the first instance or to the later loss of material from the Middle English text can only be a matter for speculation. However, as will be seen in the manuscript description below, it appears from the medieval pagination that the Middle English manuscript was once

¹ For a table of contents of Bradmore's text, see Appendix 1.

bound in a different order, and pages may have been lost from it at some point before it was gathered in the form in which it exists today.

Because of the relationship of the Middle English text to Bradmore's original Latin, it is easy for us to see what the author of the Middle English version has done to alter and adapt the treatise, and therefore it is possible to make some assessment of his reasons for altering it. Bradmore's purposes in selecting and arranging his source material when compiling his treatise are more elusive. His own statement on f.347² that his recapitulation was included in order that readers might find his compilation 'easier to use, and more simply find the necessary remedies' suggests an educational purpose. His aim may have been the gathering together of his knowledge, whether derived from respected written authorities or from his own experience, and possibly intended for the benefit of his own apprentices.

Harley 1736: Full Manuscript Description

Harley 1736 is a quarto manuscript of 248 folios. It is of paper,³ bearing throughout one watermark of a hand and star, which is closely related to examples in Briquet dating mainly from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.⁴ The manuscript contains **a)** a table of contents for the first treatise on surgery and part of the second, written in Middle English, on ff.2r-5v: **b)** a Middle English treatise on surgery, ff.6r-167r, compiled according to its preface (f.6) in 1446: **c)** a Middle English treatise on surgery attributed in the manuscript to Master Doctor Rede (ff.167r-186v)⁵: **d)** a Middle English

² Quoted in full on p.36 above.

³ The paper varies in length from 202-209 mm and in width from 143-151mm.

⁴ Briquet, *Les Filigranes*. See for example numbers 11153 (1475), 10792 (1530), 10798 (1550).

⁵ Master Doctor Rede may possibly be identified with Thomas Rede, c. 1430-1504, a medical practitioner who was admitted a fellow of Peterhouse in 1451 (see Talbot & Hammond, pp. 353-354). If the prologue dated 1446 on f. 6r of Harley 1736 is taken to be the prologue to the entire manuscript, this identification would not be acceptable due to the incompatibility of the dates. However, if it is merely the prologue to the treatise on surgery, based on continued...

treatise on the preparation of medicines attributed in the manuscript to Master Rede (ff.190r-195v)⁶: **e**) part of a Middle English treatise on ulcers (ff.196r-212v): **f**) medical recipes in Latin and Middle English, possibly from the works of John of Arderne (ff.224r-225v): **g**) medical recipes in Latin attributed to a Master Fyncham (*de libro Magistri Fyncham*) (ff.227r-229r): **h**) a medical/astrological treatise in Middle English 'the boke of ypocras...to know be planetes both lyffe and deth' (ff.232r-237v): and **i**) miscellaneous recipes and astrological information in Latin and Middle English (ff. 238-248).

Foliation

The manuscript is given a modern foliation on the top right margin recto, but there is also medieval foliation, in red ink, in the same position, beginning with 1 (at modern 6) and running to 186 (at modern 189), with occasional omission of numbers (for example no.88 is lacking though there is no break in the text). This foliation appears to be in the main hand, and agrees with the references given in the table of contents, so was probably supplied by the original scribe. The older foliation resumes with 89 at modern 196, running to 105 on modern f. 211, then it is taken up by a different hand, using black ink, and runs to 121 (a number which is duplicated on modern ff.226 and 227), again with some omission of numbers. These separate sequences of mediaeval numbering may indicate that the manuscript was originally intended to be bound as two volumes, and possibly also that parts of it are now missing, or were intended to be bound in a different order. The manuscript was rebound in 1968, and no record of the previous binding is available from the British Library. Ruling is visible on the blank (unnumbered) folio between ff. 195 and 196.

Bradmore's work, which immediately follows it, then the identification may stand. For the dating and origin of the prologue see p. 26 footnote 22, and p. 96 footnote 13.

⁶ If the identification of Master Rede with Thomas Rede is correct, it is interesting to note that he borrowed from Peterhouse a manuscript containing the *Antidotarium Nicolai* with gloss by John of St. Amand, and Mesue *De Simplicibus medicinis*. His interest was clearly long term, as he was allowed the use of the manuscript until his death in 1504 (see Talbot & Hammond, p. 354).

Hands

Hand A, the main hand, appears to date from the second half of the fifteenth century.⁷

This hand is responsible for ff. 2r-186v, 190r-225v, 227r-229r, 232r-237v, 244v-246r. The inscriptions on f. 2 'liber...Ricardus Tryanoll' (deleted), f. 38r 'Ricardus Tryanoll', and f. 184v 'Richardus Tryanoll', appear to be in this hand.

Hands B to G are similar in character, and occasionally difficult to distinguish from one another. They appear to date from the late fifteenth or the sixteenth century.⁸

Hand B is responsible for the recipes on ff. 188v-189r, 226r&v, 230r, 238v-239r, 246r-247r, and marginal additions throughout the manuscript.

Hand C is responsible for recipes on ff. 231r, 239v-244r, 247r, 248r, and marginal additions throughout the manuscript. This hand is identifiable with that of a deleted ownership inscription on f. 230r ('*liber Ricardus Falre ... colegio Regali Cantabrigie*'^d)

Hand D is responsible for the recipes on ff. 187r-188v and 246r.

Hand E is responsible for recipes on f. 1r&v.

Hand F is responsible for the inscription on f. iv '*Iste liber pertinet ad Thomam Coll*'.

Hand G is responsible for the notes on ff. 230v and 238r.

Hand H, apparently dating from the seventeenth or early eighteenth century,⁹ adds 'Mesue Englished' to the top of f. 6r.

Hand I, apparently dating from the eighteenth century,¹⁰ adds *Mesue Opera MS.* to f. 1r.

Unfortunately it has not proved possible to identify any of the people named in the ownership inscriptions.

⁷ In comparison with Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, plate 3 (ii).

⁸ In comparison with *ibid.*, plate 13 (ii) and Grieve, *More Examples of English Handwriting*, plates 3 and 4.

⁹ In comparison with Grieve, *More Examples of English Handwriting*, plates 14-16

¹⁰ See for comparison *ibid.*, plate 16.

Contents (following modern foliation)¹¹

f.i is a vellum page from the old binding, which contains the inscription '*Iste liber pertinet ad Thomam Coll*'.¹²

f.ii (singleton) is a small printed picture of the Annunciation.

f.1 (singleton) contains several medical recipes (in Hand B).

ff.2r-5v (gathering 1) contain a table of contents for the whole of the first work, an anonymous Middle English treatise on surgery (ff.6r-167r), and the first part of the next, another Middle English treatise on surgery (ff.167-184), attributed in the manuscript to Master Doctor Rede (of this, the table covers the contents of ff.167r-174r, inaccurately). As the gathering is of four, not eight as is usual in this manuscript, it is possible that the end of the table of contents is missing, though if so, what would have been on the corresponding leaves at the beginning of the gathering is difficult to surmise.¹³ The table of contents is written in a mixture of Latin and Middle English, in Hand A, and contains some rubrication of folio numbers and important headings.

F.6r (gathering 2) contains a prologue in Middle English, in Hand A, giving the compiler's reasons for setting out on the following work, and the date of the compilation '*...I haue compylyd and made this boke In the yer of owr lord M CCCC and xl vj*'. Whether this prologue refers to the entire manuscript as written by Hand A, or is that scribe's copy of

¹¹ Collation of gatherings is as follows: 14, 2-24⁸, 25⁸ (lacks one), 26-29⁸, 30⁴, 31⁸, 32⁶, 33⁴

¹² The contraction mark on the name Coll' is not clear. It has been read by Faye Getz (Getz, p. 278) as 'Colb'. If, however, the contraction were to read Coll' as I suggest, a possible identification may be made with Thomas Collard, surgeon in London 1475-1481, for whom see Talbot & Hammond, p. 337.

¹³ It is possible that there was a prologue to the whole compilation, if the prologue on f. 6r is assumed to be merely the prologue to the surgical treatise immediately following. If this were the case it would strengthen the possibility mentioned above on p. 26 footnote 22 that the prologue on f. 6r is indeed a translation of John Bradmore's prologue to his own text, since lost.

the prologue to the treatise on surgery immediately following, is not absolutely clear, but the latter seems more probable.¹⁴

Ff.6v-167r (gatherings 2-22) contain a treatise on surgery, divided into three parts: a) Anatomy (ff. 6v-33v), b) Wounds, with certain recipes (ff. 34r-83v), c) Apostumes and their medicines (ff. 84r-143v), followed by an Antidotary (ff. 143v-167r) with no numbered chapters. This Antidotary clearly belongs to the preceding treatise, as it is referred to on f.104v '...diaquilon of Mesue whos Reseyt seke in the antydotary of this boke'. The treatise is entirely written in Hand A, and generally in Middle English, though the Antidotary contains some Latin.¹⁵

Ff.167r-186v (gatherings 22-24) contain 'surgery ... after the use of the ryght worschypful doctor Master Doctor Rede', a collection of recipes in Middle English and Latin, in Hand A.

Ff.187r-189r (gathering 24) contain directions, written in Middle English by Hand D, for insertion of a catheter, cutting for bladder stone in both men and women, and four medical recipes in Hand B. The first of these, in Middle English, is a plaster for a mormall 'provyd uppon Syr William Faryngton ... a conyng Frenche man mad hym hole...' (f.188v),¹⁶ the remainder are in Latin.

Ff.190r-195v (gathering 25) contain a collection of recipes, '...makyng of entrettes salvys ... *secundum magistrum Rede*', written in Middle English in Hand A. This work appears to be incomplete, breaking off while describing a treatment half way down f.195v. A blank leaf with no number follows.

¹⁴ For the suggestion that this prologue is a translation of Bradmore's prologue to the *Philomena*, now missing, see p. 26 footnote 22. See also appendix 4, where the complete text of the prologue is given.

¹⁵ For its relationship to Sloane 2272, see Lang, and further discussion on pp. 3-4 above.

¹⁶ This anecdote and its attached recipe do not appear in Bradmore's *Philomena*. However, considering the connection between the two manuscripts, it is interesting to note that Sir William Faryngton was a member of the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, with which John Bradmore was so closely connected. Sir William joined the Fraternity in 1408-9 (see Basing, pp. xxiv, 16) and may therefore have been known to both Bradmore and John Longe, who were members at this time. William Faryngton (or Faryngton) was commander of Bordeaux Castle in 1412 (*Concise Dictionary of National Biography*, 2 vols., (Oxford, 1906, reprinted 1965) vol. 1, p.420).

Ff.196r-211v (gatherings 26-27) contain chapters 1-9 of a treatise on ulcers, written in Middle English in Hand A.¹⁷ There are rubricated marginal notes in Hand A in this section.

Ff. 212r&v (gathering 28) contain recipes for various maturatives, in Hand A, in Middle English, the last incomplete, breaking off with 'R. levys and the graynys of lory and...'.¹⁷

Ff.212v-223v (gatherings 28-29) contain a selection of recipes in Latin and Middle English in Hand A, the final one incomplete.

Ff.224r-225v (gathering 29) contain recipes in Latin and Middle English in Hand A, labelled on ff. 224r&v and 225r 'Arden'. They appear to be excerpts from the works of John of Arderne.¹⁸

F.226r&v (gathering 29) contains a recipe in Middle English, in Hand B 'for the Frenche pockes'.

Ff.227r-229r (gatherings 29-30) contain recipes in Latin, in Hand A, '*de libro Mr Ffyncham*'

F.230r (gathering 30) contains a spell in Latin to capture birds and beasts, in Hand B.

Ff.230v-231r (gathering 30) contain recipes in Middle English, in Hand C.

Ff.232r-237v (gathering 31) contain an astrological treatise in Latin and Middle English in Hand A, including signs and tables, prefaced 'This ys the boke off ypocras in this boke he techyth ffor to know be planetes both lyffe and dethe and the tymes ther off'. There is some rubrication in this section, for example of the astrological signs and of headings within the text.

F.237v (gathering 31) contains a recipe in Middle English, in Hand A, '*Mr. Wakfeld pul. contra peste*'.

¹⁷ This appears to be derived from Sloane 2272 Part 3, distinctions 5 and 6, on ff. 162r-191r, and so relates to the treatise on ff. 6v-167r, which is also derived from Sloane 2272. See footnote 15 above.

¹⁸ John Arderne, *Treatises of Fistula in Ano, Haemorrhoids and Clysters*, The recipes correspond to those on pp. 28, 66, 68, 73, 95-6.

F.238r (gathering 31) contains a table in Latin, in Hand E, of fixed and moveable signs and their qualities.

Ff.238v-244r (gatherings 31-32) contain recipes in Middle English, in Hands B and C.

Ff.244v-246r (gathering 32) contain recipes in Middle English and Latin, in Hand A.

Ff.246r-248r (gathering 33) contain recipes in Middle English and Latin, in Hands C and D.

F.249 is a vellum page from the old binding, which contains the inscription '*Iste liber pertinet ad Thomam Coll.*'

Chapter Six

The Middle English Translation and Adaptation of Bradmore's Surgical Text

...to the worschype of all myghty gode and his glorios modyr saynt mary and all halows and to the prophete of all crysten pepull and namly of studyars of practyzars in surgery I haue compyld and made this boke In the yer of owr lord ml cccc and xl vj In the wyche I haue set the pryncypylles with the secundarys as the kalendyr makyth mencyon...¹

This passage is taken from the prologue which opens the collection of surgical texts contained in Harley 1736. The question of whether it is intended to introduce the whole collection of texts, or only the surgical treatise immediately following it, and also the possibility that it is a translation of a prologue now missing from Bradmore's text, have already been mentioned.²

The statement within the prologue that the work is written 'to the worschype of all myghty gode and his glorios modyr saynt mary and all halows and to the prophete of all crysten pepull' echoes very strongly the religious content of the prefaces written by Bradmore for each of the parts and divisions into which his text is divided, for example '*Incipit hic pars quarta presentis philomene graciae. In qua gracia saluatoris nostri Jhesu Christi auxiliante tractabitur de Algebra...*' (Sloane 2272, f.201r). It may be noted that not only are these religious references omitted from the equivalent positions in the Middle English version of the text, but also that in the adaptation of Bradmore's case histories his reference to the achievement of a cure 'by God's help' is omitted in the Middle English version (see below, pp. 133 and 138). The religious content of the prologue could possibly be seen, therefore, as strengthening its claim to be a translation of Bradmore's lost prologue rather than the original work of the Middle English translator.

¹ Harley 1736, ff. 6r-6v. The full text of this prologue is given in Appendix 4 below.

² See p. 26 footnote 22.

Whatever the case, the statement that 'I haue complyd and made this book', giving as it does the impression of dependence on prior authorities combined with text 'made' by the author, applies equally well to Bradmore's original text and to the Middle English treatise based on it which appears in Harley 1736. Both of these represent a combination of dependence on a source or sources for the bulk of the text with a certain amount of adaptation and the addition of original passages. The treatise on surgery on ff. 6v- 167r of Harley 1736, and the short section on ulcers on ff. 196r-211v, while basically a Middle English translation of Bradmore's work, also represent the translator's adaptation of Bradmore's text to suit his own purpose. Such adaptation, rather than direct translation, is not rare among Middle English versions of Latin medical texts, in spite of the existence of very close translations such as those made of Guy de Chauliac's *Cyurgie*.³ The Middle English *Gilbertus Anglicus*⁴ is an example of a text which, like the version of Bradmore's treatise in Harley 1736, is rather more freely adapted. Such adaptations may reflect the level of learning the author expected in his readers, as will be considered below. The vast numbers of medical texts appearing in the fifteenth century suggests that lay ownership of such texts was likely, whatever the original translators intended.⁵ Peter Murray Jones suggests that increased lay literacy in the period in which this great increase in the production of medical texts occurred '...was at least as much cause as

³ Very close translations exist in Bibl. Nat. Angl. 25 (Paris) and New York Academy of Medicine 12: the Paris manuscript is that used for the Early English Text Society edition (*The Cyurgie of Guy de Chauliac*, ed. Margaret S. Ogden, (London, 1971)) while the New York manuscript is used by Bjorn Wallner in his edition of the text, published in separate parts in various publications of the University of Lund, Sweden; for example in B. Wallner 'The Middle English Translation of Guy de Chauliac's Treatise on Apostumes', *Publications of the New Society of Letters at Lund* 82 (Stockholm, 1989) and B. Wallner, 'The Middle English Translation of Guy de Chauliac's Treatise on Wounds', *Acta Universitatis Lundensis Sectio 1, Theologica, Juridica, Humaniora* 28 (Stockholm, 1979).

⁴ Edited in Faye Marie Getz, *Healing and Society in Medieval England* (Wisconsin and London, 1991)

⁵ For discussion of the huge increase in production of vernacular medical texts in the late fourteenth century and throughout the fifteenth century, see Rossell Hope Robbins, 'Medical Manuscripts in Middle English' *Speculum* 45 (1970) 393-415, where texts are discussed by subject and a rough idea of the numbers surviving in each language is given. See also L. E. Voigts, 'Multitudes of Middle English Medical Manuscripts, or the Englishing of Science and Medicine', in M. R. Schleissner, *Manuscript Sources of Medieval Medicine, a book of essays* continued...

effect here. There was every incentive to acquire a minimal reading ability in one's native language when it gave access to practical knowledge of all sorts.⁶ The prologue of Harley 1736 certainly seems to imply an increase in the quantity of medical texts available: 'now a days in surgery the darnell of aror with the whete of trewth growys to gedyr ... in diverse ynglysch bokys', and also that the duty of those who have sufficient training to distinguish truth from error is to make this information available, so that 'trewth may be mad opyne be the knowlege of the pryncypylles of this crafte of surgery'.⁷

The translator and his readers

As has been made clear in more than one recent study of late medieval medical manuscripts, Latin and vernacular texts do not belong to wholly separate traditions.⁸ Not only are many Middle English texts translations of Latin works, and thus a part of the Latin tradition even when some adaptation has taken place, but many manuscripts contain texts in both Latin and English, making it apparent that a division between Latin and vernacular texts in terms of their intended readership may also present problems.

As described above,⁹ Harley 1736 contains a mixture of Middle English and Latin texts, and although the main language of the treatise on surgery derived from Bradmore's work is Middle English, there is some Latin present within it. For instance, short phrases or verses in Latin, which are often quotations from authorities, occur more than once

(New York and London, 1995) pp. 183-195, where, in discussion of the texts, a breakdown is provided by subject, author (where known) and present location.

⁶ Peter Murray Jones, 'Medical Books Before the Invention of Printing' in *Thornton's Medical Books, Libraries and Collectors*, 3rd rev. ed. Alain Besson (London, 1990), 1-29, on p. 11.

⁷ Harley 1736, f.6r.

⁸ See for example Linda Ehrsam Voigts, 'Scientific and Medical Books' in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. J. Griffiths & D. Pearsall (Cambridge, 1989) 345-402, esp. pp. 381-383; and also Peter Murray Jones 'Four Middle English Translations of John of Arderne' in *Latin and Vernacular: Studies in Late Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, ed. A. J. Minnis (London, 1989) 61-89, esp. pp. 61-63.

⁹ See pp. 94-99.

within the text,¹⁰ and occasionally chapter headings and recipes appear wholly or partly in Latin.¹¹ It appears, then, that a certain amount of Latin was felt by the translator to be acceptable to his readers.¹²

Some indication of the degree of knowledge he assumes his readers to possess may be given by considering which Latin terms he adopts without comment and which he glosses or explains in order to make his meaning clear. The vocabulary which may have presented the translator with problems includes not only plant names, where the problem would be that of identifying the English equivalent, but the names of medicinal preparations, imported goods, and anatomical and medical terms (including disease names), for which there may have been no widely recognised English equivalent, presenting the translator with the problem of whether to leave the words in Latin, to devise an anglicised Latin word, or to try to establish a suitable English translation. Some provision of English glosses for Latin words is already present in Bradmore's own text. It has already been seen¹³ how in one of his case studies Bradmore uses a Middle English word to describe part of an instrument he has devised; elsewhere in the text he provides Middle English equivalents for the names of herbs and other ingredients in recipes, and occasionally for disease names.¹⁴ Many of these glosses derive from his sources, where these are of English origin; mainly from John Mirfield's *Breviarium Bartholomei*, but also

¹⁰ For example the statement on f.106r ascribed to Ypocras, the verses on types of leprosy on f.133r, and the statement on f.8v which is attributed to 'fysike' in the Middle English text but to Henry de Mondeville in the original Latin.

¹¹ Recipes in Latin occur chiefly in the Antidotary - for an example see f.164r - and chapter headings are left in Latin most frequently in the section on Apostumes, for example on f.125r, chapter 49, *de Gutta fistulata*.

¹² It is clear that at least one later user of the text understood Latin, for a recipe in Latin is added around the margins of ff. 144v-145r, and some of the marginal notes found throughout the text are in Latin. For a discussion of bilingualism in medical and other scientific texts, and especially for the idea that some language mixing in these texts may have been 'a deliberate attempt to draw on the largest possible wordhoard', see L. E. Voigts, 'What's the Word? Bilingualism in Late Medieval England', *Speculum* 71 (1996) 813-826; the quotation given here appears on p. 820.

¹³ See p. 69 footnote 32.

¹⁴ for example '*cucumeris agrestis anglice Wyldeneepe*' f.226r: '*bucalmon .i. cowsloppe*' f.102r: '*piscicelli qui vocat anglice Baynestykekynges*' f.231r: '*impetigo autem proprie dicitur a quibusdam Wylde tetre*' f.96v.

occasionally from the works of John of Arderne. The number of such glosses in Bradmore's text is not large, but the balance of them is hugely in favour of herb names and other ingredients, against only one or two disease names or other medical terms. It is striking that the balance of what is glossed or explained in the Middle English version of the text is completely the reverse of this, that is to say that glosses are provided for relatively few plant names in comparison to the number of glosses and explanations to be found for technical vocabulary, for example anatomical terms and disease names.¹⁵

Plant names are generally simply rendered into Middle English without reference to their Latin names, but this is not consistently done; not only are some recipes left partly or wholly in Latin,¹⁶ as stated above, and Latin or Latinate English used for most compound medicines and imported goods, but there are contradictions within the text when referring to a single substance, for example on f.40r 'pety consownd', but on f.151r '*consolida minor .i. daysye*'; on f.38v 'sandragon', but on f.47r '*sanguis draconis*'. The antidotary contains more glosses on herb names than appear in the rest of the text, but the number is not large, and the translator appears to consider that the herbs will be sufficiently familiar to readers in whatever language they appear. In her edition of the Middle English version of the works of Gilbertus Anglicus, Faye Getz notes exactly this situation: the translator assumes 'familiarity on the reader's part with the names of medicinal substances, a familiarity far more developed than that with other types of medical vocabulary'.¹⁷

It is possible that this bias in what is glossed reflects the level of learning the translator expected in his readers. The specialised vocabulary of surgery, the anatomical

¹⁵ See below, pp. 106-110.

¹⁶ For example on f.164r.

¹⁷ Getz, *Healing and Society*, pp.xlvi-xlvii.

terms and so on, could well be seen as the province of the trained practitioner, whereas the names of plants and medicines may have been more general knowledge, shared not only by physicians and surgeons but by apothecaries, and possibly by many ordinary readers also, rather as a modern gardener might be familiar with the botanical names of many plants and yet have no other knowledge of Latin. The fact that the names of many compound medicines, even those most commonly recommended, are also left in Latin without explanation, may mean that many of these were already familiar under their Latin names, perhaps because they were available 'over the counter' in this form from apothecaries. That this could be so is confirmed by the appearance in the inventory of the goods of John Hexham, apothecary, made in 1415, of several compounds mentioned by both Bradmore and the Middle English translator, for example *Gracia Dei Minor*, *Unguentum Agrippa*, and *Unguentum Marciatum*, among others.¹⁸

The prologue on ff.6r-6v of Harley 1736 gives only slight reference to its intended readers,¹⁹ stating that it is written 'to the prophete of all crysten pepull and namly of studyars of practyzars in surgery', having already mentioned the necessity for 'full sympyll letteryd men' to sort out truth from error in their books. Both these statements could imply readers only partly educated in surgery; perhaps apprentices, as M. F. Walton suggests for this text.²⁰ This could account for some of the adaptations made by the translator, which appear to assume less knowledge on the reader's part of, for example, the preparation of medicines.²¹ However, in the absence of a definite statement of purpose

¹⁸ See G. E. Trease and J. H. Hodson, 'The Inventory of John Hexham, a Fifteenth-Century Apothecary' *Medical History* 9 (1965), 76-81. *Gratia Dei Minor* is interpreted by the authors as the plant Herb Robert, but as the inventory contains more compounds than simples overall, it is at least as likely to refer to the compound used by Bradmore, for example in his treatment of a woman with scrofula, discussed on pp.62-65 above.

¹⁹ And it may in any case not be original to the ME translator, but be his version of Bradmore's prologue, now missing: see p.26 footnote 22 for this possibility. The full text of the prologue appears in appendix 4.

²⁰ Walton, p.134.

²¹ For a discussion of the adaptation of the text see below, pp. 110-151

by the translator²² any conclusions drawn from the text about the intended readership can only be tentative.

The translation of technical vocabulary

The translator of Bradmore's text copes with the problem of making the specialist vocabulary accessible to his readers in various ways, most of which are shared to a greater or lesser degree by more than one other Middle English translation.²³ The Latin terms may be clarified by etymology, defining each part of the word in its root language and thus building up to its meaning; by provision of Middle English glosses for the word or phrase; and sometimes by adding a passage of explanation. However, none of these methods are completely original to the Middle English text; Bradmore, and his sources, make use of these devices to clarify their meaning, providing, in the Latin, etymologies for terms derived from Greek,²⁴ synonyms for anatomical terms,²⁵ glosses for herb names and other ingredients,²⁶ and explanations for some terms.²⁷

The Middle English translator adapts the etymologies given in Bradmore's text to suit his own translation²⁸ by supplying Middle English for each part of the word as it is broken down, as in the following example: '*Dicitur autem cirurgia a cyros quod est manus*

²² Such as that found in Wellcome MS. 225, for example; see Joanne Jasin, 'The Compiler's Awareness of Audience in Medieval Medical Prose. The Example of Wellcome MS. 225', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* - October (1993), 509-522

²³ See for other manuscripts, for example, Jasin, 'The Compiler's Awareness of Audience', Bjorn Wallner 'On the i-periphrasis in the N.Y. Chauliac' *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* LXXXVIII (1987) 286-294; Jones, 'Four Middle English Translations of John of Arderne', and for a discussion of a particular aspect of the development of technical vocabulary in Middle English medical prose see Juhani Norri, 'Premodification and Postmodification as a Means of Term-formation in Middle English Medical Prose' *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 90 no. 2 (1989) 147-161.

²⁴ See below, p.107.

²⁵ See for example ff. 22v-23r of Bradmore's text, '*mery siue ysophagus...gula est siue epiglotus vel guttur...*' which is translated on f. 21r of the Middle English text, '*mery or ysophagus...gullet wyche ys cald ypoglotum*'

²⁶ See for example in Bradmore's text, on f.83v '*hascule regie .i. Woderove*': on f.126r '*pulueris qui dicitur tannedust*': on f.122v '*piscis qui vocatur Porpeys*'.

²⁷ For example f.83r of Bradmore's text, where 'chronic' is explained thus: '*cronica .i. multum longa et periculosa*'.

et gyros quod est operacio quasi scientia de opere manuale (f.15r of Bradmore's text) which appears in the Middle English text as '*Sirurgia* .i. sugery yt ys sayd of this word *Ciros* of grew²⁹ that ys to say an hand in ynglysche and of *gyros* a word of grew that ys to say wyrkyng in ynglysche, As who sayth connyng of hande werke' (Harley 1736, f.6v). Here the translator has simply replaced the Latin '*quod est manus*' with the Middle English 'that ys to say an hand in ynglysche', and this is the method used for several other etymologies, for example on f.9r '*Anathomia* ys sayd (of) *anos* (grew^d) a word of grew that ys to say right and *thomos* .i. departyng that ys to say ryght departyng', and on f.29r 'the wyche *peritoneum* ys sayd of this worde *pery* that ys to say abowght and *tendo* that ys to say go as yt wer goyng abowt'. When the Latin text is explaining the origin of a term based on Latin rather than Greek, more has to be added by the translator, as here when the derivation of 'carbuncle' is shown: '*et dicitur carbunculus a carbo eo quod in ortu suo rubeat sicut ignis et postea fit niger sicut carbo extinctus*' (Bradmore's text, f.36v): 'and this word carbunculus ys sayd of carbo that ys a cole because that carbunculus in his begynnynge waxys Rede as a qwyke cole and aftyr ward ys mad blake as a dede cole' (Harley 1736, f.91v). Similarly, the short sentence in the Latin text describing one of the symptoms of *formica* '*et in omni formica sentitur quasi punctura formice*' (Bradmore's text, f.96v) makes the reasoning behind the name plain without further explanation, but the Middle English translation has to expand the sentence to make the same point, thus: 'This apostume berys the name off a pysmer in latyne that ys to say *formica* and the cause ys for in this apostume ar felt prykynges as pysmers war ther In' (Harley 1736, f.98r). There is no attempt by the translator to put forward the Middle English word 'pysmer' as a suitable alternative name for the disease; in fact throughout the text he seems inclined to present the Latin names as the correct ones for surgeons to use, even

²⁸ This is in contrast to the findings of Joanne Jasin in her study of Wellcome MS. 225, where etymologies were inserted by the Middle English translator and were not present in the original Latin. See Jasin, 'The Compiler's Awareness of Audience' on p. 513.

²⁹ 'grew' i.e. Greek.

when an acceptable Middle English alternative is available, as on f.73v 'Brussyng of a wound ys purpull cald in surgery *concussio*', and on f.71r 'hurtyng made in the bonn ys cald in surgery *lucus ossis*'. The impression given by the phrase 'ys cald in surgery' is that the translator is trying to make the meaning of the terms clear to his readers, as well as trying to educate them in the correct, Latin, terminology of his trade. Thus the provision of Middle English glosses could be seen, paradoxically, to confirm the translator's sense of the superiority of the Latin or anglicised Latin over the Middle English translation, for if the Middle English was felt to be sufficient then the retention of the Latin in such constructions as the following would be quite superfluous: 'sum call yt *lupus* .i. a wolfe' (95r): '*carbunculus* in ynglysch propyrly ys cald a mer' (91v-92r): '*hernia cernosa* ys to say fleschy hernia' (120r): '*incarnatyfe* .i. fleschyng' (204v): '*Noli me tangere* ys as muche to sey as towche me note' (154r).³⁰

As can be seen from the above examples, various different constructions are used by the translator when he is providing Middle English glosses. Probably the most common is the abbreviation .i., for *id est*, as in the following examples: 'actis .i. dedys' (f.9v): 'tenauntes .i. holders' (f.10r): 'The splen .i. the mylt' (f.11r): 'cartilage .i. grystyll' (f.14v): 'triangle .i. iii cornarde' (f.18v): 'musclos flesche .i. the brawne' (f.53r): 'sotyll .i. thyn' (f.78v): '*variolles et morbillis* .i. pokkes and meselles' (f.100r): '*consolida minor* .i. daysye' (f.151r). Sometimes *anglice* is used in place of *id est*, as follows: '*glandule* and *scrofula anglice* wennys and wax kymelles' (f.102v): '*sqwynancia anglice* the squinse' (f.111v): '*concussione anglice* bryssynges' (f.132v). Other constructions include the following: '*subacella* that ys to say the arme hole' (f.23v): '*veruca* in surgery ys cald a warte in ynglysch' (f.106v): '*mugus* ys a certayne apostume called a mowle in ynglysch'

³⁰ For a different interpretation of a translator's use of Middle English glosses see Jones, 'Four Middle English translations of John of Arderne', especially p. 71 and pp. 85-6, where the translator's use of Middle English glosses is seen as expressing his uncertainty of the meaning of the terms translated, and a desire to leave the Latin terms so that the reader may make up his own mind.

(f.121v): '*scrophules* in ynglysch ar kyrnelles' (f.117r): '*lentygines* the wyche comyn pepull call yt in ynglysch frakyne' (f.141r): 'this sayd *epiglotum* ys cald of the comyn pepull the bell grece' (f.29v). Very occasionally the translator makes use of synonyms instead of glosses to clarify the meaning of a term, for example 'taryed and prolongyd' (f.73v): 'stampefaccion and stunnyng' (f.79r).

In several places the translator, instead of translating a word or providing a Middle English gloss, supplies an example or explanation which makes the meaning of the term clear: for example, 'the extremytes of the body as armys and legges' (f.9v): 'by erytaunce as fro the to the chyldur and so forth to odyr' (f.122v): 'by inherytaunce as fro the fadyr to sone'.³¹ Once again there is an impression that the translator's aim is to educate his readers in the correct, Latinate, terminology. A good example of this occurs on f.67v where the phrase '*racheta pedis*' occurs without translation as part of the title of chapter 16. The following explanation is then given: '*racheta* ys all the parte of the fotte wyche begynnyth at the Joynt of the fote and lastys to the fyrst begynnyng of the fyrste loynt of the toes ther'³². After this, the term '*racheta pedys*' is again used without translation, having been 'taught' to the reader.

The use of euphemism in a Middle English translation is noted by Joanne Jasin in her study of Wellcome MS. 225, where *menstruum* is glossed as 'in thare tonge "flours"'.³³ Euphemism is also present in the Middle English version of Bradmore's work. In many of Bradmore's instructions on regimen (for example those on f.78r of his text) the patient is warned '*super omnia caueat sibi a coitu*', which is rendered into Middle English (on f.122v and elsewhere when it occurs) as 'do the pacient abstayne from myche nyght werke'. Whether the use of euphemism is a characteristic of Middle English translations in general

³¹ The underlining here represents the text added by the Middle English translator.

³² This appears in the manuscript as '*racheta* ys all the parte of the fotte wyche begynnyth at the Joynt of the fote wyche begynnys at the Joynt of the fote and lastys to the fyrst begynnyng of the fyrste loynt of the toes ther', a duplication not deleted by the scribe.

³³ Jasin, 'The Compiler's Awareness of Audience', on pp. 516-517.

cannot be determined on the strength of these two references, but may become clearer as more manuscripts are studied.

The translator as adapter of the text.

As mentioned in the opening of this chapter,³⁴ the Middle English version of Bradmore's text is an adaptation as much as a translation. The degree to which the text is adapted, and the areas which the translator chose to alter, are perhaps best introduced by a close comparison of parallel passages, in much the same way that Bradmore's own text was compared with his sources.³⁵

In order to begin with a good general view of the translator's work, a complete chapter is presented first, with the Latin and Middle English texts in adjacent columns for comparison.³⁶ The chapter given here deals with a skin infection called *Serpigo*, its description, causes, and cure.

John Bradmore, <i>Philomena</i> , part 2, distinction 2, chapter 6, f.97v		Harley 1736. Treatise on surgery, part 3, chapter 17, ff. 139v-140v
de Serpigine Serpigo est cutis exasperacio que serpit huc et illuc que in ydiomate dicitur dertre ut dictum est in precedenti capitulo. Et secundum opinionem aliquorum	1 5	De serpigine Serpigo ys a brekyng off the skyne the wyche Remevys and spreddes abrod hedyward and thedyward and the comyn pepull cale yt in ynglysch a wyld tetyr. And whan Impetigo has dured off a longe

³⁴ On p.101 above.

³⁵ See pp. 30-60 above. As in that chapter, passages are selected for the purpose of displaying aspects of the translator's treatment of his material, rather than purely for the medical content.

³⁶ In this and the other passages presented in this form, the Latin text of John Bradmore's *Philomena*, from Sloane 2272, will be given in the left hand column, and the Middle English text from Harley 1736 on the right. The central column gives line numbers purely for ease of reference, and bears no relation to the line numbers of the extracts in either manuscript.

Serpigo dicitur Impetigo veterata.		tyme than may yt be cald serpigo.
Et aliquando apparet cum pustule et nodis et a quibusdam dicitur miliaris.		
¶ Serpigo autem fit de genere scabiei	10	This infyrmyte serpigo ys on off the kynddes off scabe
et fit de materia calida et sic multum ignea et incensa. ¶ Serpigo autem fit de materia grossiori et minus incensa	15	
verum non ita mouetur sursum sicut prima sed agit deorsum et nigrum occupat locum. ¶ Serpigo quidem	20	and this worde serpigo ys sayd off serpo serpis to crep for cause yt crepyth from on place to anodyr
dicitur minus ignita et ideo non mouetur sursum sed circum cingit membra et circumque se diffundit	25	for the malys ther off It ys causyd of scharp coleryke humores and brekys and fretes the skyne and certayn places off the body.
verum dicitur serpigo quia serpens in nigrum. ¶ Et sciendum est quod infirmitas ista peruenit ex humoribus incineratis et ex acuitate et ex asperatione cutem petentibus	30	The cur off this infirmyte yff the pacient be of sanguine compleccion and be twyx xxxti and xliti of age than do the pacient be latyn blod that ys to say yff the infyrmyte (f ^d)be from the gyrdyng place upward do the pacient be lattyn blod on the leuer vayne on the Ryght arme and yff the infyrmyte be from the

<p>vel aliter purgato humore peccante si necesse fuerit.</p>	.35	<p>gyrdynge place downward than do the pacient be latyn blod on the Ryght fotte with the ankyll on the wayn that lyes ther And yff the pacient be off odyr age than do purge the body with trifer a sarasenica put ther to a lytyll powdyr off Rewbarbe</p>
<p>In primis abluatur locus cum succo fumiterre et aqua calida deinde desiccetur et cum unguento isto inungatur. ¶ Recipe auxungiam porci veterem, terebentinam, argentum vivum extinctum</p>	40	<p>and use to Rube on the place with the juce of celondyne and after lett yt dry In and than anoynt with this onyment. Take old swynes gres moltyne ʒ iii</p>
<p>et succum lappacii acuti, fumiterre et scabiose. Confice hoc modo coquitur auxiungia cum succis usque ad consumptionem succorum</p>	45	<p>and stamp doke levys scabios and ffemyter off yche an hanfull and wrynge owt the jues ther off and seth them to gedyr to the jus be wastyd</p>
<p>deinde coletur et colature addantur predictam</p>	50	<p>wyche thow may know by droppynge off the onyment on a sauser botyme and no watter aper ther with</p>
<p>et bonum incorporentur ad modum unguenti cum quo paciens inungatur mane et sero post ablucionem predictam</p>	55	<p>than sett yt fro the fyer in the kelynge put ther to ʒ f of turpentyne and ii ʒ of qwyke syluer qwenchyd with spatyll and a lytyll smale powdyr of bremston</p>
<p>et bonum incorporentur ad modum unguenti cum quo paciens inungatur mane et sero post ablucionem predictam</p>	60	<p>and minge all thes well togedyr to the maner off an onyment with the wyche a noynt serpigo euery mornynge and evynnyng after the forsayd waschyng of</p>

<p>hoc autem unguentum valet contra serpiginem et Impetiginem et morpheam albam et nigram et contra lentiginem. ¶¶ Vel sic unguentum album et sapo gallicus misceantur similiter et inde inungatur locus serpiginosus.</p>	65	<p>the jues. And thus conteneu to the pacient be hole. This onyment ys good for sausfleme in visages Also for serpigo take ij partes off comon unguentum album and the iij^{de} off blake sope</p>
<p>¶¶ Vel sic Tartarum et litargirum puluerizatum cum aceto confice et sic permaneant tota nocte mane superpone cum oleo micum et cum bene confectum fuerit tolle et unge.</p>	70	
<p>¶¶ Vel sic Radix lappacii acuti remota fusci interior</p>	75	<p>Also for serpigo take vi levys off Rede doke Rottes and wasch them clene and cleve them and haue owt the stykkes that ar with in them. after lape them in a wett lynynge cloth and bynd them juste to gedyr with a thred and Roste them in the hott askys well</p>
<p>teratur cum butiro salso et aceto (salsi^d) forti deinde similiter decoquantur usque ad aceti consumptionem deinde coletur et utere.</p>	80	<p>lappyd ther In after stampe them and take salt butter claryfyd vi $\frac{z}{3}$ and stamp them well to gedur in a mortar and after [<i>illegible</i> <i>deletion in manuscript at this point</i>] fry them with an esy fyer and after strayne yt</p>
	85	<p>than take of whyt copperos and sawdefer ana $\frac{3}{ij}$ and make them sotyll powdyr and menge all to gedur in maner of an onyment</p>

<p>¶Item infirmitas ista potest curari cum grano cerasorum vel prunorum distemperato cum aceto.</p>		<p>with wych a noynt the infyrmyte ijs or iiies on the day.</p>
<p>Item facit Aqua tartari ¶ Item aliud quod sic fit Accipe 2as partes saponis mollis et 3^{am} partem auripigmenti distempera similiter ad modum unguenti et inde unge locum Sed</p>	95	<p>Also for serpigo take gum of cherytres or pluntres and put ther to venyger and dyssole that yt be to the maner off a thyne paper and anoynt ther with the Infy<r>myte.</p>
<p>prius ablue locum cum aqua calida et post inunctionem similiter quod si diu remaneret unguentum super locum corroceret tam bonam carnem quam malam. Idem ter vel quater in diem</p>	100	
<p>ablue et inunge. ¶Item succus celidonie inunctus curat dertres i. Serpignes ubicumque fuerint. Item facit succus rapistri super illinitus.</p>	105	
<p>¶Item unguentum valens serpigini et Impetigini et Elephancie quod sic fit Recipe aloes litargiri arsenici auripigmenti argenti viui tartari masticis olibani cimini sulphuris viui picule auxiungie veteris quod sufficit et fiat</p>	110	

<p>unguentum postea unge ad solem vel ad ignem. Item olium amigdolarum amararum optime clarificat locum serpiginosum.</p>	115	
<p>¶ Item Allia minutissime trita cum auxiungia porcina in dupla proportione mixta curat omnem serpiginem et scabiem.</p>	120	<p>Or take orpyment smale made to powdyr and minge ther with sotylyly on a marbyll stone $\frac{3}{4}$ j off blake sope and sex dropes off venygr and ther with anynt serpigo. Also take garleke stamped sotylyly with as myche swynes gres and after use to anynt ther with serpigo and yt ys sayd off certayn auctors off surgery that yt schall hele euey serpigo and scabe</p>
<p>¶¶ Item Accipe furfur et infunde in aqua bulliente et laua inde locum et postmodum desicca et tunc unge locum cum unguento serpiginoso vel cum unguento alio predicto.</p>	125	
<p>¶ Item succus Arthemesie super illinitus dicitur medicamentum ineffabile.</p>	130	<p>Also yt ys sayd that the jues of artemesia cald mugworte ys a precius medycyne to anynt and dystroy serpigo</p>
<p>¶ Et abstineat pociens a cibis vehementer calidis et a sale induratis quum talis cibus saniem incendit et denigrat.</p>	135	<p>And do the pacient abstayne from qwasy mettes as watter fowle garleke onyons and from mettes that ar myche saltyd and pepered.</p>
<p>Et si ista non sufficiant recurrendum est ad proximum precedentem</p>	140	

capitulum de Impetiginem.		
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There are some points of interest in the translation of this chapter. It will be noted that on line 4, the English gloss for *Serpigo* is not original to the translation, but appears in Bradmore's text also. The same is true of the brief etymology on lines 18-20, expanded from the Latin in the same way as those discussed above.³⁷ The chapter also contains both the Latin and an English gloss on a plant name, '*Artemesia* cald Mugworte' (on lines 133-4), which is relatively rare in the body of the text, though some are found in the Antidotary.³⁸

This chapter is an uncharacteristically brief one in Bradmore's text, so that the abridging of the Middle English version is not so striking here as in other chapters.³⁹ Nevertheless, where it does occur, it is in two of the most typical areas, that is, in theory (the discussion of the causes of *serpigo*, lines 12-26 above) and in the reduction in the number of alternative recipes given for its cure (lines 37 to end of passage). However, although the text is abridged in these areas, the translator elsewhere inserts material not in his original.

The first such addition concerns phlebotomy. This is a subject commonly altered in the Middle English version, with all reference to phlebotomy simply omitted in many chapters. When retained, it is rarely without some alteration, and the general impression created is that the Middle English author was rather wary of the procedure. On one occasion (f.69r) ventosing is recommended where Bradmore in the equivalent chapter

³⁷ See p. 107.

³⁸ In his discussion of the technicalities of translation in four related manuscripts of John of Arderne, Peter Murray Jones identifies several areas where the translator faced decisions on how to render the Latin into Middle English. Among these, it can be seen that our translator in this passage consistently ignores *autem* rather than translate it, and that he tends to render passive verbs in a passive sense throughout. See Jones, 'Four Middle English Translations of John of Arderne', pp. 82-84.

³⁹ For example, chapter 22 of the section on wounds, which occupies ff.76r-78r, and is abridged from part 3, distinction 3, chapters 10, 11, 12, and 13 of Bradmore's text, ff. 152v-154v; or continued...

(f.147r) recommends bloodletting from a vein; in another, where Bradmore has copied instructions for phlebotomy from one of his sources and a warning against its use from another source, the Middle English text retains only the warning (f.153r of Bradmore's text; Harley 1736 f. 76v). In the chapter on *serpigo* quoted above, instructions to let blood are prefaced by surprisingly strict age limits - the patient is to be between thirty and forty years of age (see lines 28-29 above) and even then the procedure is only recommended if the patient is of sanguine complexion. The Middle English text also gives more detailed instructions than the Latin regarding which vein should be used, according to the part of the body affected by the disease (lines 30-36). It is possible that the translator is here assuming that his readers need more information on the specialised procedures of phlebotomy than Bradmore gave in his text, raising the possibility that he is deliberately aiming at readers with less experience or less training.⁴⁰

Age limits for phlebotomy are given on more than one occasion by the Middle English author (e.g. on ff. 112r, 126v, 205r). Another interesting alteration is the addition on ff. 39r -39v of the patient's fear as a reason for using a smaller vein to let blood, or for ventosing instead:

'...yf he be well hartye to be latyne blod of the wayne cald cephalica of the arme contrary to the parte of the hurte of the hede and yf the pacyent be ferfull and not well hartyd than do hym to blede of a wayne that ys cald *cephalica* of the hande be twyx the fyngyrs cald lyke potte and the thombe. And yf yt happyn that the pacient ys so ferfull and dar not blede vayne blode than do hym gars betwix the schuldyrs and ther upon set ventuose boxes...' (ff. 39r-39v).⁴¹

The other major alteration in this passage is to the recipes. This is once again an area commonly altered in the Middle English version of the text. In general the Middle

chapter 51 on apostumes, ff. 128v-130r, which is abridged from part 2, distinction 5, chapter 1 of Bradmore's text, ff. 100v-106v.

⁴⁰ See p. 105 above for a discussion of the intended readership for this text.

⁴¹ It should be said, however, that as the chapter from which this extract is taken is only loosely based on the equivalent chapter in Bradmore's text, the possibility must arise that the Middle English author is here using another source as yet unknown, and that if this is so then this continued...

English text gives considerably fewer recipes than does Bradmore; even in this short chapter where Bradmore recommends only fourteen preparations, the Middle English version reduces this to nine. In some longer chapters where Bradmore's recipes cover several pages of text, the reduction in number in the Middle English version is more drastic and noticeable. Not only are the recipes reduced in number, but their content often differs between the two texts. Sometimes in a chapter which is otherwise almost a word-for-word rendition of Bradmore's text, the Middle English version alters the recipes so totally that they bear no relation to Bradmore's.⁴² A minor example here is the alteration of Bradmore's '*succo fumiterre et aqua calida*' to 'juce of celondyne'⁴³ (lines 40-41). On other occasions (as in lines 43-62) a recipe which is substantially the same as Bradmore's is altered by the addition or deletion of one or two ingredients. The Middle English text uses not only fewer recipes but also fewer ingredients overall, and often alters those given by Bradmore to those it particularly favours, for whatever reason this may be.

In a chapter like that quoted above, where the recipes, though reduced in number, are more or less faithful to Bradmore's original in terms of their ingredients, so that it seems likely that Bradmore's text is the source for them, another common alteration by the Middle English author may be clearly seen. This is the tendency to add details to the method of preparation, presumably in order to clarify it. The Latin text in lines 43-62 above lists all the ingredients for the recipe, then gives a brief note of the method of preparation. The Middle English text does not list the ingredients at the beginning, but names them as they are required in the course of the recipe (The omission of quantities in

insertion may not be the original work of the Middle English author but taken from this supposed source.

⁴² For example chapter 6, f. 50v, based on part 3, distinction 2, chapter 15 (f.139r) of Bradmore's text, dealing with wounds in the throat, and chapter 20, f.106v, based on Bradmore's part 2, distinction 1, chapter 24, (f.49v), dealing with verucas..

⁴³ Celandine was also called tetyrwort in Middle English (see Hunt p. 75), so obviously there was a tradition of its use for this infirmity. It was also recommended by Bradmore in this chapter - see lines 106-7 above.

the Latin text here and their inclusion in the Middle English version, however, is not generally typical of the two texts). While the description of the method of preparation in the Latin would be perfectly adequate to work from, for anyone with experience of making up medicines, there is no doubt that the expanded description in the Middle English version is clearer and more helpful. We are told not just to use the juice of the herbs, but how to extract it (lines 47-48); not just to cook until the juice is consumed, but how to tell when this has occurred 'be droppynge of the onyment on a sauser botyme' (lines 50-52); not just to use quenched quicksilver, but to quench it with spittle. In another recipe, on lines 90-94, the Middle English version adds to the Latin a description of what the medicine should look like: 'dyssolue that yt be to the manner of a thyne paper'.⁴⁴

The use of vivid, everyday images to describe the appearance of a disease or a medicine has been noted in other Middle English texts - for example the Middle English version of the writings of Gilbertus Anglicus.⁴⁵ While it is true that this sort of image does appear in Bradmore's Latin text, it is certainly increased in the Middle English version. Thus, descriptions taken from Bradmore's Latin include *herispula* appearing 'as yt war a burbull on warme water' (f. 83v): *ignis persicus* causing a limb to appear 'bloysch color as ys [sic] wer rubbyd wt lede' (f.98v): a carbuncle 'to the schap off a lytyll pese' or 'rede as a qwyke cole and aftyrward ys mad blake as a dede cole' (f.91v): *Nacta*, a scrophulous growth, appearing 'sum as yt war a melon and sum as yt war a gourd' (f.103r): and the instruction that some medicines are to be boiled until they appear as thick as honey.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ It is likely that 'paper' here is a scribal error for 'pap', which is often found as a comparison in the recipes, for example on f. 143r 'wych schall aper as yt wer thyke pape', and f. 142v 'wyche lycor schall seme as yt were thyne pape'. Not only would the result of mixing gums and vinegar seem more likely to be like pap than like paper, but it is quite clear from the directions that the end result should be liquid, as it is used to anoint the affected place.

⁴⁵ See Getz, *Healing and Society in Medieval England* p. xvii, for discussion of the addition of such imagery to the Middle English version of Gilbertus' Latin text.

⁴⁶ These images do not originate with Bradmore himself, but are derived from his sources; the description of *herispula*, for example, is taken from John Mirfield, Part 9, distinction 7, chapter 6 (BL MS. Harley 3).

Descriptions appearing in the Middle English text which do not appear to be taken from Bradmore's Latin include the following: (to describe the appearance of a medicine) 'to the thyknes of thyke grewell' (f. 45v), 'thyke as yelow pap' (f. 92v), 'lyke thyke lyke chyldes papmett' (f.98v), 'as thyke as pape' (f.100r), and so on throughout the text: (to describe the dosage) 'as mych as a mene appyl' (f.73r), 'pelletes ychon of the quantyte of a demesone' (f. 88v), 'to the quantyte off a been' (f.109r), 'to the quantyte off an hesyll note' (f.109v), 'quantite off a lytyll walnute at ones' (f.123r), 'as myche as a fylberd nute' (f.205r), and many such instructions throughout: (to describe symptoms) a hernia appearing 'to the quantyte off a gret costard' (i.e. a costard apple, f.120r), impetigo 'makand certan crustes as yt war flakes of brane' (f.138v), matter flowing from an ulcer like 'watter that raw flesch was sodyne in' or like 'way wrongyne ffro chese' (f.196v), and, speaking eloquently of folk belief, an apostume in the ear causing the patient to 'felle gret ake wt sertene prykyng as he war dyggyd in wt elfyns' (f.110v)⁴⁷. The increase in the number of these images in the Middle English text as compared with the Latin is most marked in the recipes, particularly in the area of dosage, and it can be seen that many of these images use what might be termed 'kitchen' vocabulary, within the range of any reader's experience.

Diet, like phlebotomy, is often simply missed out from the Middle English text. Where it is left in, as here on lines 136-139, the Middle English text is more specific as to the particular foods to be avoided; a similar instance occurs where Bradmore's '*et a cibis inflatiuis omnino custodiat*' (f.144r) is translated as 'absteyne from bolnyng metes or grose mettes that ys to say Beff porke pese benes rawe appyls and perys' (f. 61v).⁴⁸ The

⁴⁷ For various diseases attributed to the action of elves, see M. L. Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine* (Cambridge, 1993) pp. 141-2, and also Katharine Briggs, *A Dictionary of Fairies* (London, 1976) pp.25-27.

⁴⁸ The underlining here and in the following example represent the additions made in the Middle English version of the text.

author not only expands for clarity these rather specialist phrases 'bolnyng or grose metes' 'qwasy metes', but also phrases which might be of more general knowledge, e.g. on f. 80r the patient should be given 'sum swete wyne to drynke as malmesey bastard runnay osei wt a toste there in...'.⁴⁹ Once again, as with the alteration to the method of the recipe described above, the impression gained is that the author wishes his text to be absolutely clear, and thus most useful to his audience.⁵⁰

The next two passages quoted at length for close comparison display areas in which the Middle English text is heavily abridged. The first consists of the opening lines in each manuscript of the chapter on wounds in the mouth of the stomach.

John Bradmore, <i>Philomena</i> part 3, distinction 2, chapter 21, f.143r		Harley 1736, treatise on surgery, part 2, chapter 10, ff. 59r-59v
de vulnere in ore stomachi	1	of a wound in the mowth of the stomake
Vulnera que ad stomachum		Woundys made in the stomake
perueniunt sunt multum timorosa		ar dredfull
diuersis rationibus una ratio est quod eius operatio corpori humano est	5	
valde neccessaria Alia ratio quod est prime digestionis proprium instrumentum. Tertia ratio quod sine eo corpus non possit ullo modo		
permanere. Si paciatur ergo	10	
solucionem continuitatis perit eius		

⁴⁹ For a description of the various types of wine available in late Medieval England, see P. W. Hammond, *Food and Feast in Medieval England* (Stroud, 1993) pp.58-60.

⁵⁰ Further aspects of the alteration of recipes in the Middle English version of the text will be discussed below (see pp. 143-151).

<p>actio nisi vulnus cito consolidetur quod est difficile Et aliquando est impossibile eo quod sic membrum neruosum et semper in continuo moto manens sed specialiter quum vulnus cadit in superiori parte stomachi.</p>	15	<p>and (secial^d) specyally in the ouer parte of the stomake mor perlyous than in the nedyr parte be cause the ouer parte ys mor senewy</p>
<p>¶ Nam si cadat in inferiori parte stomachi que carnosa est et vulnus fuerit parue quantitatis sepe per discretum medicum et bonum restauratur.</p>	20	<p>and the nedyr parte fleschly (be) whar mele not with no wound in the ouer parte of the stomake for yt (s^d) ys dedly but in the nedyr parte yt ys not so and yt be lytyll.</p>
	25	<p>But yf yt be gret yt schall cause deth</p>

The tendency for theory to be abridged in the Middle English version has already been mentioned in connection with the chapter on *Serpigo*. In this instance, the Middle English author is content with the statement that 'woundys made in the stomake ar dredful' (lines 2-3), without the list of reasons which follow in the Latin text to say why this is so. However, the distinction between wounds to the upper and lower parts of the stomach is retained, presumably because it is directly and practically useful information. This distinction is in fact reinforced in the Middle English text by the advice 'mele not with no wound in the ouer parte of the stomake for yt ys dedly' (lines 21-23). Again, where the Latin states that a wound in the lower part of the stomach is possible to cure if it is small, the Middle English text reinforces this with the caution 'But yf yt be gret yt schall cause deth' (line 25).

The following passage is also from the opening lines of a chapter, and in this case is also the opening of a new part of the text in both manuscripts, namely that dealing with Apostumes. Bradmore actually entitles his chapter 'A universal sermon of Apostumes and to know what is an Apostume' (*Sermo uniuersalis de Apostematibus et ad sciendum Quid sit Apostema*); the Middle English author, who is here (as elsewhere) running more than one of Bradmore's chapters together, does not actually give a chapter title, but as can be seen on lines 3-5 below, he translates Bradmore's title as part of his introductory text.

John Bradmore, <i>Philomena</i> part 2 distinction 1 chapter 1, f. 29v		Harley 1736, treatise on surgery, part 3, chapter 1, f. 84r
<p>Sermo uniuersalis de Apostematibus et ad sciendum Quid sit Apostema</p> <p>Diuersis enim modis Apud diuersos doctores dicitur Apostema</p> <p>Nam secundum henricum de Amondavilla</p> <p>Apostema Tumor Inflatio Ingrossatio Eminentia Eleuatio et Excrescentia</p> <p>nomina sunt synonyma unam et eandem rem significantia.</p>	<p>1</p> <p>5</p> <p>10</p> <p>15</p>	<p>In the fyrst (sic) parte of this boke yt ys to tret alonly off apostumes and the fyrste in this chapitur I schall trete A uniuersall sermon of apostumes And I schall tell and schew what ys apostume</p> <p>after dyuerse apostume ys dyueresly neuer the latter thei all acord in to on intent.</p> <p>ffor sum say</p> <p>yt ys abolnyge and sum say a swellynge sum aperyng owt sum agrowyng owtward sum a lystyng owtward of kynd the wyche dyueres names to be tokyne sum thyng and hath on intende</p>

¶¶Et ideo secundum Lamfrancum dicitur quod Omnis Eminentia siue inflatio membri propter naturam siue parua siue magna sit proprio nomine dicitur Apostema. ¶¶ Et etiam	20	
halyabbas 8° sermone partis primi libri sui de regali dispositione dicit Apostema est tumor propter naturam in quo materia aliqua replens et descendens est aggregata. ¶¶Et	25	
ulterius dicunt Brunus Theodericus et henricus quod Apostema est tumor aut inflatio aut grossicies in quocumque membro facta ultra suam formam naturalem. ¶¶Ulterius	30	
secundam Guidonem de Cauliaco tractatum 2° doctrine sue prima ca° 1° dicitur quod Apostematum multe sunt species et differencie Nam quedam sumuntur a rei substantia	35	Ther ar many kynddes and dyfferens of postumes ffor sum hath the name off substance of the thyng and sum of the mater and sum of the accidentes and
quedam a materia quedam ab accidentibus (quedam a membris) quedam vero a causis efficientibus ¶¶ A substantia autem	40	sum of the membres and sum of the causys. Thes that hath the name of the substance
dicit idem Guido loco preallegato quod Auicennum assinuit 1am differentiam ubi dicit quod		

<p>Apostematum quedam sunt magna quedam vero parua</p>		
<p>Apostemata magna secundam Grecos in de tumoribus propter naturam sunt magni tumores flegminosi</p>	45	<p>ar gret postumes the wych are grete swellyngges and thes ar cald gret flegmones by cause thei ar pryncipally gendryd of fleme and thes</p>
<p>qui in carnosus fuerint particulis</p>		<p>postumes ar gendryd in the flesch partes</p>
<p>¶Apostemata vero parua secundum Auicennum sunt Eminentie et pustule parue bochorales in cute apparentes</p>	50	<p>lytyll apostumes ar smalle schewyng owt and sum smale pypulles aperyng in the skyne</p>
<p>¶A materia autem sumuntur differencie Primo generaliter ponit primam diuisionem Galen et Auicenna sequens eum quod Omne apostema aut est calidum aut non calidum loquendo de calido proprie essentialiter et relatiue Non autem</p>	55	<p>Also of the mater ys takyne defens of apostumes</p>
<p>large sicut per putrefactionem dicebat enim Auicen calidum esse sanguineum et colericum Non calidum fleumaticum et</p>	60	
<p>malencolicum ac ventosum et aquosum que reducuntur ad ista</p>		
<p>¶(Ab accidentibus^d) Et etiam in communi scola monti pessulari secundum Guidonem de Cauliaco</p>	65	

loco preallegato dicitur quod Apostematum quedam sunt de materia non adusta neque corrupta, quedam vero de materia adusta et corrupta....	70	for sum apostumes ar of mater aduste and corupte and sum of mater non aduste nor corrupte....
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As this passage shows very clearly, another type of material commonly abridged or omitted in the Middle English version is that containing references to earlier authorities. In this passage, Bradmore's sixteen citations of authorities⁵¹ are reduced to none in the Middle English version, if the opening remark that 'after dyuerse' (i.e. diverse authorities not named) apostumes are named diversely is not counted as a citation (line 6). In fact the whole section on Apostumes in the Middle English version contains only fifteen citations, less than are given in this short extract from one chapter in Bradmore's text. The lack of citations in the Middle English manuscript in comparison to Bradmore's text is clearly illustrated by the comparison of a sample chapter, 'On the flowing of blood from veins and arteries' with its Middle English equivalent.⁵² In Bradmore's text, a total of forty citations were made of thirteen different authors, as follows: Galen (15), Avicenna (8), Guy de Chauliac (4); Lanfranc of Milan, Henry de Mondeville, and Theodoric of Cervia twice each; Arnald of Villanova, Hippocrates, Bruno Longoburgo, Rhases, Albucasis, Haly Abbas, Roger Frugardi, once each. The equivalent chapter in the Middle English version cites Avicenna once, and no other authorities at all. So few authorities are cited in the Middle English text that a full count is feasible: of fifty-five citations in the whole text,

⁵¹ The citations are as follows: Avicenna (4), Guy de Chauliac (3), Henry de Mondeville (2); Lanfranc of Milan, Bruno Longoburgo, Theodoric of Cervia, Galen, Haly Abbas, the School of Montpellier, and 'the Greeks' once each.

⁵² 'On the flowing of blood from veins and arteries' (*de fluxu sanguinis a vulnere venarum et arteriarum*), part 3 distinction 4 chapter 1 of Bradmore's text: 'of bledynge of a wound and of vaynes and arterres', part 2 chapter 23, f.78r of the Middle English version.

twenty-eight were in the section on Anatomy, five in that on Wounds, fifteen in Apostumes, six in the Antidotary, and one in Ulcers. Nearly half (twenty-three) of these citations were to Galen, nine to Avicenna, and fourteen other authorities were quoted as follows: Nicholas,⁵³ Rhases, and Mesue, three times each; Lanfranc of Milan, the School of Salerno, Guy de Chauliac, and William of Saliceto, twice each; Johannitus, Tholomes,⁵⁴ Theodoric of Cervia, Haly Abbas, Hippocrates, Roger Frugardi, and Master Thomas Jannbe,⁵⁵ once each. The bulk of these citations are drawn directly from Bradmore's text, but on one occasion (f. 141r) a fuller citation of Guy de Chauliac is given than appears in the equivalent chapter by Bradmore, and in one of the two citations of William of Saliceto he is referred to as Gwyllmas Placentinus, a variation of his name not found in Bradmore's work (f. 113r). As this variation appears in a chapter not apparently derived from Bradmore's text at all, it seems likely that the Middle English author had access to William of Saliceto's work from a source other than Bradmore, whether from a copy of William's own text or via another author who quotes him, and the same conclusion would apply in the case of Guy de Chauliac. Master Thomas Jannbe, cited in the Antidotary on f.160v, is not cited by Bradmore.

An important effect of the reduction in the number of citations in the Middle English text is to reduce the appearance of discussion or debate which the presentation of the differing opinions of the various authorities creates. Even though, in the passage quoted above, a certain amount of the theory is retained by the Middle English author, though unattributed to the authorities, this effect can be clearly seen. Although Bradmore was clearly a practising surgeon and not merely a compiler with little experience (as has been suggested of John Mirfield, for example), the form of his text with its many citations and

⁵³ i.e. the author of the *Antidotarium Nicolai*, associated with Salerno.

⁵⁴ i.e. Ptolemy.

⁵⁵ Unfortunately, it has not proved possible to identify this man.

retention of large amounts of theory from his sources appears far more scholarly and academic, and less practical, than the Middle English text in which this type of material is so much reduced, or even omitted altogether. The reduction in theory, reduction in citations of authorities, and reduction in the number of alternative recipes offered in each chapter, all combine to make the Middle English text seem more clear, concise, and immediately practical, than Bradmore's. That this practicality was the actual intention of the Middle English author can be deduced from some of the statements he inserts in the text, as when in the section on anatomy of the eye he states 'the eyn hath 7 cottes the fyrst is cald coniatua I pas ouer the todyr names for yt schold do myche wrytyng and lytill prophete. And therfor I leve and proced unto the nose.....' (f. 18v), or when later in this same chapter, having retained a reference to Lanfranc, Galen and Avicenna from Bradmore's text, he adds the comment '..and knows the trewth of this mater but he that hath provyd yt' (19r).

Several examples have been given already of the Middle English author expanding passages for the sake of clarity. These additions occur throughout the text. Those discussed above concern diet, phlebotomy and recipes, but these are not the only areas altered in this way. In the examples which follow, the underlined text is that inserted in the Middle English version, the remainder being that derived from Bradmore.

In the first two examples the necessity for the procedures described is reinforced by a statement of what will occur if such treatment is NOT given.

'And yf yt happon that the bledynge wyll note stawnche ther wt than cauteryse the waynes wher thow art kutt wt a hott yrone ffor elles yt wer lykly the pacyent schuld dye' (f. 51r)

'yt ys profytabyll to kut away all the flesch so venymed wt a Razor and after hele the place wt mundificatyff as yt ys sayd of othyr wounddes. And but yf the venymoes mater war kute owt as yt ys sayd elles perauentur yt schuld corrupt all the membyr and after all the body and so (cas^d)cause deth unto the pacyent' (ff. 54r-54v)

Several additions are made to the series of rules Bradmore gives for the treatment of haemorrhage, in order to make the reasoning behind the rules quite clear. The aim in this was possibly to reinforce the importance of the rules, in much the same way that the dire consequences of non-treatment were used to reinforce the necessity for the radical procedures described in the examples above.

'fro what membyr or place the bledynge passys fro the same membyr yff yt be possybyll schall be lyfte up for to cause the blod rather to turne the contrary way' (f. 79r)

'yff that he fele hym selfe verely that he bledyth tell hym that yt ys good and prophetabyll for hym for cause to comforte hym ffor perauentur all the gret dred and ffer myght schort hys lyffe' (f. 80r)

'yff ther be myche pepull in the hows where the pacyent bleddes loke that thei be put owt anon and lefte ther in but the leche and specyall frendys for the eyr and the noyse of the sayd pepull schall cause the pacyent to bled the mor and be wars to be stawnched' (f. 80r)

'commawnd the pacyent that bledyth to kepe sylens of tunge and rest of body ffor myche spekyngge and mevyngge of the body schall ster the blod to bled mor' (f. 80r)

On occasions, when Bradmore's text leaves the reader to fill in the final part of a description or comparison for himself, the Middle English text is inclined to spell it out completely, to make sure that the point is not missed, as in the following examples:

'and all thes iij maner off growynge dyverse from scrophules and glandules for scrophules and glandules ar lappyd about wt skynnes and ar far in the flesch. But vruti porry and (aco^d) acrocordines ar not so depe in the flesche but aper mor owtward nor thai haue no skynnes lappyd about them' (f. 106v)

'This ys deference be twyx sympull wound and compownd sympull wound the wyche hath no losynge of substance as no gobet of flesch dysceueyd ther from nor kut away. Anodyr sympull wound ther ys the wyche has non odyr syknes perteynyng ther to. A compound wounde ys cald the contrary that ys to say wantynge of his substance or sum odyr syknes longyng ther to' (f. 68v)

Some expansions, as that just quoted, are made for the sake of clarifying the exact meaning of a doubtful or ambiguous word. This will be more fully discussed below, under the subject of translation rather than adaptation, but here is an example clarifying a measure of quantity:

'The opyne quantyte holdys comonly ij or iij pychars of wyn And I trow a pychor holdyth iij pynttes of vyne' (f. 31v)⁵⁶

One expansion, on the causes of scabies, gives the modern reader a view of the hazards of the medieval diet, where drinks might be adulterated and the adequate storage of food was a perpetual problem:

'...or drynkes and ettes that ys not honeste and not well sesoned as pallyd ale or menge dyverese ale to gedyr or wynys as false tauerners use to do or old met that ys longe kepyd and owt of good sesone' (f. 126r)

⁵⁶ The text appears thus, scribal deletions included: 'The opyne quantyte holdys comonly ij or iij pychars of wyn (wyche ys hoisum to ley conuenient medycyns^d) And I trow a pychor holdyth iij pynttes of vyne'.

Adaptation of Bradmore's case-histories

Adaptations such as those discussed above are not only made in what might be called the 'general' text, that compiled by Bradmore from his sources, but in those cases described by Bradmore as deriving from his own experience. The Middle English author does not include in his text any of the cases Bradmore copies from other sources, for example, William of Saliceto's treatment of water on the brain in a friend's child, copied on f.52v of Bradmore's text, or Lanfranc's account of a dangerous haemorrhage on f.156v; he does, however, include three of Bradmore's own case studies. Those included are the treatment of a woman with scrofula (Bradmore f.63r, Middle English f.117v), the treatment of Henry, Prince of Wales (f.137r in Bradmore's text, f.48 in the Middle English), and the death of a man bitten by a madman (Bradmore f.152v, Middle English f. 76r). In order to show how these are adapted for the Middle English text they will be presented, as were the first passages in this chapter, as parallel texts.

John Bradmore, <i>Philomena</i> f.63r		Harley 1736, f. 117v
<p>Quedam vero mulier habuit scrophulas in mamilla cum tanto dolore quod fere de se ipsa disparauit et omnes alii eam videntes iudicauerunt eam morituram. tandem rogatus ab amicis dictae mulieris ad eam accessi et cum dei adiutorio et cum isto emplastro quod dicitur Gracia de maior (et^d) nigrum eam perfecte curauit.</p>	1	<p>And master John Bradmor telles in his boke off surgery cald philomena off a woman that had scrophules in hyr tete</p>
	5	<p>the wyche was lykly to a ben ded ther off and at the Instance off gret praes off good frendys he mellyd with hyr and</p>
	10	<p>helpyd hyr in this wyse he layd to hyr a playster off gracia dei maior every odyr day remevynge the playster</p>

quod sic fit.		the wyche playster ys mad in this wyse.
¶ Recipe betonice pimpernelle vervene consolide maior et minor piloselle plantaginis laureole millefolii centauree auence foliorum lauri flos campi (salgemine ^d) salgie ana m 1	15	Take betony pympernell verueyne ana m. j centory millyfoli mowser' flos campi salgie ana m. <i>f</i>
et bulliantur ad medietatem et plus in lagena vini	20	schope thes erbys smale and boyle them in iij pynttes off gascoyne wyne
et postea permitte stare per 12 horas et coletur per pannum et ponitur intus gummi sic terebentine cere ana li. 1 litargiri auri li. 1 et <i>f</i> galbani li. 1 et $\frac{z}{3}$ 1 ceruse tuthie masticis armoniac ana $\frac{z}{3}$ 3 colofonie storacis liquide vel rubie ana $\frac{z}{3}$ 10 mirre bedellii oppoponacis astrologie longe ana $\frac{z}{3}$ 1 olibani $\frac{z}{3}$ 1 et $\frac{z}{3}$ 1 viride eris $\frac{z}{3}$ <i>f</i> olei veteris li. 1 vel	25	and after streyne yt and do ther to a pynt off mete oyle and an handfull of wax colophoni of edyr ij $\frac{z}{3}$ litarge off goolde j lib. Ceruse thutie mastyke olibanum off yche ij $\frac{z}{3}$ mirr bdellium opoponake
2 si necesse fuerit. bulliantur et moveantur cum spatula et in fine bullicionis addatur terebentine et fiat emplastrum.	30	verdgrece ana $\frac{z}{3}$ j and seth thes
¶ Istud emplastrum Gracia dei	35	to yt be playster wyse the wych may be known be droppyng ther off in watter when yt ys hardysche and not fatty nor clevyng to the fyngurs.
	40	This playster may well be cald Gracia

<p>meior nigrum vocatur quia inventum et factum fuit primo per dei gratiam (quam^d) magis quam per sensum humanum.</p>		<p>dei maior for after the prophete and virtues ther off yt was Rather fownde be the grace of god than be mannys wytt</p>
<p>Et haben virtutem dissoluendi et consumendi et maturandi omnes durities et sedat omnes dolores ex causa frigida et aliquos in causa calida et habet easdem virtutes sicut et</p>	45	<p>for yt has the virtue to dyssolue and consume hardnes off scrophules</p>
<p>gracia dei maior que dicitur in Antitodario de vulneribus.</p>	50	<p>and in corrupte sorres to frete away proud flesche and after to consowd and hele them.</p>

The importance of this case in terms of the comparison of the two manuscripts is very great, in that it allows the identification to be made of the relationship between the two manuscripts here discussed, and the identification of Bradmore as author of the Latin text, as discussed above on p. 3.

There are interesting differences between the texts of the case in the two versions, ranging from mild abridgement (the translator omits, for example, the detail that 'all who saw her thought she would die' in favour of the blander statement that she 'was lykly to a ben ded ther off' (line 6), and also omits the reference on lines 9-10 to God's help) to the extensive re-writing of the recipe involved. The most noticeable difference between the two versions is the reduction in the number of ingredients in the Middle English text - it is

interesting that the ingredients omitted are not only those of exotic origin (e.g. colofonie, storax, terebentine, lines 25, 28) but also the more homely herbs (e.g. plantain, comfrey and daisies, lines 16-17), suggesting that whatever the translator's reason for the omission it is not, in this case, purely economic. The translator makes additions to the recipe which are typical of his text as a whole; he specifies the type of wine used (line 22) and adds the instruction to 'schope these erbys smale' (line 20) and, as in the example above on p. 112, he adds directions to enable anyone making up the recipe to be certain when it is ready 'to yt be playster wyse, the wych may be known be droppynge ther off in watter when yt ys hardysche and not fatty nor clevyng to the fyngurs' (lines 36-38). However, he omits Bradmore's directions to leave the mixture to stand for twelve hours before straining through a cloth (line 24), and the instruction to stir it while it boils once the resins have been added (lines 32-33), nor does he specify how much of the mixture should be boiled away before it is strained (line 21). In terms of practicality, therefore, each text in this case has points in its favour not shared by the other. An interesting detail in the Middle English text, not present in the Latin, is that the plaster was removed every other day (line 13). There seems to be no way of knowing whether the Middle English author is here inserting a detail which he remembers, having been present while Bradmore treated the patient (a possibility mentioned above, p. 64), or is stating what he would recommend, or what he had himself done in a similar case. This same problem of interpretation arises in the Middle English versions of Bradmore's other cases, as will be seen below.

John Bradmore, <i>Philomena</i> f.137r		Harley 1736, f. 48
Et sciendum (est) quod (contigit ^d) anno domini m ^o ccccm ^o iij ^o Et anno regni Regis illustrissimi henrici	1	And yt ys to undyrstond that in the yer of owr lorde m ^l cccc ^{mo} and iij (the pacyent ^d) In the iijte yer of kyng

quarti post conquestum (anglium)		[herry in margin] the iijte
quarto in vigilia sancte marie magdalene	5	on mary mawdlen Evyn at the batell of Schrewesbery
contigit quod [henricus in margin] filius et heres dicti iamscripti illustrissimi Regis et princeps Wallie dux	10	yt happyn soo that herry the worthy prynce and eyr of the sayd herry kynge
acquetanie et lancastrie apud bellum de Shrouesbury in facie iuxta nasum ex sinistra parte cum sagitta fuit percussus que quidem sagitta intrauit (pars ^d) ex transverso et capud dicte sagitte postquam sagitta fuit extracta stetit in posteriori parte ossis capiti secundum mensuram 6 uncharum.	15	was smetyn in the face be syd the nose on the lefte syd with an arow the wyche sayd arow entryd overwharte and after the schafte wase takyn owt and the hede ther of a bod styll in the hyndyr parte of a bone of the hede after the mesur of vj ynche
Quiquidem nobilis princeps per me collectorem huius presentis philomene gratias inmensas deo ago per me taliter fuit curatus in Castello de Kyllyngworth. Ad quod quidem castellum diuersi periti medici uenerunt dicentes quod caput sagitte uoluerunt extrahere cum pocionibus et aliis curis sed non potuerunt. Tandem ego ad eum accedens,	20	and than was John bradmore surgen to the kynge and helyd hym in the castell of kelyngworth to the sayd castell come that tyme dyverse of wyse lechys sayand that thei wold draw owt the arrowe hed with drynkys and odyr curis but thei myght note and at the laste the sayd John bradmor entyrmetynge of the sayd cur
in primis tentas paruas feci et uulneri imposui de medulla sambuce ueteris et bene siccate et bene sute in panno	30	

Handwritten Latin text in a dense Gothic script, likely a medical or technical treatise. The text is written in a cursive hand and covers the majority of the page. There are some marginalia on the right side, including the words 'Copia principis' and 'Walleo'. The text appears to be a detailed description or instruction, possibly related to the medical instrument mentioned in the caption below.

Sloane 2272, f.137r. Bradmore's small sketch of the instrument he devised to remove the arrowhead from the face of Henry, Prince of Wales, following the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403. The illustration does not make clear that the screw is in the centre of the instrument, the outside being smooth, as is clear from the text. Nor does it clarify whether the purpose of the screw is to enter what remains of the shaft, the outer tube of the instrument being merely a means of passing the screw through the wound, or whether it is intended to open out the tube and hold it firm within the hollow of the arrowhead, as is my interpretation of the text. Bradmore must have intended the illustration to be a helpful addition to his description, and it is possible that knowledge of other types of instrument used for this and similar purposes would have enabled his readers to use the description and illustration together to arrive at the form of the instrument he created.

This castell com p tyme d'vise of myse lettye
 say and that they wold drawe out y' arrow
 hed w' d'vise and odv' cure but they myght not
 and at the laste the sayd John Bradmore entyr
 metyng of y' sayd cur and had dw' y' arrow
 hed & ~~the~~ ~~flap~~ an Instrument y' w' p'ce
~~was made~~ ~~the~~ ~~man~~ of longer and was. Polund and
 hollow p'ce & he the mydd of ther of entyr
 a h'p'le w'p' to y' w'p' Instrument was
 pullyd out y' arrow hed and aft' wound y' wound
 was washed w' w'p' and clensyd w' condica
 tyf' onymet of my partt of populion and y'
 v. g'ue y' my part of hony so cotynel' y' space of
 my partt by daye and aft'ward y' place was w'
 And und' stand can

Harley 1736, f.48v. In copying Bradmore's illustration of the instrument he devised for the removal of the arrowhead, the scribe of Harley 1736 (or of his exemplar) has made it more decorative, but has also attempted to interpret the earlier text and drawing. The central screw is clearly indicated by the wings provided at its head to turn it, but the screw-markings at the end have become decorative flaps at the base of the hollow tube, which should be perfectly smooth so as to pass through the wound more readily. Interestingly, there is a suggestion near the point of the inner screw of an arm coming from it to the outer tube, which would tally with the interpretation I have placed on the description in Bradmore's text, that the screw operates to dilate the ends of the tube within the hollow of the arrowhead.

lineo mundo ad longitudinem vulneris.		
<p>Quaequidem tente intincte fuerunt in melle ro[se]. Et postea maiores tentas feci et longiores et sic continuavi</p>	35	
<p>praedictas tentas semper aum[en]tando usque dum habui latitudinem vulneris et profunditatem ad meum libitum. Et postquam vulnus fuit tam dilatatum et tam profundum quod per meam</p>	40	
<p>ymaginacionem (tente) deuenerunt ad fundum vulneris tunc reparaui de nouo tenaculas paruas et concauas (ad) quantitatem unius sagitte et in medio tenacule intrauit quoddam vyse cuius finis tenacule interius et etiam exterius erant bene lunate et etiam finis illius vyse qui in medio intrauit erat bene lunatus circumque ad modum unius vyse ut melius et forcius teneret cuius forma hic est [illustration].</p>	45	<p>and had owt the arow hede wyth swyche an Instrument the wyche Instrument [illustration] was mad in The maner of tonges and was Rownde and holowysche and be the myddes ther of entryd a lytyll wyse</p>
<p>Quamquidem tenaculam ex transverso inposui eodem modo sicut et sagitta primo intrauit deinde illud vyse in medio etiam inposui et tandem tenacula in foramine capitis sagitte intrauit et tunc parum et parum vibrando (cum dei adiutorio) caput</p>	55	<p>with the wyche Instrument was pullyd owt the arrow hed</p>

<p>sagitte extraxi. diversis gentilibus et de predicti principis seruiantibus astantibus et omnibus deo gratias agentibus.</p>	60	
<p>Et tunc cum uno squirtillo inpleto cum vino al[bo] vulnus mundificaui et tunc nouas tentas de stupis lini inposui</p>	65	and afterward the wounde was wasched with wyne and clensyd with
<p>intinctas in mundificativo quod sic fit. [Item] Recipe micam panis al[bi] et bulliantur in aqua bene et stringantur per pannum. tunc Recipe farine ordeï et mellis quod sufficit et omnia bulliantur super lentum ignem donec spissetur et postea addatur terebentine quod sufficit et fiat</p>	70	
<p>unguentum mundificativum.</p>	75	mundificatyfe onyment of iij parttes of populion and the iiij part of hony so contynewynge the space of vij dayes
<p>Et dictas stupas in dicto unguento intinctas de 2^o die in 2^m diem abbreviaui et sic infra 20 dies vulnus fuit perfecte et bene mundificatum.</p>	80	
<p>Et postea carnem regeneraui cum unguento fusco.</p>		and afterward the place was (helyd) with unguentum fuscum chirurgicum.
<p>Et nota quidem in principio cure et usque ad finem cure mee (semper^d) (cotidie) inunxi eum mane et sero in</p>	85	

collo cum unguento neruale et desuper emplastrum ca[lidum] inposui propter timorem spasmi qui meus maximus fuit timor et sic gratias deo agente perfecte curatus fuit.	90	
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In this case, the abridging in the Middle English version is far from minor, and is not only in the introduction to the case, where the Middle English author cuts out the reference to 'this present *Philomena*' *huius presentis philomene* (line 20), (which does not apply to the Middle English text), the Prince's titles (lines 10-11) and Bradmore's characteristic reference to God's grace (line 21), but also in the description of the case, when he reduces Bradmore's detailed exposition of his method of treatment down to its barest essentials - and, it might be said, not even all of those. All Bradmore's careful enlarging of the wound with tents and application of rose honey (lines 29-40) is omitted, and the description of how the special instrument was designed (lines 42-51) is considerably reduced.⁵⁷ Even the method of its use is given as a brief 'with the wyche Instrument was pullyd owt the arrow hed', (lines 57-58) with no further details. The washing of the wound with wine is retained, (lines 63-64), but again the use of tents is omitted, and the recipe for mundificative ointment (lines 74-76) is totally different in the Middle English version from that described by Bradmore. Honey and *Populeon*⁵⁸ are both favourite ingredients with the Middle English author, and are often inserted, as here, in place of Bradmore's own recipes. Bradmore's worries about the onset of spasm (lines

⁵⁷ The illustration as it appears in the two manuscripts is reproduced for comparison between pp. 135 and 136

⁵⁸ *Populeon* was a compound which, in the recipe given on f.149v of the Middle English text, contained poplar buds, poppy flowers, henbane and nightshade, among other ingredients, so it may be that a painkilling effect was intended.

83-end) are omitted, the Middle English text ending with the application of *Unguentum Fuscum* (line 82). Whether the significant difference in the time assigned to the cure is deliberate, or the result of a scribal error, is impossible to tell (20 days in Bradmore's description of the case, (line 79), 7 days in the Middle English (line 76)).

The alterations to this passage are, on the whole, puzzling. It could be expected that the translator of a text such as Bradmore's would not be interested in those cases primarily for what might be termed their 'historical' value, but for their value as treatments, and that they would not therefore be treated any differently from the main body of the text in this respect. This is indeed what we find. The author of the Middle English version is just as ready to adapt and alter Bradmore's own personal cases as the rest of the manuscript.⁵⁹ Once again, the question may be raised whether the Middle English author is giving his version of the case, and was present, or is superimposing on Bradmore's case similar cases from his own experience. However, if the case is included here in order to give an example of how a similar wound might be treated, this purpose would not be best served by ignoring the problem of how the arrowhead is to be reached through the wound, if the shaft of the arrow is no longer present to hold the wound open. It appears that here, for the sake of brevity, the Middle English author has neither done justice to the complexities of the particular treatment devised by Bradmore, nor given clear guidelines to anyone attempting a similar cure. On f. 49r, perhaps realising the necessity for at least part of what is omitted here, the Middle English author inserts into his text instructions for enlarging the wound in such a case (the underlined words are those not taken from Bradmore's text): 'And yff yt happon that the arrow hede ys with owt the

⁵⁹ For a discussion of scribal alterations as improvements in scientific texts, see William C. Crossgrove, 'Textual Criticism in a Fourteenth Century Scientific Manuscript' in 'Studies in Medieval Fachliteratur', ed. W. Eamon, *Scripta* 6, (Brussels 1982), 45-58, where the observation is made that scribes may have altered such texts 'to give "true" readings, ones which were authoritative and therefore likely to give good results when applied to healing illnesses' (p. 57)

schafte than a payer of longe pynsous made ther for and pull owt the hed there with
sauand large the wounde after wt tayntyng...'

The other case from Bradmore's text which is included by the Middle English
author is that of the man who died following a bite on his thumb.

John Bradmore, <i>Philomena</i> f.152v		Harley 1736, ff 75v-76r
<p>... sed inter omnes morsuras morsus hominis est maxime periculosus. Quia si unus homō momordeat ^(sic) alium ieūnus (si^d) vel ieūno stomacho nisi per graciam et auxilium dei accidit mors pro illo morsu maxime (su^d) si fuerit morsus de homine demente vel rapido vel de homine malencolico. Quia ut vidi meo tempore</p> <p>unum hominem momordor' alium per pollicem</p> <p>pro quequidem morsum totum manus apostemauit et tumorauit totum brachium usques ad corpus et infra 10 dies moriebatur. nonobstante quod omnes magistri et optimi chirurgici Ciuitatis londoni' circa eum laborabant et diligentiam eorum ad eum faciebant</p>	<p>1</p> <p>5</p> <p>10</p> <p>15</p> <p>20</p>	<p>Amonge all bytynges the bytynge of a man ys the werste and moste perlyous pryncypally yff yt be of a wode mane and namly fastyng for but yfe the grace of gode be he that ys betyne schall be dede</p> <p>ffor as I sayd and [haue <i>in margin</i>] know in my tyme a town callyd excetyr in deynschyr a man was betyne be thombe of a wod man thorow the wyche bytynge ale the hond was bolne and after warde all the harme to the body and with In x dayes the man was dede Notewithstondyng the beste leche of all the contre and I my selfe sympull dyd all ovr dylygens and kunnyng</p>

Et etiam aliquos vidi infra 5 dies mortuos ex morsu hominis.....		and sum men haue be know ded with in v dayes of a w ^{od} means bytyng man or woman or of anybody.....
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This passage again raises the problem of whether the Middle English author was actually present at this case, and added details from his knowledge of the events, or whether he is conflating Bradmore's description of a case with a similar one from his own experience. The 'introduction' to the case is basically the same in the two versions, and in neither are any details given of the treatment provided - presumably this would be seen as useless information, the patient having died. The progress of the disease from the bite to the man's death ten days later is given identically in both versions. Where the differences occur they are concerned with the place in which the events happened, and those who were present at the treatment.

Bradmore gives no indication of the man's whereabouts when he was bitten, but he does say that he was treated by all the masters and the best surgeons of the City of London. Bradmore's presence as one of these is not stated, but is implied by his opening the account with '*ut vidi meo tempore*' (line 9). The Middle English version of the story, however, opens with a reference to a named town, Exeter; 'a town callyd excetyr in deynschyr' (line 11) as the place where the incident occurred. No reference is made to London; instead the man was treated by 'the beste leche of all the contre and I myselfe sympull' (lines 19-20).

There are a number of ways in which these apparently conflicting accounts may be reconciled. The first and perhaps most immediately obvious solution is that, as has already been suggested, the Middle English author is here combining Bradmore's case with something similar from his own experience. However, the possibility has already been raised (see p. 64 and 134 above) that the author of the Middle English version knew

Bradmore, as well as having access to his book, and it could be that he was adding to Bradmore's account of the case extra details which he knew, but which were not mentioned in the Latin text.⁶⁰ The reference to himself as 'sympull' in line 20 suggests the possibility of him observing this case during apprenticeship, and referring to Bradmore as 'the beste leche of all the contre'. In this case one is left wondering if the patient, having been bitten in Exeter, travelled back to London, becoming progressively more unwell, and died there - this would mean that the swelling was well advanced before the masters and surgeons began their treatment, which would reduce their chances of success. Even given the problems of travel at this period, the journey could have been accomplished within the stated ten days.⁶¹ It is unlikely that the treatment took place outside London, if Bradmore's 'all the masters and best surgeons of the city of London' is taken to mean a fairly large number of people. If it meant merely one or two, then it would be possible that they were, though mainly London-based, temporarily outside London, perhaps in the Royal entourage. This does not seem very likely, however, and the wording seems to suggest a larger number.

In considering which of the above solutions is the most likely, it should be noted that this is not the only mention of the West Country in the Middle English text. In the chapter on 'scab and yche', on f. 127v, the following observation is made, suggesting some local knowledge, this time of Bath: 'And thow schalt undyrstond that naturall sulphur bathes ar good (the) scabbe to be bathyn In as ys certayn bathis in a towne off ynglond called bathe'. The equivalent passage in Bradmore's text refers to natural sulphur baths

⁶⁰ If it is the case that the author of the Middle English version did in fact know Bradmore personally, perhaps as his apprentice, and thus had access not only to what Bradmore wrote in his book but to experience of his treatments, this could possibly account for his selectivity in which of Bradmore's cases he chooses to describe. Two cases which occur in the Latin text are omitted in the equivalent chapters of the Middle English version, namely, the cure of the king's pavilioner and the cure of the carpenter (see above p. 71-87) - could this be because the author of the Middle English text was not himself present at these cases?

⁶¹ The fact of injured or sick people travelling to London to seek treatment is mentioned in Getz, *Healing and Society*, p. xxiv, n. 26. This particular patient, however, would not have had time to reach London if he had begun to travel only when clearly seriously affected by the bite.

but specifies none in particular. The possibility of a West Country location for Bradmore's own manuscript after his death must also be borne in mind, for, as noted on p. 23 above, Thomas Thomasius, whose name appears with notes and alterations to the text of Bradmore's Latin manuscript apparently dating from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, may possibly be identified with a physician of the same name in practice in Devon in 1613. The puzzle is intriguing, but seems, alas, to be insoluble unless further evidence should be found as to the authorship of the Middle English version of the text.⁶²

Adaptation of recipes

In the passages discussed above, some mention has already been made of the adaptation of recipes in the Middle English version of Bradmore's text. As the recipes are an area in which considerable differences exist between the Latin and Middle English versions of the text, it seems worthwhile to analyse the alterations more closely, in the hope that the interests and concerns of the translator may be illuminated.

The most noticeable difference between the two texts in the area of recipes is the reduction in the number given in the Middle English text as against that in the Latin. It is common in the Latin text to find many more alternative recipes given than appear in the Middle English, and there is also a tendency in the Latin text to make finer divisions in the nature of the condition requiring treatment, giving different recipes within these divisions, where the Middle English text tends to give broader divisions within each area discussed,

⁶² In spite of this apparent West Country connection of the Middle English manuscript, a brief check of the vocabulary of the manuscript against examples in *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*, ed. Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, and Michael Benskin, (Aberdeen, 1985) showed no particular West Country bias, but if anything a preponderance of forms from Norfolk and Lincolnshire. Whether this reflects the dialect of the original translator or the scribe copying the text I am not competent to judge. For the problem of scribal dialect overlying that of the original author of a text, see Margaret Laing, 'Dialectal Analysis and Linguistically Composite Texts in Middle English', in *Middle English Dialectology, essays on some principles and problems*, ed. M. Laing (Aberdeen, 1989), pp. 150-169, and Michael Benskin and Margaret Laing, 'Translations and *Mischsprachen* in Middle English Manuscripts' in *So Meny People Longages and Tonges*, ed. Michael Benskin and M. L. Samuels (Edinburgh, 1981) pp. 55-106.

and consequently to require fewer recipes. A chapter from the Middle English text may be taken as an example. Chapter 5 of part 2, beginning on f. 46v, deals with wounds to the ears, face, eyes and nose, and is based on five separate chapters in the Latin text (part 3 distinction 2, chapters 9 (ears), 10 (face), 11 (eyes), 12 (eyelids) and 13 (nose), beginning on f. 136v). In the Middle English text, twenty-six remedies are recommended, of which some recipes are given in the text of the chapter (for example, *puluis rubius*, which is recommended three times, the recipe for which is given on the first occasion it is mentioned), and some are not (for example, *unguentum fuscum chirurgicum*, recommended five times, and *unguentum viride regeneratum*, recommended three times, recipes for which do not appear in this chapter, though they are given elsewhere in the text). In all, thirteen separate applications are recommended, some of them more than once: a cleansing ointment of populion and honey, for example, which is a favourite with the Middle English author and is often substituted for other cleansing ointments recommended in Bradmore's text, appears three times, and a plaster of egg and flour, which is another favoured treatment in the Middle English text, also appears three times. In the equivalent chapters of Bradmore's text, 87 remedies are recommended (some of them being used more than once, as in the Middle English text, and eleven accounted for by Bradmore's inadvertent repetition of an entire passage). There is some correspondence between the two texts: both recommend *puluis rubius* and *unguentum fuscum chirurgicum*, for example, both use woman's milk to cleanse the eyes, and a cleansing treatment for wounded eyes made by heating the ingredients gently in a stoppered glass vessel is present, though not identical, in both texts. This sort of reduction in ^{the} number of recipes is typical of the Middle English version, though in some chapters rather more of the recipes correspond closely to those in the Latin. In general while reducing the number of recipes, and often substituting his own, favoured ingredients for those recommended by Bradmore, the author of the Middle English version of the text does follow the same general pattern in the treatments: that is to say, he replaces a

cleansing ointment in Bradmore's text with a cleansing ointment he prefers, and a corrosive with a corrosive he prefers, a regenerative ointment with a regenerative he prefers, and so on. Moreover, in many cases where the recipes do not seem to correspond at all closely, they do have one or two of the same ingredients recommended with frequency in both texts, suggesting that these were regarded by both Bradmore and the Middle English author as specifics for the condition in question.

It has already been noted above (p. 119) that the author of the Middle English version sometimes gives a clearer description than that given in the Latin for the method of preparation of a recipe, and that he often makes use of vivid, everyday images, to give the reader an impression of the desired appearance or texture of the finished substance. Sometimes the Middle English text is more specific than the Latin as to the exact ingredient required, so that a recipe may call not just for white wine but for 'whyt wyne of gascoyne' (f. 63r), not just for honey but for 'fyne claryfyed hony that ys for to say ynglysch hony' (f. 112v). In one recipe quoted below, which is derived from the Latin text, a full description of the appearance and habitat of one of the herbs is inserted in the Middle English version, which is also more specific than the Latin about some of the other ingredients:

'Take the Rotte of an erbe cald scrophularia and yt growys in wattery medews and yt has a Round leffe and a yalow flowr and berys Round bobis at the Rotte to the forme off scrophules and yt ys cald scrophularia ffor yt hath propyrte to do a wey scrophules. Take off thes Rottes lib. $\frac{f}{2}$ and off the Rottes of philyapendula [.i. hartystong *in margin*] off the levys off pympernell mowser tansy ana $\frac{3}{4}$ ij of the Rottes of madyr and off the Rottes of the sege cald *spatula fetida* off ychon $\frac{3}{4}$ iiij off the Rottes off astragya longa iij $\frac{3}{4}$ make a serupe of thes with sufficient off whyt wyn and hony....' (f. 104r-v)

'*Recipe scrophularie partes 3 philipendule partes 2as pimpinelle piloselle tanaseti caulis rubri, rubri Maioris ana partem 1 astrologie radice spatule fetide radice raphani ana parte f conquiscentur et cum vino albo et melle...*' (f. 46v)⁶³

The Middle English text also identifies one of the herbs for which it retains the Latin name by stating what sort of plant it is: 'the sege cald *spatula fetida*', and specifies which part of the herbs named is to be used, which the Latin text only does for the last two ingredients.

However, the interest of this recipe in the Middle English text does not only lie in the identification of the ingredients. Whereas Bradmore gives the recipe as one among many recipes drawn from various authorities, giving its dosage '*quolibet die 3^o in 3^m hora matutina quarte 1 tepide administratur...*' (f.46v), but no other details as to its use, the Middle English text gives it specifically for scrophula in young children and infants. Of particular interest, though not unique to this author, is the recommendation that in the case of an unweaned infant the wet-nurse should take the medicine herself:

'..and yff yt happon a sowkyng chylde to haue scrophules than do the noryse use off this syrup fyrste and laste viij sponfull at onys and in the somer cold and in the wynter lewke the space of a fourtnyght or iij wekes. Take the Rotte of an erbe cald scrophularia....And yff yt be anodyr chylde than sokyng that hath the scrophules as from ij yer off age to xij, than do hym to drynke off the sayd syrupe and gyff hym in a quantyte as he ys in age and playstyr hym as ys sayd abouffe. And yff he be off a manis age that has the scrophulys than do hym to use of pullus albus.... (f. 104r-104v)

⁶³ Hunt (p. 234) gives the identification for *Scrophularia* as either *Scrophularia nodosa* (figwort) or, less likely, *Ranunculus ficaria* (lesser celandine). The description given here could well apply to either plant, as could the habitat described, so it is not easy to determine which of the two plants was intended by the description in the Middle English text. W. Keble Martin, *The Concise British Flora in Colour* (London, 1974) gives the habitat of Figwort as 'woods and hedge banks' (p. 63) and of Lesser Celandine as 'shady places' (pl. 3), and the habitat described in the text as 'wattery medews' fits with that given by Gerard (John Gerard *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes*, London 1633, the edition revised by Thomas Johnson) on p. 717 for *Scrophularia* '...groweth plentifully in shadowie woods, and sometimes in moist medowes' and on p. 816 for Lesser Celandine 'It groweth in medewes, by common waies, by ditches and trenches, and it is common euery where, in moist and dankish places'.

This is not the only place in the text in which the Middle English author shows particular concern for different age groups. One such instance has already been noted above on p. 117 when age limits were suggested for phlebotomy; another occurs on f. 42v, when three different sizes of trephine are recommended according to the age of the patient. On f. 108v a recipe is recommended particularly for 'an aged body past xli yer'. Most of the distinctions between different types of patient in the recipes, however, are between the rich and the poor. In general, these consist of suggested alternative recipes for poor people, although in one recipe, on f. 127r, it is suggested that 'yff yt be for a Ryche person munge ther wyth a lytyll campher'. It may be that in some instances, where the poor are not specifically mentioned in the Middle English text, alterations to Bradmore's recipes are nevertheless made for reasons of economy. An example of this is the very common substitution in the Middle English text of ale for wine; for example, it may be recommended that a remedy should be taken in ale, where Bradmore had recommended wine, as in the case of potus magistralis on f. 36v and treakyll (theriac) on f. 117r. On f. 102r it is actually stated that treakyll should be taken 'wt alle or wyne after the pacyent ys of power'. This specific concern for the poor occurs elsewhere in the recipes, as in the following examples: 'And for por pepull watter of decoccion sawge (and the sext parte^d) in the wyche alome ys desoluyd in ys good for to wasche and to clens wt woundys' (f. 36r); 'And for por pepull as to men uplond the wyche may not spend do use thys medysyne euery mornynge fastynge..' (f. 89r); 'yff the pacient be por do sawge and Isope be bakyne and put in his ale' (f. 102v); '...and yff yt be a por body take good ale for swyche for syche thyng schall for the tyme comforth natur' (f. 80r). Thus it appears that the author of the Middle English version of Bradmore's work, while not giving in his text an explicitly charitable motive for so doing,⁶⁴ is concerned to make his book useful to poorer patients (or at least, useful to a practitioner who may be treating or advising poorer

⁶⁴ For charity as a motive in itself for undertaking translation, see Faye Getz, 'Charity, translation and the language of medical learning in Medieval England', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 64 (1990) 1-17.

patients) and to people who are not based in an area where made-up medicines or trained practitioners are readily available '...for men of the contre that wyll be ther owne leche..' (f. 144r).⁶⁵

It has already been noted that the Middle English text frequently substitutes for Bradmore's recipes other recipes containing its own favoured ingredients. One very noticeable alteration of this type is the considerable reduction of recipes containing ingredients derived from animals. Medieval medical recipes in general call for a number of ingredients of animal origin, whether the meat or fat of some creature, or its hair or bone, or its urine, dung, or blood, or products such as eggs, milk and butter. There is a noticeable reduction in this type of ingredient in the Middle English version of Bradmore's text. A table listing these ingredients appears in Appendix 5, and from this it can be seen that the whole Middle English text contains two hundred and seventy-eight references to ingredients of animal origin, forty-eight separate ingredients being used (many of them only once). Eggs, butter, tallow and lard account between them for two thirds of these references. The ten-folio passage selected from Bradmore's text for comparison refers to such ingredients one hundred and forty-one times, using forty-eight different ingredients (though not the same forty-eight, as can be seen from the table). It is probably only the nature of the particular passage selected that makes castoreum the most heavily used ingredient in Bradmore's text (all five references to castoreum in the Middle English text occur in the equivalent chapters to this passage from Bradmore). Had the passage been taken from the section on wounds, for example, it is likely that eggs would have assumed a more prominent place in the list, as a common ingredient in ointments and plasters. In

⁶⁵ For rural practitioners, of whom so little is known, see James K. Mustain, 'A Rural Medical Practitioner in Fifteenth Century England', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 46 (1972), 470-476, for details of the life and practice of John Crophill, and Peter Murray Jones, 'Harley MS. 2558: A Fifteenth-Century Medical Commonplace Book', in *Manuscript Sources of Medieval Medicine - a book of essays*, ed. M. R. Schleissner (New York and London, 1995), pp. 35-54, for the writings of West County practitioner Thomas Fayreford. Peter Murray Jones' detailed analysis of the cases contained in Fayreford's book did not appear in time to be included in this thesis.

addition to the ingredients listed in the table, which appear in the section selected from Bradmore's text for this comparison, many other such ingredients are recommended in recipes throughout his work. The following list gives some examples of such ingredients recommended by Bradmore: the fat of a hare, a mouse, a horse, a porpoise: blood of a goat, a mouse, a dove, a hoopoe, a human; horse teeth, hare's brains, human bone, the testicles of an ass: hare's fur, earthworms, river crabs: the flesh of frogs, toads, bats, badgers, hedgehogs, cats, fish such as roach and barbel: urine of a dog, a horse, a camel, a human: human faeces and the dung of dogs, hares, goats, cattle, and doves, the latter a particularly common ingredient in some areas of the text. This would bring the total of the separate ingredients recommended by Bradmore to eighty-three, and is by no means an exhaustive list.

It may readily be seen from the table, and from the analysis of the figures given here, that the apparently large number of animal ingredients in the Middle English text does in fact represent a considerable reduction from the number recommended in the Latin text. The reasons for this alteration are harder to assess. It may be that simple practicality had a part to play: finding references to the fat of vultures and lions in a text of English origin one may justly wonder how often they were actually used, and even though not all the animals and birds used in Bradmore's text were exotic, it seems plain that while the fat of sheep, pigs, cattle, hens, or even deer, would be produced as an adjunct to normal everyday cookery, the fat of cats, dogs, foxes, or badgers would require a greater effort to obtain. In one case, an ingredient not available in England is left by the translator in its original Latin: on f. 161v when the Latin recipe he is using calls for a stork to be boiled whole. First the translator gives the ingredients in Latin without translation, then when describing the method he says 'take the byrd *ciconia* and set hym on the fyr....', making clear that he knows the nature of the ingredient but no English name for it. Allied

to the question of practicality is that of expense, which could well have been a factor limiting the use of such ingredients as castoreum, for example.⁶⁶ There may also be a characteristic peculiar to English medicine at work here; M. L. Cameron found in assessing the Anglo-Saxon leechbooks that animal faeces were prescribed in Anglo-Saxon medicine far less frequently than in Mediterranean medicine.⁶⁷ However, against this must be set the undoubted contrast between the Middle English version of Bradmore's text, and the 'surgery after the use of the ryght worschypful doctor Master Doctor Rede', also in Middle English, which immediately follows it in Harley 1736 (see p. 97), and in which animal ingredients of all types are very frequent. If the reduction in animal ingredients is accepted as a deliberate alteration made by the translator of Bradmore's text into Middle English, their heavy presence in the texts ascribed to Master Doctor Rede in the same manuscript would be an argument against these texts having been connected at the time of the original translation of Bradmore's work.

It may also be noted that Bradmore does not make use of this wide range of animal ingredients in the recipes attached to his own case studies. Mention has already been made of Bradmore's tendency to recommend in his case studies fewer, and in general simpler, recipes than those mentioned in his main text (see pp.86-87 above). It seems possible that in the reduction of animal ingredients and the general tendency to include fewer recipes and make those included more practical for use in both their range of ingredients and the description of the method of production, the translator is continuing a trend already begun by Bradmore. It is as if Bradmore, having earlier works of the same type before him as his models, felt constrained to follow the format and recommendations of these in his own work, and is only freed from this constraint when describing cases

⁶⁶ The revulsion felt by a modern reader for some of the recommended ingredients is unlikely to have been shared by the medieval practitioner or patient. We are accustomed to living at one remove from the sources of both our food and our medicines, unwilling to contemplate their sources too closely, but this was not so in even the quite recent past. For an account of the successful treatment of wounds with animal dung less than a century ago see A. Gomme, 'Boer folk medicine and some parallels' *Folklore* (1902) 69-75 and 181-183, especially p. 73.

⁶⁷ Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, p. 38.

drawn entirely from his own experience; whereas the Middle English author, who, working in a very new field, does not have a model in his mind of what the format or recommendations of a Middle English book of surgery 'ought' to be, is free to adapt the whole text to bring it into accordance with his actual practice⁶⁸, and to adapt it for his purpose, '...wt counsell and...thy Imaginecyon and wytte, for who that dose non odyr than he ys tawght his wytt ys note to be commendyd.'⁶⁹

⁶⁸ As Peter Murray Jones states in 'Medical Books Before the Invention of Printing', on p. 11, 'The outstanding characteristic of this vernacular and laicised medicine was its practical and utilitarian bias'.

⁶⁹ Harley 1736, f.82v.

Conclusion

The two linked manuscripts which form the basis of this study provide a valuable insight into the practice of surgery in England in the first half of the fifteenth century. Bradmore's text, existing as it does in his personal copy, gives a unique opportunity to see a compiler at work on a text. In addition to this, the inclusion of personal anecdotes provides evidence for his methods as a surgeon. The picture of the surgeon in the opening years of the fifteenth century presented by Bradmore's text is of a Latinate and well-read man, with access to several important texts and compilations relating to his work. He has respect for accepted authorities, but is prepared to depart from their methods in the course of his practice when an individual case requires it. His methods as a surgeon can be shown to have a practical basis, and he is concerned with the well-being of his patients, desiring to spare them pain wherever possible. The details he gives of his patients show that they came from a wide social range, and included both men and women, and that he treated them for conditions including disease and accidental injury as well as the wounds of battle which have sometimes dominated the modern view of surgery at this time. He intended his text to be useful as a reference work for other practitioners.¹ His own copy appears to have been in use for as long as two centuries after his death.² Within a very short time of its composition parts of it had been copied in another Latin compilation³ and the first three parts had been translated into Middle English.

This Middle English translation of Bradmore's text, made within fifty years of his death, is interesting both for the translator's methods of dealing with the technical

¹ '...so that my readers may find this my brief compilation easier to use, and more perfectly and simply find the necessary remedies' (*ut legentes hanc meam breuem compilationem facilius potuerint predicta agnoscere et remedia eis necessaria leuius atque magis perfecte adimplere*), f. 347v.

² See pp. 23-24 above.

³ See p. 4 above.

vocabulary of his subject, and for the adaptations he makes to the text. The translator plainly does not feel the reverence for the text which he might for an ancient authority, and indeed he alters the text very freely, even in the case of Bradmore's accounts of his own treatment of patients.⁴ As he is dealing with a near-contemporary text, he is not altering it simply because its methods are outmoded. The translator appears, like Bradmore himself, to wish his text to be of practical use, but perhaps for those less well-educated than the intended readers of Bradmore's Latin text. He is still intending the text for other surgeons rather than lay people, but cuts out much theory and reduces the length of the text considerably, offers alternative recipes for those less able to pay, and clearly accepts that his text may pass out of the hands of the surgeons to 'men of the contre that wyll be ther owne leche' (f.144r). He shows an interest in treating the poor, the very young, and the very old, providing alternative methods and recipes for these when it is necessary. Though the identity of the translator remains elusive, the text he produced 'simpyll after my sympull wytt' (f.87r) bears evidence of his concerns and interests as much as it does of Bradmore's.

The fact that many of the treatments described in these texts may initially appear very alien to the modern reader should not be allowed to obscure the practical skill, and the compassion, of their respective authors, or to reduce our respect for the medical tradition within which they worked. The holograph copy of John Bradmore's *Philomena* provides a rare insight into the mind of a compiler, as its Middle English derivative does into the selectivity of its translator. Taken together, the two manuscripts are important evidence for the learning, values, and methods of practice of surgeons in late medieval England.

⁴ This attitude to a near-contemporary text has echoes of Bradmore's tendency to 'borrow' material without acknowledgement from his contemporaries, though he does not do this when his source is more distant in time.

Appendix One

A table of contents of Sloane 2272

The table of contents provided by Bradmore at the start of his text between ff. 9r and 14v lacks the contents of Part One of the text, and occasionally differs (e.g. at part 2, distinction 1, chapters 21-26, where some confusion in the order and numbering of the chapters occurs) from the actual contents of the text. I have therefore compiled a table of contents which corresponds exactly with the actual contents and layout of the manuscript, in order to facilitate reference to the text.

PART ONE

1:Distinction One

Folio	Chapter	Title
15r	1	de communibus necessariis
16r	2	de complexione sanguinis
16r	3	de complexione colere
16v	4	de complexione fleumatis
16v	5	de complexione malencolie
17r	6	de generatione humorum et eorum speciebus

1:Distinction Two

18r	1	Sermo universalis de anotomia et membrorum natura
19v	2	de Anotomia cutis et pinguedinis, carnis atque musculorum
20r	3	de Anotomia neruorum, ligamentorum, et cordarum
20r	4	de Anotomia venarum et Arteriarum
20v	5	de Anothomia ossium cartilaginum unguum atque pilorum

1: Distinction Three

20v	1	de Anothomia olle capitis
22r	2	de Anothomia faciei et partium eius
22v	3	de Anothomia colli et partium eius
23r	4	de Anothomia homoplatis et brachiorum seu manuum magnorum
24r	5	de Anothomia pectoris et partium eius
24v	6	de Anothomia ventris et partium eius
26v	7	de Anothomia ancharum et partium eius
27v	8	de Anothomia tiliarum seu magnorum pedum

PART TWO

2: Distinction One

29v	1	Sermo universalis de Apostematibus et ad sciendum Quid sit Apostema
31v	2	de equali diuisione Apostematum
31v	3	de equali cura Apostematum calidorum generalium
32r	4	de equali cura Apostematum frigidorum generalium
32v	5	de Apostematibus infra corpus in generali
33r	6	De Pestilencialibus et eorum curis
35v	7	de Apostematibus sanguineis et flegmone
36v	8	de Carbunculis Antracibus et pustulis sanguineis
39r	9	De herpete Esteomeno siue Lupo

- 40v 10 de herispula et Apostematibus Colericis
- 42r 11 De herpestibus malencolicis et fformicis
- 42v 12 de udimia et Apostematibus fleumaticis
- 43 13 de Igne persico vel miliario
- 43v 14 de prima
- 44r 15 de Albaras
- 44r 16 de variolis et morbillis
- 44v 17 de Apostemate ventoso
- 45v 18 de Apostemate Aquoso
- 46r 19 de nodis, Glandulis, Scrophulis et omnibus excrescentiis fleumaticis
- 48r 20 de Apostematibus malencolicis siue sipheros siue sclirosi vel skyrros
- 49r 21 de Apostemate malencolico ex malencolia innaturali generato per congelacionem et induracionem flegmonis
- 49r 23[sic] de Apostemate Cancroso
- 49v 24 de verucis et Porris, Acroordinibus et luppiis
- 49v 25 de ffumo ambulante sub cute de membro ad membrum
- 50r 22[sic] de Apostemate duro malencolico quod dicitur Scliros
- 50v 26 Ad inducendum materiam alicuius apostemati de loco ad locum

2:Distinction Two

- 52r 1 de Apostematibus capitis siue Nodis vel Testudo
- 52v 2 de Aqua congregata in capitibus puerorum
- 53r 3 de Apostemate sanioso capitis vel frontis

53r	4	de Pustulis in capite
53v	5	de Pustulis nascentibus in coniunctiva oculi
53v	6	de nodis palpebrarum et ordilio
54r	7	de Apostemate calido vel frigido in Aure vel circa Aurem
54v	8	de Inflatione et casu uvule
55v	9	de Inflatione et magnificatione Amigdalorum apostematorum
55v	10	de Brancsis qui tument
55v	11	de Apostemate et Ranula sub lingua et in Radicibus lingue
56r	12	de Apostematibus colli Gule et partibus dorsi et dicitur Bocio
56r	13	de Apostemate quod dicitur Squinancia
58r	14	de Scrophule in gula
58v	15	de hernia gutturis vel cotor et carnositate in collo et gula
58v	16	de Apostemate sub assellis
59r	17	de Bubone sub assellis
59v	18	de Scrophulis et duricie (nodis) et carnositate sub asselle
59v	20[sic]	de Apostemate homoplatis humeri et adiutorii
60r	19[sic]	de Apostomate indurato fugilito (in ^d)sub assellis
60r	21	de Apostematione brachiorum post fleobotomacionem propter puncturam
60r	22	De Apostemate et nodositate et duricie nodis cubiti
60v	23	De Nodo in Racheta manus et digitorum
60v	24	de Apostemate digitorum fistuloso et leditur os

61r	25	de Apostemate circa ungula digiti vocatur pauaritium
61v	26	de Apostematibus pectoris
61v	27	de Apostematibus mamillarum
63r	28	de (Apostematibus ^d) Scrophule et duricie mamillarum
63r	29	de duricie et Apostematibus in ore Stomachi
63v	30	de Apostematibus Costarum
64r	31	de Apostematibus et duricie super Epar
65r	32	de Apostematibus et duricie super splenem
65v	33	de Apostematibus ventris .i. ydropisi et de extractione Aque eiusdem
68v	34	de Apostematibus Renum
69r	35	de Apostemate vesice
69v	36	de Apostematibus a parte posteriori A collo usque ad caudam
69v	37	De Apostematibus in Inguinibus et vocatur Bubo
70r	38	De Scrophule et duricie in Inguine
70r	39	de Apostemate in virga virili et matrice vel vulua
70v	40	de Apostematibus Testiculorum
71r	41	de Apostemate hernia Aquosa testiculorum
72r	42	de Apostemate hernia ventosa testiculorum
73r	43	de (Apostemate) hernia Carnosa et varicosa testiculorum
73r	44	De Apostemate hernia humoralis testiculorum
73v	45	de Apostematibus Coxarum et genuum
73v	46	de Elefancia varicibus et vena que Appellatur meden

- 74r 47 de Apostemate vel mugo in calcaneo propter frigorem
- 74v 48 De duricie (callo) et Nodositate, Porris et verucis que fiunt in digitis pedum

2:Distinction Three

- 76r 1 de Arthetica Passione
- 78r 3 de dolore luncturarum et duricie
- 80v 3 de Sciatica
- 82v 4 de Podagra
- 85v 5 de Ciragra
- 86r 6 de Gutta in generali
- 87v 7 De Gutta calida ad idem
- 88r 8 de Gutta frigida ad idem
- 88v 9 De Gutta inossata ad idem
- 88v 10 De gutta Erratica
- 89r 11 de Gutta fistulata
- 89r 12 De doloribus in generali
- 89v 13 De tumore et Rancula in quolibet membro

2:Distinction Four

- 90v 1 de dispositis ad leprum siue de preseruantibus a lepra et palliantibus
- 91r 2 De lepra
- 95v 3 de ulceribus et tuberositatibus siue de Pustulis leprosum
- 96r 4 de Coitu cum muliere cum qua concubuit leprosus

96v	5	de Impetigine et fformica
97v	6	de Serpigine
97v	7	de morphea
98v	8	de Scabie et prurimum

2:Distinction Five

100v	1	de Paralisi
106v	2	de Tremore membrorum
106v	3	de lactigacione membrorum
107r	4	de Insensibilitate membrorum
107r	5	De Spasmo
109r	6	de Thitano
109r	7	de Concussione
110r	8	De fflagellis verberatis suspensis seu distensis brachiis et pedibus et similibus
110v	9	De viriditate vel nigredine contingente in quolibet membro ex percussione
110v	10	De combustione ignis,aque calide,olei vel alterius rei ardentis
111v	11	de venenis
112r	12	De pediculis siue lendis,muscis,muris et contra tineam Vestimentorum
112v	13	De Seronibus
112v	14	Ad impinguandum corpus macrum vel membrum consumptum
113r	15	Ad attenuandum corpus vel membrum pingue et de extenuacione et ingrossacione corporum et membrorum

- 114v 16 De casu offensionis distensionis et submersionis
- 115r 17 de membris superfluis Amputandis et corporibus mortuis seruandis
- 2:Distinction Six
- 116v 1 de medicinis Repercussiuus
- 118r 2 de Medicinis Attractiuus et de modo Attrahendi
- 118r 3 de medicinis Resolutiuus et de modo Resoluendi
- 119v 4 De medicinis Mollificatiuis et de modo mollificandi
- 120r 5 De maturatiuis et de modo maturandi
- 121v 6 De Significa maturacionis exiturarum
- 122r 7 de lenibus medicinis ad rumpendum apostema maturum
- 122v 8 de medicinis Cauterizatiuis et ulceratiuis
- 123v 9 De medicinis valentibus ad escaram remouendi vel cadat et remoueat
- 124r 10 de (medicinis) Dolorum sedatiuis et ipsarum operacionibus (*ms reads operacōibus*)
- 125r 11 de medicinis mundificatiuis tam Apostematum quam vulnerum et de modo mundificandi et eorum curis

PART THREE

3:Distinction One

- 127v 1 de equali diuisione vulnerum
- 128v 2 de vulneribus simplicibus in carne tantum
- 129v 3 de modo ligandi vulnera
- 130r 4 de modo suendi vulnera
- 131r 5 de modo lauandi vulnera

131r	6	de modo et qualitate plumaceolorum
131r	7	de modo et qualitate Tentarum et lichiniorum
131r	8	de pocionibus vulneratorum
131v	9	ad cognoscendum utrum vulneratus viuet au non
131v	10	de dieta vulneratorum

3:Distinction Two

133r	1	de Simplici vulnere capitis in carne in quo tum nec cranei lesio nec cerebri reperitur
133v	2	de vulnere capitis cum fractura cranei
135r	3	de concussionione capitis siue vulnere et siue cranei lesione
135v	4	de percussione capitis siue vulnere et cum fractura cranei
135v	5	de vulnere capitis cum concussionione
135v	6	de mocione cerebri ex casu vel percussione
136r	7	de plicatione cranei siue fracta eiusdem
136r	8	de vulnere capitis cum sagitta et in(strumentis)
136v	9	de vulnere in aure vel circa aurem
136v	10	de vulnere in facie cum ense (sagitta) vel huiusmodi
137v	11	de vulnere in substancia oculi et palpebrarum (et nasi ^d)
138r	12	de vulneribus nasum
139r	13	de inflacione mandibule ex percussione
139r	14	de vulnere in gula et partibus eius cum ense vel sagitta et similibus
139r	15	de vulnere in collo

- 140r 16 de vulnere in humero et spatula cum ense vel sagitta et modo
extractionis et curacionis
- 140r 17 de vulnere in adiutorio cum ense sagitta et similibus et modo extractionis
et curacionis eius
- 141r 18 de vulnere in cubito cum ense et similibus
- 141r 19 de vulnere in Racheta manus
- 141v 20 de vulnere pectoris (sive thioracis) et partium eius
- 143r 21 de vulnere in ore stomachi
- 143r 22 de vulnere in ventre a stomacho inferius usque ad femur
- 144v 23 de vulnere in dorso et spina ani
- 145r 24 de vulneribus Renum
- 145r 25 de vulnere in Inguine vel in femore
- 145r 26 de vulnere virge virile testiculorum aut matrice vel huiusmodi
- 145v 27 de vulnere in Ancha et scia
- 145v 28 de vulnere in coxa
- 145v 29 de vulnere in genu
- 146r 30 de vulnere cruris
- 146r 31 de vulnere rachete siue nodis clauelle pedis
- 146v 32 de vulnere pectinis pedis

3:Distinction Three

- 146v 1 de concauo vulnere cum deperdicione substantie
- 147r 2 de vulnere quod fit ex concussionem

147v	3	de vulnere facto in neruo siue de punctura nerui
149v	4	de punctura nerui in flebotomacione
150r	5	de vulnere facto in osse et cartilagine
150v	6	de vulnere in fractura ossis cum dislocatione
150v	7	de vulnere cum apostemate vel mala discrasia
151v	8	Quare vulnera morantur ad sanandum et de cautela curacionis
152r	9	de vulnere male curato
152v	10	de morsu hominis vel equi
153r	11	de morsu canis
153v	12	de morsu serpentis siue aliorum animalium venenosorum
154v	13	de morsu apium et vasparum et similium

3:Distinction Four

154v	1	de fluxu sanguinis a vulnere venarum et arteriarum
157r	2	Ad expellendi sanguinem ab homine vulnerato
157r	3	Ad extrahendi sagittam vel huiusmodi a vulnere
157v	4	Ad extrahendi spinam vel os vel huiusmodi a vulnere
159r	5	de dolore vulneris
159v	6	de herisipula et aliis accidentibus a vulnere
159v	7	de tumore vulneris
159v	8	de Ardore et pruritu vulneris
159v	9	de frigiditate vulneris
160r	10	de siccitate vulneris

160r	11	de carne mortua in vulnere ac de ffetore vulneris
160v	12	de Spasmo superueniente in vulnere
161r	13	de paralisi in vulnere
161r	14	de Sincopi in vulnere
161v	15	de Alienacione Sensus

3:Distinction Five

161r	1	diferencia inter ulcus et vulnus
163r	2	Sermo uniuersalis ulcerum
164r	3	de ulcere discrasiato doloroso Apostemoso et contuso
164r	9[sic]	de ulceribus Antiquis
166r	4	de ulceribus cum carne superflua et duricie et tenebrositate labiorum et de vlcere cum osse corrupto
166v	5	de ulcere difficulter curabili cum proprietate nobis occulta
166v	6	de ulceribus propriis saniosis et primo de ulcere virulento et corrosiuo
167r	7	de ulcere sordido et putrido
167r	8	de ulcere profundo et cauernoso
167v	10[sic]	de ffistula Cura generalis de ulceribus antiquis Require in quarto folio et tertio precedentibus
171v	11	de cancro ulcerato
174r	12	de cancro non ulcerato .i. abscondito
174v	13	de causis que impediunt consolidationem ulcerum

3:Distinction Six

176r	1	de ulceribus Capitis
176r	2	de ulcere Aurium
176v	3	de ulceribus oculorum
177r	4	de ffistula lacrimali
177v	5	de ulceribus narium
177v	6	de polipo narium
178v	7	de Noli me tangere
179r	8	de ffistula in mandibula
179v	9	De ulceribus oris
180r	10	de Cancro Oris
180r	11	de Cancro labiorum
180r	12	de ulceribus colli homoplatis et brachiorum
180r	13	de ffissura labiorum
180v	14	de ulceribus Pectoris
180v	15	de ulceribus et ffistula mamillarum
180v	16	De Cancro mamillarum
181r	17	De ulceribus ventris
181r	18	De Regadis Ani
181v	19	de Emoroidibus (et condolomatibus ^d) Ani
184r	20	De condolomatibus Ani et vulue
184r	21	de Attricibus Ani

184v	22	de fficu Ani
184v	23	de ffistula in Ano
186v	24	de ulceribus (et pustule ^d) virge virile et matricis
187r	25	De Pustule virge virilis
187v	26	de Cancro in virga virili et matrice
188r	27	de ulceribus (coxarum tibiaram atque pedum ^d) Ancharum
188r	28	de ulceribus coxarum tibiaram atque pedum
188r	29	de malo mortuo
190r	30	de Crustis et scabiis ex fleumate salso
190v	31	de Cancrevis tibiaram
191r	32	De vena que Appellatur victissen ex varicibus que in cruribus fiunt

3:Distinction Seven

191v	1	de medicinis Restringtonibus sanguinem siue sedantibus et conglutinatiuis
191v	2	de medicinis ad faciendum pus .i. saniam in vulneribus
192r	3	de medicinis Incarnatiuis et de modo Incarnandi
192v	4	de medicinis Regeneratiuis et modo Regenerandi
194v	5	de Medicinis Consolidatiuis Cicatriziuis et Sigillatiuis
195v	6	de Medicinis Sanatiuis vulnerum siue ulcerum
196v	7	de Medicinis Corrosiuis Putrefactiuis siue Causticis
199r	8	de Medicinis Attractatiuis vulnerum siue ulcerum
200r	9	De duricie (et) nodositate post consolidationem vulnerum

PART FOUR

4:Distinction One

201r	1	Sermo universalis et de Restauracione fracturarum
203r	2	de ffracturis ossium in generali
204v	3	de ffractura ossis Nasi cum vulnere vel siue vulnere
204v	4	De ffractura ossis mandibule cum vulnere vel siue
205r	5	de ffractura furcule gule cum vulnere vel siue
205v	6	de ffractura ossis spatule cum vulnere vel siue
206r	7	de ffractura ossis adiutorii cum vulnere vel siue
207r	8	de ffractura focilii brachii cum vulnere vel siue vulnere
208r	9	de ffractura ossis pectinis et digitorum manus
208v	10	de ffractura spondilium dorsi
209r	11	de ffractura ossis pectoris siue thoracis
209r	12	de ffractura costarum et de Inclinatione earum
210r	13	de ffractura ossis hanche
210r	14	de ffractura ossis coxe
211r	15	de ffractura Rotuli genu<S>
211v	16	de ffractura foscilium cruris cum vulnere et siue
211v	17	de ffractura ossium pectinis et digitorum pedis cum vulnere et siue.
212r	18	de ffractura ossis calcanei
(212r	19	de ffractura ossis cum dislocatione et vulnere mollificatione corrosione et separatione in quibusdam membris ^d) (cancelled and marked VACAT)]

212v 19 de ffractura ossis cum dislocatione et vulnere

212v 20 de plicatione ossium cum dislocatione

4:Distinction Two

213r 1 Sermo uniuersalis de dislocationibus

213v 2 de dislocatione in generali

214r 3 de dislocatione mandibule inferioris

214v 4 De Separatione furcule et ossis spatule

215r 5 de dislocatione humeri seu adiutorii cum vulnere vel siue

216r 6 de dislocatione cubiti cum vulnere vel siue

216v 7 de dislocatione nodi Rachete manus

217r 8 de dislocatione ossium digitorum manus

217r 9 de dislocatione (colli) spine siue Spondilium

218r 10 de dislocatione hanche seu ossis vertebri

219v 11 de Separatione Rotule genu <S>

219v 12 de dislocatione genu <S>

219v 13 de dislocatione calcanei

220r 14 de dislocatione nodi Rachete (pedis) cum vulnere vel siue vulnere

220r 15 de dislocatione digitorum pedis

220v 16 de dislocatione semiplena que dicitur Torsio

4:Distinction Three

220v 1 de Strictoriis et emplastris ad dislocationes et fracturas ossium

221r 2 de medicinis prohibentibus Apostemacionem

221r	3	de medicinis conglutinatiuis
221r	4	de medicinis confortatiuis que competunt in fine curacionis
221v	5	de medicinis vulnerum per dislocationem et fracturam ossium
221v	6	de medicinis mollificatiuis post restauracionem ossium et dislocationem et fracturam eorundem
223v	7	de Spatadraptis et cerotis
224r	8	de medicinis pro tortuositate et nodositate membri post consolidationem
224v	9	de pocionibus pro fracturis

PART FIVE

5:Distinction One

225r	1	De dolore capitis
226r	2	de Emigræneo
226r	3	de clavo
226r	4	de Tinea
227v	5	de crustis et scabie in capitibus puerorum
228r	6	de ffauo capitis
228r	7	de ffurfurea capitis
228r	8	de pruritu capitis
228v	9	de purgacione et mundificacione capitis
228v	10	de caluitio capitis
228v	11	de Alopecia siue de casu capillorum
230r	12	Ut capilli cadant

230v	13	De Regeneratione capillorum
231r	14	de prolongatione capillorum
231r	15	de corrosione extremitatum capillorum
231r	16	de denigracione capillorum siue coleracione
231v	17	de canitie
232r	18	de opilatione et dolore Aurium
232v	19	de Tinitu Aurium
232v	20	de Surditate Aurium
234r	21	de Re cadente in Aure
234r	22	de Aqua nigra vel sanie in Aure
234r	23	de vermibus in Aure
234v	24	de panniculo,veruca siue carne opilante aurem
234v	24	de sanguine fluente ab aure

5:Distinction Two

236r	1	Sermo uniuersalis de egritudinibus oculorum
237r	2	de Obtalmia et dolore oculorum
240r	3	de Macula in oculo
241r	4	de Tela in oculo
241r	5	de panno in oculo et Sebel
241v	6	de ungula oculi
242v	7	de Albugine oculi
243r	8	de puncto Rubio in oculo

243r	9	de Catharacta oculi
244v	10	de oculis lacrimatibus
245v	11	de Rubore oculorum
245v	12	de Ardore oculorum
245v	13	de pruritu oculorum
246r	14	de Egritudinibus aliarum particularum intrinsecarum oculi ex quibus peruenit debilitas et nocumentum in visu
246v	15	de nimia dilatatione pupille oculi
246v	16	de Eminencia seu ingrossacione oculorum propter naturam
246v	17	de Strabositate oculorum
247r	18	de Noctilupa
247r	19	de carne superflue in oculo vel in palpebrarum
247r	20	de Re cadente in oculo
247v	21	de Inuersacione palpebrarum, Relaxacione, et Reuersacione earundem
248r	22	de tumore oculorum siue palpebrarum
248r	23	de Inuiscacione et conglutinacione palpebrarum
248r	24	de difficultate aperiendi siue claudendi palpebras
248v	25	de Scabie palpebrarum
249r	26	de Pediculis palpebrarum
249r	27	de Casu capillorum in palpebris
249r	28	de Pilis Inuersatis in oculis
249v	29	De veruca in palpebris

249v	30	De Ictu oculorum
249v	31	De debilitate visus et <i>advisum</i> clarificandum
251r	32	de duricie, lupia, ordeolo, grauedine, salat et exarnat
251r	33	Contra Guttam oculorum

5:Distinction Three

253r	1	De Opilacione Narium
253v	2	De ffluxu sanguinis Narium
254r	3	de ffetore Narium
254v	4	De dolore supercilliorum
254v	5	de Inflatione totius ffaciei cum rubore
255r	6	De diacrocordinibus faciei
255r	7	De Rugis faciei attollendis
255r	8	De gutta Rosacea et salso fleumate
256v	9	De pustulis albis, rubeis vel liuidis circa nasum
257r	10	de lentigine ffaciei
257v	11	de panno faciei post partum
258r	12	de Restitucione coloris faciei et ad faciem decorandum et faciendum bonum colorem
258v	13	de malo mortuo et liuore in facie et aliis locis
259r	14	de Tortura oris et maxille
259r	15	de paralisi lingue et Balbucie
259v	16	de Spasmo et filo contractionis lingue

259v	17	de Inflacione et magnificatione lingue
260r	18	de Excoriacione oris
260r	19	de Pustulis oris
260r	20	de ffetore oris siue hañelitus
260v	21	de Amaritudine oris
260v	22	de Passionibus dentium et eorum dolore
262r	23	De Comocione dentium
262v	24	de Albacione dentium
262v	25	de Verme in dentibus,et putredine
262v	26	de Stupore et congelacione et stridore dentium in sompno
263r	27	de limositate et feda coleracione dentium
263r	28	de Eradicacione et extractione dentium
263r	29	de Corrosione gingiuarum
263v	30	de Carne Superflua in gingiuis
263v	31	de difficultate transgluciendi
263v	32	de osse adherente in gutture vel huiusmodi
264r	33	de folio gutturis
264r	34	de Sanguissugis in gula adherentibus

5:Distinction Four

264r	1	de dolore Spatularum
264v	2	de ^{fr} pru _x itu manuum et de Sironibus
264v	3	de Tumore manuum vel pedum potissime ex frigore

- 264v 4 de frigiditate manuum et pedum
- 264v 5 de fissura manuum vel pedum
- 265r 6 de feditate unguinum et punctus digitorum
- 265v 7 de Maculis albis unguinum
- 265v 8 de corruptione carnis digitorum manuum vel pedum ex frigiditate

5:Distinction Five

- 266r 1 de Tumore et dolore et duricie Mamillarum et pectoris
- 266r 2 de Nacta et inflacione que apparet in mamillarum
- 266v 3 de lacte coagulato et dolore pro lacte in mamillis
- 267r 4 De Nimia habudancia lactis in mamillis
- 267r 5 de Augmentatione lactis in Mamillis
- (267r 6 de Inflacione mamillarum ex congelacione lactis post partum^d)
- 267r 6 de Capitibus mamillarum non satis eminentibus
- 267v 7 ut mamille pusille sint
- 267v 8 de Egritudinibus partium ventris
- 268r 9 Si serpens vel aliud animal intrauerit corpus humanum
- 268r 10 Contra lumbricos
- 268r 11 de laxatiuis ventris

5:Distinction Six

- 270r 1 De Gibbositate dorsi puerorum
- 270v 2 de Dolore dorsi
- 270v 3 de dolore Renum .i. nefresis

271v	4	de Eminencia umbilici
272r	5	De Ruptura duidinali et Siphac
274v	6	de Lapide in vesica
277v	7	de Inscisione lapidis in vesica (et de lapide mulieris ^d)
278r	8	de Lapide Renum
278v	9	de Arte mingendi cum medicinis et cum instrumentis
279r	10	de Priaspismo et Satiriasi
279v	11	de Gomorrea passione
279v	12	de Approximeron
280r	13	De malefacione et infrigidacione virge virilis propter nimium coitum
280r	14	de Tumore et dolore virge virilis
280v	15	de Pruritu virge
280v	16	de Dolore ex fluxu sanguinis ex nimio coitu
280v	17	de Ereptione virge virilis
280v	18	de Tumore Testiculorum
281r	19	de mollificatione testiculorum
281r	20	de castrandis hominibus
281r	21	de hermofrodita
281v	22	de Exitu matricis (et longaonis ^d)
281v	23	de Precipitacione matricis
282r	24	(de mola matricis ^d) de passionibus matricis et clausione
282v	25	de mola matricis

283r	26	de Tumore vulue
283r	27	de Paralisi Ani
283r	28	de Dolore ani qui non exit
283r	29	<i>de Exitu Ani et longaonis</i>
283v	30	de Scabie et putredine pudendorum

5:Distinction Seven

284r	1	de Tumore geniculorum
284r	2	de Elephancia crurium et pedum
284r	3	de Tumore tiliarum et pedum pregnantium
284v	4	de Tumore tiliarum et pedum Itinerantium
285r	5	de Passione crurium que vulgo dicitur Boneshawe
285r	6	de vermibus in planta pedis et de vermibus generatis sub cute et vocatur egritudo bouina
285r	7	de Sudacionibus que fiunt in omnibus membris et etiam de ablacione sudoris pedum
285v	8	de ffumo Ambulante de membro ad membrum

5:Distinction 8

285v	1	de Purgacione humorum et est sermo uniuersalis
288r	2	de Signis et replecione sanguinis et eius purgacione
288r	3	de signis uniuersalibus replecionis Colere et eius purgacione
289r	4	de Signis uniuersalibus replecionis fleumatis et de eius purgacione
290v	5	de Signis uniuersalibus repletionis melencolie et eius purgacione
291r	6	de Purgacione uniuersali

291v	7	De tempore purgandi
292r	8	De mollificatione ventris antequam venter soluat
292v	9	de purgacione per vomitum
293r	10	De purgacione per clisterium
293v	11	de purgacione per suppositorium
294r	12	De Purgacione per Pessarium
294r	13	de purgacione per flebotomiam
297r	14	de Regimine flebotomie post et ante flebotomiam
298v	15	de Purgacione per ventosas
300r	16	de purgacione per sanguisugas
300r	17	de purgacione per cauteria et de eorum operationibus
301r	18	de utilitate cauteriorum (actualium)
301v	19	de locis Cauterizandis
302v	20	de utilitate Cauteriorum Potentialium
302v	21	de Instrumentis cauteriorum
303v	22	de medicinis rumpentibus que non faciunt escaram

PART SIX

6:Distinction One

304r	1	De gradibus medicinarum
304v	2	De littera A
304v	3	De littera B
305r	4	de littera C

305r	5	de litera E
305r	6	De litera ff
305r	7	de litera G
305v	8	de litera I
305v	9	de litera L
305v	10	de litera M
305v	11	De litera N
305v	12	de litera O
306r	13	de litera P
306r	14	de litera R
306r	15	de litera S
306r	16	de litera T
306v	17	de litera V

6:Distinction Two

306v	1	de Artificio preparandi medicinas
308r	2	de Aquis in generali
308r	3	de Aqua vite perfectissima composita et simplici
309r	4	de Aqua vite mirabili
309r	5	De Aqua vite frigida et aqua vite pro omnibus infirmitatibus
309v	6	de Aqua ad sanandum omnia vulnera et aqua ad potandum et ad lauandum
309v	7	de Aqua Camphorata

- 310r 8 de Aqua sociali maiore et minore
- 310r 9 de Aqua mirabili pro oculis [metallo *in margin*] et de Aqua Tuthie et de Aqua viride pro oculis
- 310r 10 de Aqua Bedelii
- 310r 11 de Aqua Gerze
- 310v 12 de Aqua artificiale calida et acuta
- 310v 13 de Aqua Sal gemme
- 311r 14 De Aqua ad fragendum lapidem
- 311r 15 de Aqua Tartari
- 311r 16 de Aqua rubea et de Aqua rubea Simplici
- 311r 17 de Aqua nigra contra Ardorem
- 311v 18 de Aqua vitrioli
- 311v 19 de Aqua que vocatur lac virginis
- 311v 20 de Aqua mercurii
- 311v 21 de Aqua que vocatur mater Balsami et terebentine
- 312r 22 de Aqua mellis
- 312v 23 de Aqua Aromatica pro nobilibus et de Aqua cicerum
- 312v 24 de Aqua cilicis pro gutta et de Aqua pro Sciatica passione
- 312v 25 de Aqua Silotri

6:Distinction Three

- 313v 1 Cerotum generali
- 313v 2 Cerotum diascerasios

313v	3	Cerotum (de cera ^d) castorii
313v	4	Cerotum Sandali et aliud
313v	5	Cerotum Nigrum Iudei et aliud cerotum nigrum
314r	6	Cerotum pro Arthetica passione et cerotum pro membris paralyticis
314r	7	Cerotum ^{mitigatiuum} contra omnia ulcera et aliud pro concussionibus et aliis doloribus gutte et iunctarum
314r	8	Cerotum ysofum descriptione Galieni et aliud Cerotum Galieni
314r	9	Cerotum descriptione filagii
314v	10	Cero ^(ne) tum descriptione pauli et ^{ceroneum} dyapente
314v	11	Cerotum Alexandri optimi et aliud eiusdem et cerotum Andromachi

6:Distinction Four

316r	1	de Emplastris in generali
316r	2	Emplastrum Emanuel
316v	3	Emplastrum ducis Burgonie
316v	4	Emplastrum Catamni et emplastrum nigrum
316v	5	Emplastrum Andromachi et Emplastrum relatum Andromacho
316v	6	Emplastrum mechanicum laxatiuum
316v	7	Emplastrum Petri et Pauli
317r	8	Emplastrum Aureum paduence pro concussionibus et Emplastrum phonorum et aliud emplastrum fuscum pro vulneribus et concussionibus
317r	9	Emplastrum (.i. brown emplastre) pro omnibus vulneribus capitis et emplastrum pro omnibus recentibus vulneribus et antiquis
317v	10	Emplastrum filii zakarie et Emplastrum Oribasi

- 317v 11 Emplastrum Bartholomei et Emplastrum Aureum
- 318r 12 Emplastrum manus dei et emplastrum (apostolicon) pro membris
consumptis
- 318v 13 Emplastrum mirabile contra omnes rupturas
- 318v 14 Emplastrum sinapitiu Mesue
- 318v 15 Emplastrum contra Arthetiam et podagram et contra dolorem iuncturarum
- 319r 16 Emplastrum pro Gutta et Emplastrum contra debilitatem pedum
- 319r 17 Emplastrum Laxatiuum pro Paraliso
- 319r 18 Emplastrum Spatadraptum et Emplastrum pro Apostematibus duris
- 319v 19 Emplastrum diaterastos
- 319v 20 Emplastrum nigrum Attractatiuum de herbis et Aliud Emplastrum
Attractatiuum
- 319v 21 Emplastrum Attractatiuum viride de herbis et Aliud Attractatiuum veteri
baconis et alia
- 320r 22 Emplastrum lumbardorum
- 320r 23 Emplastrum Calciscuminon
- 320r 24 Emplastrum maturatiuum et Sanatiuum
- 320v 25 Emplastrum contra Arsuras et emplastrum Salomonis
- 320v 26 Emplastrum cartaginensis maior et minor
- 320v 27 Emplastrum consolidatiuum post consolidacionem ossium
- 320v 28 Emplastrum Album Rasis
- 320v 29 Emplastrum mirabile
- 320v 30 Emplastrum Neyrbone

321r	31	Emplastrum plumbi
321r	32	Emplastrum probatum contra omnes dislocationes matricis
321r	33	Emplastrum Ceroneum
321v	34	Emplastrum Oxiracroceum
321v	35	Emplastrum Strictorium pro tibiis

6:Distinction Five

323r	1	de Oleis in generali
323r	2	Oleum Balsami maior et optimum
324r	3	Oleum Balsami minor pro leprosis
324r	4	Oleum Benedictum
325r	5	Oleum de Calce et oleum de ffeno
325r	6	Oleum Excestrie et Oleum de piperibus
325v	7	Oleum croci, oleum de costo et oleum de ligno
325v	8	Oleum de fformicis et Oleum fraxini
326r	9	Oleum Jusquiami (et oleum mandragore ^d)
326r	10	Oleum mandragore
326v	11	Oleum de plumbo et oleum de Ranis
326v	12	Oleum de Serpentibus et oleum de (serpentibus ^d) scorpionibus
326v	14(sic)	Oleum Castorii et Oleum camomille
327r	14(sic)	Oleum Cinamomi et Oleum Agneti
327r	15	Oleum Comune (et oleum Absinthii ^d)
327v	16	Oleum Absinthii, Oleum Abrotani et Oleum Anacardi

327v	17	Oleum Nardinum et oleum de rubarbaro
327v	18	Oleum Masticinum et Oleum lapdaninum
327v	19	Oleum de Junipero et Oleum de lapide Gagates
328r	20	Oleum miserion et Oleum de Euforbio
328r	21	Oleum Rosarum
328r	22	Oleum lillii et oleum violarum
328v	23	Oleum Spicanardi
328v	24	Oleum de frumento et Oleum de pomis citringulorum
329r	25	Oleum yrinum et oleum laurinum
329r	26	Oleum Amigdalarum dulcium
329v	27	Oleum Ruthe et oleum de vitelli ouorum
329v	28	Oleum Sulphuris et oleum Tartari

6:Distinction Six

330r	1	de Pulueribus et etiam de pillulis in generali
330v	2	Puluis pestilencie et puluis gloriosus Chaddesdene
331r	3	Puluis Almasoris puluis pigre et puluis laxatiuus
331r	4	Puluis Albus pro cancro, puluis citrinus, puluis plumbi (et puluis affodillorum ^d)
331r	5	Puluis Tuthie pro infirmitatibus oculorum et puluis optimus ad visum clarificandum et puluis ad caliginem oculorum
331v	6	Puluis de Bufone et puluis de litargiro
331v	7	Puluis humanus et puluis pro virga virili
331v	8	Pillule pro vulneribus sanandis

332r	9	Pillule gloriose Regis Cecilie
332v	10	Pillule aggregate maiores medie et minores
332v	11	Pillule haly Abbatis et pillule handel hermetis
332v	12	Pillule fetide magne maiores et minores et pillule contra paralisum
333r	13	Pillule Serapionis et pillule ad visum clarificandum
333r	14	Pillule Almezerion
333r	15	Pillule contra ventositatem grossam
333v	16	Pillule experte contra morpheam
333v	17	Pillule filii Algeheni
333v	18	Pillule de Euforbio
333v	19	Pillule de Oppoponaco
333v	20	Pillule conferentes ad febrem cronicam
334r	(slip)	Potus Merlini
335r	21	Pillule Arabice
335r	22	Pillule optime magistri Petri de Musandino
335r	23	Potus Antiochie
335r	24	Potus Magistralis
335v	25	Potus pro Arthetica Passione
335v	26	Pultes maturatiui et pultes pro Apostematibus rupus

6:Distinction Seven

336r	1	de unguentis in generali
336v	2	Confectio ysopi humidii

336v	3	Unguentum Arrogon
336v	4	unguentum Marciaton
337r	5	Unguentum Agrippa
337v	6	Unguentum dealtea
337v	7	Unguentum aureum
338r	8	Unguentum aureum chirurgicum
338r	9	Unguentum Laxatium
338r	10	Unguentum Popileon
338v	11	Unguentim Nervale Johannis
338v	12	Unguentum Album Commune
338v	13	Unguentum Album pro vulneribus (Rasis ^d)
338v	14	Unguentum Arabicum et unguentum Barbaticum
339r	15	Unguentum Escalapion (et unguentum de Calce ^d)
339r	16	Unguentum ffrigidum
339r	17	Unguentum Save
339v	18	Unguentum Sedatium doloris (Johannis ^d)
339v	19	Unguentum gloriosum Johannis
339v	20	Unguentum pro omnibus Apostematibus
339v	21	Unguentum metallicum
340r	22	Unguentum pro scabie et unguentum pro Zona
340r	23	Unguentum vade mecum
340v	24	Unguentum de Adipibus

340v	25	Unguentum pro omnibus ulceribus et vulneribus antiquis
340v	26	(Unguentum Imperiale ^{et} Unguentum imperial pro oculis ^d) Unguentum preciosum pro oculis
341r	27	Unguentum ffiliagros
341r	28	Unguentum Quercinum
341v	29	Unguentum Magistri Stephani
341v	30	Unguentum Citrinum
342r	31	Unguentum de Cornu cerui et unguentum serpiginosum
342r	32	Unguentum pro Salso fleumate
342v	33	Unguentum mirabile ad Podagram et unguentum luncturarum
343r	-	<i>de (unguento) canceris et de vermīs</i>
344r	34	Unguentum pro gutta et unguentum pro gutta rosacea
344r	35	Unguentum vulpinum et unguentum ad confortandum neruos
344v	36	Unguentum ad sanandum vulnera
344v	37	Unguentum ad plagam restringendum
345r	38	Unguentum pro ulceribus putridis
345r	39	Unguentum Cantaridarum
345r	40	Unguentum ad pustulas
345v	41	Unguentum Alabastrum
345v	42	Unguentum diafinicon
345v	43	Unguentum dialinicon
346r	44	Unguentum nobile Nichodemi et unguentum relatum nichodemo

- 346r 45 Unguentum Ceraseos magnum et paruum
- 346r 46 Unguentum Acharinta magnum et paruum
- 346r 47 Unguentum de lino et unguentum Arazir
- 346v 48 Unguentum rosarum sedatiui et unguentum pro frigido paralisi et carne restauranda
- 346v 49 Valencia absinthii ad quassaturas tiliarum
- 346v 50 Valencia scabiose contra Antracem
- 347r 51 Valencia Auricule muris ad purgandi caputis
- 347r 52 Valencia vitrioli contra herpetem hesteomenum
(unguentum unguentorum)

7:Distinction One

- 347v 1 Recapitulatio 4 complexionum et eorum qualitatum
- 348r 2 Recapitulatio ossium totius corporis
- 348v 3 Recapitulatio Apostematum et aliorum infirmitatum in generali
- 351r 4 de Recapitulatione Arthetice passionis in generali
- 358v 5 De Recapitulatione Lepre et aliorum infirmitatum generalium
- 359r 6 de Recapitulatione paralisi et aliorum infirmitatum generalium

7:Distinction Two

- 360v 1 de Recapitulatione vulnerum in generali
- 364v 2 de Recapitulatione ulcerum in generali
- 368r 3 De Recapitulatione ffracturarum ossium generalium
- 368v 4 de Recapitulatione dislocationum luncturarum generalium

7:Distinction Three

- 369v 1 de Recapitulatione omni egritudinum capitis et aurium usque ad oculos
- 371r 2 De Recapitulatione omni infirmitatum oculorum tantum
- 371v 3 De Recapitulatione (infirmitatum) (Nasi oris^d) totius faciei usque ad
Spatulas
- 372r 4 De Recapitulatione omni egritudinum Spatularum brachiorum usque ad
mamillas
- 372v 5 de Recapitulatione egritudinum mamillarum usque ad gibbositatem dorsi
- 373v 6 de Recapitulatione infirmitatum gibbositatis dorsi et pudendorum usque
ad Anchas
- 375r 7 de Recapitulatione Ancharum, coxarum et tibiaram usque ad plantam
pedis

Appendix Two

A table of contents of the surgical treatise, derived from Bradmore, contained in Harley 1736

The table of contents which appears on ff. 2r to 5v of Harley 1736 is incomplete, reaching only f. 174r of the full manuscript, and thus omitting the part of the text derived from Bradmore's section on ulcers. The titles of chapters given in the manuscript table of contents often vary from the titles given in the actual text, (e.g. part 2 chapters 2-4, where the exact distinction of head wounds treated is not clear in the abbreviated version given in the manuscript table of contents). Recipes are occasionally omitted from the table (e.g. *unguentum regeneratiuum* on f.150v) and the chapter numbers in part 3 vary, due at first to the omission in the text of a chapter numbered 18, followed later by the omission of one of the two chapters numbered 42 from the table of contents. I have therefore compiled a table of contents which corresponds exactly with the actual contents and layout of the manuscript, as I did for Bradmore's Latin text in Appendix One above, in order to facilitate reference to the text.

Folio Chapter Title

6r	[prologue]
6v	1 Of comon thynges that ar nessessary to a surgen and what ys a surgyne and how he owyth to gouerne hym in all hys curis both dowlful and dowlfull
7v	2 Of the pryncypull longynge to surgery and of the partys ther of
8r	3 Wyth anothomie owyth to be know with the <i>pre.....ge</i> ther ofe
9r	4 In what wyse yt was fyrst made and fownd be wykkyd men dampned to deth and be ded men as drown or slayne and be what unresonabyle bestis and how a ded man schall be un done to se and know best every parte of hym

- 10r 5 of all partes of all the anothomie
- 11r 6 of skyne fattness flesch and brawne
- 12v 7 of nerues ligamenttes and corddes
- 13v 8 of the waynys and arteries
- 14r 9 of bonnes cartilages nayle and herys
- 15r 10 of the pott of the hede
- 18r 11 of the face and hys partes
- 20v 12 of the neke and his partes and of the bake
- 22v 13 of schuldyrs and the armys or of the grete hondis
- 26r 14 of the anothomye of the brestis and his partes
- 28r 15 of anothomye of the wombe and hys partes

Explicit prima pars Istius libri vocatur Anothomia

Part Two

- 34r 1 In the secund part of surgery I schall trete of flesch wounddes from the hed to the fette with ther cures. But fyrste I schall trete of dyuysyon of wounddes with certayne rewlys perteynyng therto
- 38r 2 of a wound of the hede in the flesche with hurtyng of the pane or the brayne
- 41r 3 of wounddes of the hede that ys with brekyng and of hurtyng of dura mater and pia mater
- 44r 4 of bressyng of the hed with hurtyng of the pann and of drawyng owt of an arrow hede ther from
- 46v 5 of wounddes in the eryl and in the face and of the Eyne and of the nose and to swage ake of Eyne causyd be duste or of any her

- 50v 6 of wounddes in the throt and the neke wyth ther partyes
- 52r 7 off wounddes in the schulder or in the schulder bladdes with swerd arowe
or qwarell and of the drawynge owt of them and of wounddes of the over
parte of the arme callyd adiutorium
- 54v 8 of a wounde in the elbow or in the nedyr parte of bonn in the arme or in the
handdes or in the fyngurs
- 55r 9 of wounddes of the brest and of the partes therof as the harte the lunge
and the myd Ryme and the leuer
- 59r [10] ys of a wound in the mowth of the stomake
- 60r 11 of wounddys in the wombe fro the stomake downe to the the
- 62v 12 of wounddes in the bake or in the Ryge bonne and (yf^d) of the wounddes of
the nerys
- 63v 13 of a wownd in the schar or in the pyntyll or ballokes or in the modyr
- 64v 14 of wounddes in the haunche and the whyrlbonne and the the
- 65v 15 of woundis in the kne and the schyn bone
- 67v 16 of woundys of Racheta pedis and of the ancles and the toes
- 68v 17 of sympull woundes and compownd woundes with lakkyng of the
substance ther of And of a wound mad with bryssynge
- 69v 18 of a wound made in synew of the prykyng
- 71r 19 of wound mad in the bon and and Grystyll and of a wound with brekyng of
the bonn with myssettyng ther off
- 72v 20 of a wound with apostume or evyll destres and a wound bryssyde
- 73v 21 why wounddes ar taryed and prolongyd in helynge and how syche
woundes ows to be hellyd and to help a wound that (w^d) ys evyle helyde

- 75v 22 of bytyng of man of hors of hownd Serpent Bees waspys or odyr
venymus bestes
- 78r 23 of bledynge of a wound and of vaynes and arterres
- 81r 24 to draw owte arrow qwarrell or thorne or syche thynges
- 83r 25 of akyng of a wounde

Explicit secunda pars Istius Libri

Part Three - Apostumes

- 84r [1] the fyrste in this chapitur I schall trete a universall sermon of apostumes
- 86v 2 of evyn dyuysyon of apostemes
- 87r 3 off equale cures of hot generall apostumes
- 88r 4 of equale Cures of genale apostemys colde
- 88v 5 off generale postumes with in the body
- 89r 6 off flegmon and off bloody apostemys
- 91v 7 off carbunculus antrax and bloody pusches
- 94v 8 off herpes Estmenus or lupus
- 96r 9 off heryspulla and coleryke apostumys
- 97v 10 off herpes and fformica evyle coleryke apostumes
- 98v 11 off ignis persicus or miliaris
- 99r 12 off prima llbrase
- 100r 13 de variolles et morbillis .i. pokkes and meselles
- 100v 14 off a wyndy apostume
- 102r 15 off a wattery apostume

- 102v 16 off glandule and scrofule anglice wennys and waxkyrnells
- 105r [17] off malancoly apostumes the wyche ar cald Sipheros or skyrros or slyros
and all ar on
- 105v 19[sic]off a kankyr apostume the wyche ys named in surgery cancer
absconditus
- 106v 20 off certan apostumes callyd veruce porry Acrocordines lupie
- 107r 21 off a fumorose mater walkand undyr the skyne fro membyr to membyr and
ys cald apostuma fumosis
- 107v 22 to lede the mater off a postume cald a pestylence Bouche from on place to
a nodyr
- 108r 23 off apostemys of the hed cald nodus and testudo and fficus
- 108v 24 off a certayne watter gendyr in chyldyrnes heddys
- 109r 25 de apante sanoso capitis vel frontis .i. a qwetuurous and a gorysch
aposteme off the hed or off the forhed
- 109v 26 de pustulis in capite
- 110r 27 de Caphasi
- 110r 28 off a postume growand ouer the eye lyd the wych apostume ys cald
ordeolus
- 110v 29 off a cold or a hotte apostume in the er or abowt the er
- 111v 30 off a postume cald Sqwynancia anglice the squinse
- 113r 31 off a postume off any off the scholders
- 113v 32 off a postumynge off the arme be blod lattyngge ffor cause of prykyngge off a
senew

- 113v 33 off the apostume off the helbow
- 114r 34 off nodus the wych ys apostume lyke to a knot spronngyne in the wreste of the hand
- 115r 35 off apostume off the Joyntes off the fyngers and ther fystyle and the bones corrupte
- 115v 36 off apostume Growand off the ffyngurs at the Rottes off the nayllys the wych apostume ys cald in latyn pannarium
- 116r 37 off the apostumes of the brest
- 116v 38 off apostumes off tetys or papes
- 117r 39 off scrophules in the tettes
- 118r 40 off apostume undyr the Rybbes
- 118v 41 off apostume off the Raynes
- 119r 42 off iij kyndys [of hernia *in margin*] that ys to say aquosa ventosa cernosa
- 120v 42 to (p^d) kepe a dede body aboue the grownd fro corrupcion and stynke
- 121v 43 off apostumes ouer the knes
- 121v 44 off mugus in cacaneo
- 122r 45 de arthetica passione
- 122v 46 off cyatica passio
- 123v 47 off certayne gowt called podegra
- 124v 48 off a gowt cald Ciragra
- 125r 49 de gutta fistulata
- 125v 50 off the scab and yche
- 128v 51 off the pallesy

130r	52	de tremore iactigacione et insensibilitate membrorum
131v	53	de spassmo et thitatio
132v	54	de concussione anglice bryssynges
133r	55	off lepra anglice a lepyr
138r	56	off Impetigo and fformica
139v	57	de serpigine
140v	58	de morphea .i. morfewe

ANTIDOTARY

143v		ffor to make diaquilone
143v		to make colman
144r		Contra passionem omni luncturarum
144r		ffor to make a grene onyment cold and helynge .i. sanatyffe
144v		ffor the etyke tesyke and ffor englemynge
144v		here schall thow haue knowynge off playstys how thow schalt Rotte any boche that cummys off the iiij humors
145r		ffor to make a comon playster ffor boches and for brysurs and to breke any boche or postume or felon
145r		Capitulum off dyuerse intrettes for sores and (hr ^d) hurtys &c
145r		ffor to make a good intret
145v		ffor to make tret helynge and drawynge
145v		ffor to make colman the ryche

- 146r ffor to make yalow Intrete that ys cald gracia dei
- 146r ffor to make Intret schortly
- 146r ffor to make apostolycon a whyght intret
- 146v A good Intret to lay ouer ledyrs for brokyn bonys and for bursyd wounddes
or ody maner sorrys
- 146v ffor to make a yelow Intret
- 146v A good Intrett
- 147r ffor to make a serge cloth
- 147r ffor to make turpentyne
- 147r Capitulum off dyuerse onymentes for dyuers infirmytes Apostolicon
- 147r unguentum album
- 147r unguentum imperiale
- 147v unguentum viride
- 147v unguentum vade mecum
- 148r unguentum nervale
- 148r unguentum album
- 148v unguentum album comyn unguentum album Rasis
- 148v ffor ache of a sor or elleswher
- 148v cerotum bonum
- 149r unguentum ffor a wounde mysclosyd
- 149r unguentum for to gedyr skyne of any surfett
- 149r Oyle Rosette

- 149r unguentum populion
- 149v A good onyment
- 149v A cold onyment ffor skabbes
- 149v On this wyse thu schalt make oyle off Erbys
- 150r unguentum rubium
- 150r unguentum fuscum cirurgicum
- 150r Puluis Rubiis
- 150r unguentum defensium
- 150v to make a corsay water for a mormale
- 150v ffor saws fleume or meselry probatum est
- 150v ffor to make unguentum mundificatium
- 150v unguentum Regeneratium the wyche wyll gendyr flesch in a sor
- 151r Unguentum magistrale sanatiuum
- 151v Emplastrum de Entret probatum
- 152r Emplastrum pro omnibus vulneribus
- 152r Emplastrum rubium
- 152r Emplastrum gracia dei
- 152r Emplastrum commune sanatiuum secundum monacum sancti albani
- 152r Pro mormale
- 152r Emplastrum sanatiuum pro tibiis
- 152v A water for sor legges
- 152v ffor to make a playster blake

- 152v ffor to make gracia dei fyne to all asay
- 152v ffor to make unguentum optimum for the Reynys
- 152v ffor the yen that brusyd and blake
- 153r ffor to make grene trete
- 153r ffor to make an hote onyment
- 153r ffor to make a cold onyment
- 153v A medycyne ffor akyng of woundis
- 153v A medycyn ffor all maner off gowte
- 153v A powder ffor ded flesch
- 154r unguentum for the cankyr
- 154r A medycyne ffor the moste wolfe
- 154r ffor noli me tangere
- 154v Ad sanadum vulnus sine sanio facturo
- 154v Emplastrum pro mormale
- 154v Unguentum mundificatium
- 154v Emplastrum ad idem
- 154v Ad faciendum Cerotum
- 155r Emplastrum aur. Communis et niger
- 155r Unguentum contra guttam et contra dolorem omni membrorum
- 155r Emplastrum ad extrahendi ferrum vel spinam
- 155r Emplastrum laicorum
- 155r Emplastrum .i. durum apostolicon supra positum

- 156r Emplastrum oxiracrocium
- 156v Emplastrum Cironium
- 157r Emplastrum ad soluendum ventr(is^d)em
- 157r Emplastrum que sine ferro vulnera rumpis
- 157v Unguentum sciaticum
- 157v Unguentum citrinum
- 158r Unguentum Agrippa
- 158v Unguentum marciaton magnum
- 159r Unguentum aragon
- 159v unguentum de altea malaxticum et calaxticum
- 160r Unguentum album this ys good ayens the salsfleme
- 160r Unguentum preciosum G
- 160v Unguentum diacatum
- 160v Unguentum ad salsum flegma
- 161r Unguentum cantaridarum
- 161r Unguentum ad arteticam et potegram
- 161v Unguentum cicomatum this onyment ys good ayens the palsye *and the gowt
and the potage and azenz all achas*
- 162r Unguentum mirabile quod inuentum est ab aspere
- 162r A good dryer for all maner of sores and nalyche of ulcus et bochis in the grynd and in the legges
- 162r A good [water *in margin*] for fystulas et mormalis and old sores
- 162r The making of lycium

- 163r A powdyr sowndyngc closyngc and dryyngc
- 163r Unguentum regeneratiuum
- 163r Emplastrum meliloti after hebenmesue
- 163v A water for all woundes and soris
- 163v Unguentum frigidissimum
- 164r Unguentum calidum
- 164r ffor a sor pyntyll that be full of holis
- 164r Emplastrum quod vocatur tetraformacon et galice ciroyne
- 164r A good ceroyne for wounddes
- 164v Anothyr for woundes
- 164v Tractus ad aparienda et sanandum dolorem mitigandum et carnem mortuam et cancrum auferandum
- 164v Unguentum ad scabiam de salsoflegmate
- 164v Unguentum quod inunctione manuum facit vomitum et inuncione plantam pedum facit cecessum.
- 165r Unguentum ~~contra~~ quamcumque guttam et contra opilaciones splenus et epatis et contra febrem ...
- 165r Unguentum ffuscum magis
- 165r Emplastrum pro stomaco
- 165r Puluis Rubeus sanguine stringens ossa et carnem consolidonis et pellem cito Regenerans
- 165v Emplastrum aurum valet pro fracturus ossium et disiunctem neruorum.
- 165v ffor the gowt or bonschaw

- 166r her ys unguentum to hele yt up afterward and for brennyng and
scaldyng of fyer An to make fayer skyne on a sor anon
- 166r Oleum Terebentine
- 166r Oleum picule
- 166r Oleum Resine
- 166r Oleum butiri
- 166r Unguentum diacation
- 166v Unguento deaquilon dicto Accentouum
- 166v de Unguento Roceaseo
- 167r De unguento experto ad scabiem
- 167r Ffor to make dewte

ULCERS

- 196r 1 off defferens be twyx ulcus and vulnus and after of spekyng universalis of
ulceris that is to say an universal sermon off ulceris
- 199r 2 that has gret superfuites with hardnes and thyknes of the lypys ther of and
of ulcers that hath corrupte bones with in them
- 199v 3 off generall cures of old ulcers
- 201v 4 off a festula in generale
- 206r 5 de cancro ulcerato .i. (a) festurd canker
- 209r 6 off ulcers off the hed and the erys
- 210r 7 off ulcers off the Eyne
- 210v 8 off a fystull in the cornar off the eye

- 211v 9 off noly me tangere
- 212r A maturatyffe for antrax
- 212r A maturatyffe for cold cancer
- 212r A good maturatyff ffor bocchis
- 212r Ffor to matur bocches
- 212v Oyle off laurer

Appendix Three

Sample analyses of Bradmore's citations and sources

In chapter 3 above it was shown that Bradmore's citations of authorities are frequently not drawn directly from the authors cited but from an intermediate source. It was also suggested in this chapter that by a word-for-word comparison of passages in Bradmore's text with passages in the works of other authors, it is sometimes possible to establish Bradmore's direct sources. In chapter 3, short passages of parallel text were given for comparison, in order to show the minuter details of Bradmore's use of his sources. In this appendix I seek to analyse several chapters of Bradmore's text, in order to reveal some of the typical problems associated with the attempt to trace the text back to its sources.

Various different approaches to the problem of sources have been used in other studies of medical compendia. In his study of Bernard de Gordon, Luke Demaitre computes the percentages of Greek, Arabic and contemporary authors cited by Bernard.¹ However, as he himself says, Bernard may not have had direct access to all the authors he cites, but may have quoted them from other compendia.² Margaret Ogden in her study of Guy de Chauliac's use of Galenic works goes further, attempting to identify which translations of these works are referred to in Guy's citations.³ In his study of the sources for the Anglo-Saxon compilation Bald's *Leechbook*,⁴ M. L. Cameron attempts to clarify which passages were drawn directly from identifiable Latin works and which were borrowed from an intermediate source. In the absence of citations of authorities in the *Leechbook* itself, Cameron uses the accuracy or otherwise of the quotation as his

¹ L. Demaitre, *Doctor Bernard de Gordon, Professor and Practitioner*, pp. 102-136.

² , p. 104.

³ Margaret S. Ogden, 'The Galenic Works Cited in Guy de Chauliac's *Chirurgia Magna*', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 28 (1973), 24-33.

⁴ M. L. Cameron, 'Bald's *Leechbook*: its sources and their use in its compilation', *Anglo-Saxon England* 12 (1983) 153-182.

deciding factor. In the attempt to establish Bradmore's direct sources, the advantage of possessing his original, personal text is enormous, as one can be confident that no names have been omitted or inserted during copying of the text, but that the text appears as it was originally compiled by Bradmore. This advantage was highlighted when, in the course of checking Bradmore's text against John Mirfield's *Breviarum Bartholomei*, I discovered a problem relating to Mirfield's own citation of authorities. In several instances Bradmore's text and Mirfield's were found to be identical, word-for-word, except that Bradmore's text gave the names of authorities and Mirfield's did not.⁵ When the passage concerned is not a conflation by Mirfield of several authorities, but is drawn from only one author, there is always the possibility that both Bradmore and Mirfield are using the same author directly (the difficulty of distinguishing passages drawn directly from William of Saliceto from passages drawn from William via John Mirfield has already been mentioned: see p. 35 above). There are instances, however, when Mirfield blends several authors together, and Bradmore's version is identical in every respect except that Bradmore cites authorities by name. In such cases it seems much less likely that both Bradmore and Mirfield chose to make exactly the same selections, and in the same order, than that the names of authorities have for some reason been dropped from the surviving copies of Mirfield's text,⁶ having been present in the text available to Bradmore. This possibility is confirmed in several cases by the way that names of authorities appear in the manuscript of Mirfield used for comparison here, BL MS Harley 3. In Mirfield's part 2, distinction 1, chapter 9, *de gutta frigida*, for example, copied by Bradmore for part 2, distinction 3, chapter 8, *de gutta frigida*, a reference to John Gaddesden is inserted below the line in the manuscript of Mirfield but appears in the main text of Bradmore's work. Such references might possibly have been in the margins in an earlier version of the text.

⁵ For example, Bradmore part 2, distinction 1, chapter 19, *de nodis, glandulis, scrophulis et omnibus excrescentiis fleumaticis*, which follows Mirfield part 2, distinction 1, chapter 29, *de scrophulis in generali*.^(Mirfield)

⁶ BL MS Harley 3 and Pembroke College MS 2.

Bradmore himself sometimes cites an authority in a marginal note who is not cited in the main body of the text.⁷

There are passages in Bradmore's text which present few problems, as they are based extremely closely on a single source. An example of this would be Part One of the *Philomena*, on Anatomy, in which a total of 14 authorities are cited. All of these derive from Guy de Chauliac's *Cyrurgia*,⁸ which appears to be the sole source for this part of Bradmore's text. However, while there are chapters throughout the work to which this would apply, the bulk of the text is a blend of several sources. The major sources for the *Philomena*, as stated above,⁹ are Guy de Chauliac, John Mirfield, and William of Saliceto. They are not the sources for the whole text, however: other authors, e.g. John of Arderne and Gilbertus Anglicus,¹⁰ are used in what appear to be direct citations, and there are passages, ranging in length from a line or two to a whole page, for which the source remains unclear.

The passages which have been selected for close analysis here have been chosen because they are representative of Bradmore's text as a whole, being neither the simplest nor the most problematic passages, but those most typical, in the problems they present, of the text as a whole.

The first passage chosen for analysis is Part 2, Distinction 1, Chapter 6, 'On Pestilence and its Cures'. This is chosen because it blends a number of sources, not all usual to Bradmore, in quite a complex way, and the real source of many of his citations is not always clear. The chapter begins with a definition of pestilential sicknesses, and the

⁷ For example, Guy de Chauliac is cited thus on f. 237v, part 5, distinction 2, chapter 2, *de obtalmia et dolore oculorum*.

⁸ Book One, on anatomy.

⁹ See p. 35.

¹⁰ For Gilbertus Anglicus, see Talbot & Hammond, pp. 58-60, Getz, p. 259, and, for an edition of the Middle English version of his *Compendium Medicinæ* (composed c. 1240) see Getz, *Healing and Society in Medieval England*.

signs in the air, climate, and animal world which may indicate approaching pestilence. In the opening part of this section, Avicenna¹¹ is quoted six times, Bernard de Gordon¹² once, and then a citation of John of Burgundy¹³ is followed by a further passage on the signs of pestilence, in which no other authority is cited. One of the citations of Avicenna gives a specific reference, to Fen 1, Tract 4, chapter 4.¹⁴ In general, there are very few citations of Avicenna in Bradmore's work which do not derive from either Guy de Chauliac or John Mirfield. This specific reference, and the number of citations to Avicenna in the lengthy passage in which it occurs, seem to indicate that at this point Bradmore could be using Avicenna directly. Bernard de Gordon is another example of an author usually found in citations derived from Guy de Chauliac. The passage in which John of Burgundy is cited does not appear in the 'standard' versions of John of Burgundy's plague tract,¹⁵ but within this tract mention is made of other tracts by the same author on the signs of plague.¹⁶ Possibly Bradmore had access to one of these. A few lines on prognostication follow, in which Avicenna and Bernard de Gordon are each cited twice.¹⁷ Then a long extract from the John of Burgundy plague tract follows, dealing with the cure of pestilence. This contains the same material as the tract given by Horrox, but in a completely different order. Whether this reflects the state of the exemplar used by Bradmore, or his own rearrangement of the material, cannot be determined. Following this is a recipe derived from Guy de Chauliac, in which there are citations to Arnald of

¹¹ For Avicenna (Ibn Sina, d. 1037), see *The Western Medical Tradition 800 BC - AD 1800*, ed. Lawrence I. Conrad, Michael Neve, Vivian Nutton, Roy Porter, and Andrew Wear, (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 89, 115-116.

¹² For Bernard de Gordon, see Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire Biographique* pp. 75-76, and Demaitre, *Doctor Bernard de Gordon*.

¹³ For John of Burgundy, see Dorothea Waley Singer, 'Some Plague Tractates (Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries)', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine (Section of the History of Medicine)* 9 (1916), 159-212, on pp. 161-172.

¹⁴ This reference is to the *Canon* of Avicenna.

¹⁵ See, for an example of John of Burgundy's tract, *The Black Death*, tr. and ed. Rosemary Horrox, (Manchester, 1994) pp. 184-193.

¹⁶ For the other tracts mentioned by John of Burgundy, see D. W. Singer, 'Some Plague Tractates' pp. 176-177; these tracts were not identified by Singer in the existing manuscripts.

¹⁷ This, like the first passage in the chapter, I have been unable to trace to its source.

Villanova¹⁸ (1), the Masters of Montpellier and Paris (1) and Guy himself (2). This recipe appears at the end of Guy's equivalent chapter. One curious feature is the interpolation into the recipe of two citations, one to Arnald of Villanova and one to Mr. Dini (Dino del Garbo).¹⁹ Both of these are authorities frequently cited by Guy de Chauliac, but not in this particular recipe. A long passage follows, derived and adapted from Guy de Chauliac, describing the arrival of the plague in London.²⁰ Bradmore then returns to John of Burgundy, again mixing up his order considerably. Citations included in this passage are: Avicenna (2), John of Burgundy, and Rhases.²¹ One curious citation appears in John of Burgundy as Averroes,²² and appears in Bradmore attached to the same quotation but cited as 'the commentator to Avicenna'. Two citations to Bernard de Gordon, one to the Masters of Montpellier, and one to Avicenna, close the chapter.

The total citations for this chapter are Avicenna (11), Bernard de Gordon (5), John of Burgundy (5), Arnald of Villanova (2), Masters of Montpellier (2), Masters of Paris (1), Rhases (1), Commentator on Avicenna (1) Guy de Chauliac (2), Mr. Dini (1).

This chapter, with its long passage potentially derived directly from Avicenna, and with citations to Bernard de Gordon (both of whom are authorities generally cited by Bradmore only via other compilations such as Guy de Chauliac's *Cyrurgia*) raises the question of whether he had access to their texts in the original, and, if he did, why he used them directly so rarely. Possibly he only had access to part of Avicenna's work; or possibly the source for this passage is another plague tract. Such tracts were produced in large numbers in both Latin and the vernacular in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and so would have been readily available to Bradmore.²³ The interpolation of citations to Arnald of Villanova and Dino del Garbo into the recipe derived from Guy de

¹⁸ For Arnald of Villanova (d. 1311) see Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire Biographique* pp. 45-49.

¹⁹ For this Italian surgeon, see Siraisi, p. 32, and also Siraisi, 'How to Write a Latin Book on Surgery'.

²⁰ For part of this passage, see above pp. 54-55.-

²¹ For Rhases (Razi, d. 925) see Conrad et al, *Western Medical Tradition*, pp. 89, 112-113.

²² For Averroes (Ibn Rushd, d. 1198), see Conrad et al, *Western Medical Tradition*, p. 126.

²³ See D. W. Singer, 'Some Plague Tractates'.

Chauliac may simply imply a difference in the text of Guy's work used by Bradmore: his use of Guy's text is so extensive as to make it practically certain he had access to a copy.

The second passage chosen for analysis consists of three chapters selected from Part 3, Distinction 2 of Bradmore's text. Part 3, Distinction 2 covers wounds to the body, and is arranged in head-to-foot order. The three chapters chosen deal with wounds in the face in general, wounds in the eye, and wounds in the nose. These have been chosen because they are derived from Bradmore's usual main sources, and show the typical balance in the use of these sources and the number of citations of authorities drawn from each. They also show clearly some of the problems arising from Bradmore's use of John Mirfield as a source.

Part 3, distinction 2, chapter 10, 'of wounds in the face with sword, arrow or suchlike', opens with a discussion of the particular problems inherent in sewing and bandaging wounds in the face, partly because of the need to avoid unsightly scarring. This passage is taken from Guy de Chauliac, *Cirurgia* Book 3, Doctrine 2, Chapter 2, and contains one citation, of Albucasis.²⁴ Guy de Chauliac is not cited by Bradmore in the text, but a marginal note indicates Guy as the source. Bradmore then passes to the various types of wound which may occur, e.g. wide or narrow, involving injury to the bone or not, and gives general rules for the treatment of each type, including recipes. At first, this passage is very close to William of Saliceto (book 2, chapter 3), but as it goes on text is inserted which is not from William. These inserted passages appear to derive from Lanfranc of Milan (tract 2 ch. 2).²⁵ No citations are given by Bradmore in this passage, and it is unlikely in this case that Bradmore is using either William or Lanfranc directly, as

²⁴ For Albucasis (Zahrawi, 10th century), see Conrad et al, *Western Medical Tradition*, pp. 89, 115-116, and also the translation of his work by M. S. Spink and G. Lewis, *Albucasis: On Surgery and Instruments* (London, 1973).

²⁵ For Lanfranc (late 13th century), see Wickersheimer *Dictionnaire Biographique*, pp. 518-519.

the whole passage is identical, virtually word for word, with John Mirfield part 9 dist. 2 chap. 10. This is one of the instances already mentioned where the likelihood that John Mirfield and John Bradmore both chose to copy the same passages from William of Saliceto and Lanfranc, and in the same order, is considerably less than the likelihood that John Mirfield is the actual source for this part of Bradmore's text. Mirfield deals with wounds to the face in two chapters, chapter 10 on wounds to the face with a sword, and chapter 12 on wounds to the face with an arrow, spear or suchlike. Bradmore's original title for this chapter was 'Of wounds to the Face with a Sword', but he has added 'or Arrow' above the line in the title (f.136v). He breaks off after copying Mirfield's chapter 10, and inserts a passage describing his own successful treatment of the Prince of Wales for an arrow-wound.²⁶ It appears from this correction to the chapter title that Bradmore may not initially have intended to combine Mirfield's two chapters, but upon realising that the treatment he had described involved an arrow, not a sword as his original title stated, he adjusted his title, and decided to incorporate Mirfield's chapter 12 as well. Therefore, immediately after his description of the cure of the Prince of Wales, he returns to Mirfield again, in a passage describing all the different problems associated with the removal of arrows from face wounds. Mirfield's chapter 12 is not so exactly copied by Bradmore as was his chapter 10. Instructions at the opening of Mirfield's chapter, to shrive the patient before attempting to remove the arrow, are omitted. Another omission on Bradmore's part here appears to be deliberate, for where Mirfield says '...if the laity or gossip of women has not impeded, or the arrow is small...', Bradmore's text reads thus: 'if the (laity^d) arrow is small...' (Mirfield, f.165v of Harley 3; Bradmore, f.137r). Mirfield's instructions on the patient's diet are moved by Bradmore from the middle to the very end of the chapter - this is where diet is generally placed in Bradmore's text, following the pattern of William of Saliceto. Apart from these minor alterations, however, Mirfield's text is followed very closely, and once again is clearly the source Bradmore is using here.

²⁶ For this case, see above, pp. 65-71.

Chapter 11, 'Of a wound in the substance of the eye, the ^{eyelids} (and the nose^d)', begins with a passage copied from Guy de Chauliac, Book 3, Doctrine 2, Chapter 2, which states why wounds to the eye are to be feared, and offers some suggested treatments to prevent the loss of fluid from within the eye. In this passage, Bradmore typically inserts 'as says Guy' when Guy refers to his own personal experience of such wounds. He cites Guy as his source once again later in the passage. Also cited in this passage are Galen, Raby Moyses, Jhesus, and Benevenutus²⁷ (the latter twice), all of which citations are derived from Guy. Guy's text then passes to things stuck in the eye, such as chaff or dust. Bradmore departs from Guy here and moves on to cures for various different types of eye wound, e.g. small wounds made by a twig or needle, large wounds made with an arrow, removal of an arrow from such a wound, and so on, giving recipes. This passage appears to be copied from John Mirfield, Part 9, distinction 2, chapter 13; once again it illustrates the problems of distinguishing passages copied from Mirfield and passages copied from William of Saliceto. In this case the information given by Bradmore does also appear in William's text, but is arranged in a different order there. In addition, one phrase at the end of the passage does not appear in William of Saliceto, but does appear in John Mirfield. No source is cited by Bradmore either in the text or in the margin, which may also be an indication that he is here using Mirfield (whom he never cites) rather than William (whom he usually cites).²⁸ After copying the whole of Mirfield's chapter 13, Bradmore returns to Guy de Chauliac at the point where he broke off, and copies word for word Guy's instructions and recipes for removing particles of chaff or dust from the eye, and for stitching wounds to the eyelids. In this section copied from Guy Bradmore does not cite Guy himself, but does copy from him two citations of Jhesus. At this point Guy gives a

²⁷ Unfortunately Raby Moyses, Jhesus, and Benevenutus, all cited by Guy de Chauliac, cannot be identified.

²⁸ This shows one of the dangers of attempting to trace a text back to its sources. If Mirfield's text were no longer extant, this passage would be assumed to be Bradmore's own re-ordering of William's text.

sub-heading 'of wounds to the nose', but Bradmore breaks off and treats this in a separate chapter.

Bradmore begins chapter 12, 'of wounds to the nose', by giving, word for word, Guy's whole sub-section on wounds to the nose (Book 3, doctrine 2, chapter 2), in which Galen is cited once. This is followed by Guy's sub-section on bandaging the nose, of which Bradmore omits the first sentence, with its reference to the differing opinions of Albucasis, Avicenna, Lanfranc and Theodoric²⁹. He goes on, however, to give Guy's further citations of Henry de Mondeville (three times), William of Saliceto, Roger³⁰ and Theodoric (once each). Typically, he cites Guy himself only when prompted by a statement of Guy's personal opinion; Guy is, however, cited in the margin at the beginning of the chapter, 'of wounds of the nose after Guy'. At the point at which Bradmore departs from Guy's text, a similar marginal note states 'of wounds of the nose with sword or arrow after William of Saliceto', and the remainder of Bradmore's chapter proves to be a copy of William of Saliceto, Book 2 chapter 3, 'Of a Wound in the Nose and Face with a Sword or Similar Thing'. Copying the whole of William's chapter leads Bradmore to repeat, inadvertently, a large part of what he has already copied in Chapter 10, using Mirfield as a source. The passage repeated here corresponds to Mirfield's chapter 12, 'on wounds to the face with an arrow', copied by Bradmore at the end of chapter 10. Bradmore has apparently not noticed the repetition, which appears to confirm that he is deriving the text from two different sources. This is supported by there being no citation of William in chapter 10, whereas here, in chapter 12, he is cited, even if only in the margin. Interestingly, Bradmore here does not omit from William's text the reference to the laity or women's gossip impeding the cure, which he omitted when copying the text from Mirfield

²⁹ For Theodoric (Teodorico Borgognoni, 13th century), see Siraisi, p. 164, and the translation of his surgery by E. Campbell and J. Colton, in *The Surgery of Theodoric*, 2 vols, (New York, 1955 and 1960).

³⁰ For Roger (Roger Frugardi, late 12th century), see Tony Hunt *The Medieval Surgery* (Woodbridge, 1992), and for an edition of an Anglo-Norman translation of his work, see *Anglo-Norman Medicine*, vol. 1, ed. T. Hunt, (Woodbridge, 1994).

in chapter 10. Diet, in William's chapter as in Bradmore's, is placed at the end; it will be remembered that in chapter 10 Bradmore had moved the notes on diet to this position. One item of diet, breadcrumbs cooked with egg yolk, appears in William of Saliceto but not in Mirfield, and it is duly included here in Bradmore's chapter 12, but was omitted when he was copying from Mirfield in chapter 10. Similarly, Mirfield's instruction that the leaves of red cabbage should be put on the wound, copied by Bradmore in chapter 10, was not derived from William of Saliceto, and is therefore not repeated here in chapter 12.

The total citations made in these three chapters are as follows: Guy de Chauliac (5, of which 2 are in the margin), Henry de Mondeville (3), William of Saliceto (2, of which 1 is in the margin), Albucasis (1), Galen (2), Jhesus (3), Raby Moyses (1), Theodoric (1), Benevenutus (2), and Roger (1). All these citations, except the marginal citation to William of Saliceto, are derived from Guy de Chauliac.

It can be seen from the sample chapters how the bulk of Bradmore's citations of earlier authorities are drawn from Guy de Chauliac. This is true of the whole text, even when Guy is citing an authority Bradmore frequently uses as a direct source, as in the case of William of Saliceto. The sample chapters, discussed above, also show how it is possible to establish the likely sources for a large part of Bradmore's text, and how close comparison of passages makes it possible to determine which is the likely source in any given chapter of Bradmore's, even if the original sources are as closely related as are Mirfield and Saliceto. There remain passages where the source is problematic, as seen in the chapter on pestilence discussed above, but these represent only a very small proportion of the text as a whole.

Appendix Four

The Prologue to Harley 1736

Ryght as betwyx whete and darnell whyll the erbes be grene and schewes not schape of the erys, than ys ther so gret lyknes in the erbe that the darnell fro the whete may not be dysseveryd. But whan the erbe of whet aperyth than may the darnell opynly be knowyn (be dysseverynge^d) well Inowgh fro the whet Ryght so in same maner of wyse as longe as falsed under the color of trewth ys hyde yt may (may^d) not be dysseveryd ther fro. And for that now adays in surgery the darnell of arror with the whete of trewth growys to gedyr amonge full sympyll letteryd men sum be fantasyd of a penyions in diverse (b^d) ynglysch bokys. And for the gret lyknes that ys be twyne the grene whete and the darnell be for the herynge dyscrecion may not be gyffynn betwex them as longe as thei be hyd undyr the color of ynnorance but whan the err of trowth ys knowyne than may the darnell of Error be pullyd owt be the rote and castyn away Therfor that the darnell of surgery may be done away yt ys nedfull that the eyrys of the whet of trewth may be mad opyne be the knowlege of the pryncypylles of this crafte of surgery. Wherfor to the worschype of all myghty gode and his glorios modyr saynt mary and all halows and to the prophete of all crysten pepull and namly of studyers of practyzars in surgery I haue complyd and made this boke In the yer of owr lord m^l cccc and xl vj In the wyche I haue set the pryncypylles with the secondarys as the kalendyr makyth mencyon.¹

¹ BL MS Harley 1736, ff.6r-6v.

Appendix Five

Tables showing ingredients of animal origin

On p 148 above it was noted that in the Middle English version of Bradmore's text there was a considerable reduction in the number of ingredients of animal origin called for in the recipes, corresponding with M. L. Cameron's findings on Anglo-Saxon texts.¹ In order to provide a comparison between the two texts in this respect, all the instances of ingredients of animal origin in the Middle English text have been counted and appear below in a table. Dietary recommendations are not included in this, as they may be assumed to consist mainly of items usually part of the diet which are to be increased or omitted according to the illness, but which are not thought of as medicines. The count of animal ingredients includes all such ingredients mentioned in recipes in the text, but does not take account of compounds recommended by name only: thus, for example, a (hypothetical) recipe consisting of lard, various herbs, and *populeon*² would appear in the table as a single recommendation for lard, and would not take account of the lard, sheep's tallow and butter included in *populeon* (according to the recipe in the antidotary, f. 149 r-v). Some of the most commonly recommended compounds other than *populeon* are *pulis rubius*, containing no animal products (antidotary f. 150r), *unguentum fuscum chirurgicum* containing sheep's tallow (antidotary f. 150r), and *diaquilon*, containing no animal products (antidotary f. 143v). As these compounds are generally given as a full recipe either on their first appearance in the text, or in the antidotary, the alteration in count is to the number of references to the particular animal products they contain, rather than to the number of different animal ingredients called for in the whole text. The major increase if the ingredients of these compounds were counted separately each time they

¹ Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, p. 38.

² *Populeon* was a compound which, in the recipe given on f. 149 r&v of Harley 1736, contained poplar buds or leaves, smallage, poppies, henbane, ribwort, brooklime, groundsel, watercress, deadly nightshade, black nightshade, plantain, pennywort, ribwort, tallow, lard and butter.

were mentioned would be in the number of references to lard, butter and tallow, which are commonly used as the base for ointments and plasters.

In the table below, the list of animal ingredients in the Middle English text appears large, but to give some idea of the scale of the reduction that is made between the two texts a count made from a sample section of Bradmore's text is presented for comparison. The totals given in the table below are for the whole of the Middle English text derived from Bradmore's original, excluding the Anatomy: that is, they are taken from the section on wounds, that on apostumes, and the antidotary (ff. 34-167) and from the section on ulcers which appears later in the manuscript (ff. 196-211), a total of 149 folios. The count given for comparison from the Latin text is taken from part 2, distinction 5, dealing with paralysis and spasms, covering ff. 100v-110r, a total of 10 folios. In order to make the comparison fair, a section of Bradmore's work which appears in the Middle English version was chosen.

Ingredient	Middle English text (complete)	Bradmore's Latin text (selection)
Woman's milk	3	2
Milk (origin unspecified)	8	2
Cow's milk	0	3
Sow's milk	1	0
Asses' milk	0	1
Butter	46	6
Cheese	4	0
Whey	1	0
Eggs	74	6
Pork fat/Boar fat	41	4

Bacon fat	3	0
Beef fat/Calf fat	0	2
Suet	2	0
Goose fat	1	5
Duck fat	2	4
Hen fat/Capon fat	8	1
Sheep's tallow	20	0
Cow tallow/neat's tallow	2	0
Goat fat	1	0
Deer suet	3	0
Grease (unspecified)	13	0
Bear fat	2	5
Badger fat	2	0
Fox fat	0	5
Cat fat	0	2
Dog fat	0	1
Heron fat	0	1
Owl fat	0	1
Eagle fat	0	1
Vulture fat	0	2
Lion fat	0	2
Deer marrow	0	2

Cat marrow	0	1
Dog marrow	0	1
Fox marrow	0	1
Bear marrow	0	1
Bull marrow	0	2
Marrow of unspecified animal	0	1
Mummie	3	1
Bone of a dead man	1	0
Castoreum	5	50
Skin of a fox	0	1
Sheep skin	0	1
Black lambskin	1	0
Mouse skin	1	0
Snake skin	1	0
Salt beef	1	0
Gristle of a pig's nose	1	0
'wesaunt' of a goose	1	0
Ox gall	1	0
Bone of a stag's heart	0	1
Blood of a cat	0	1
Brain of a hare	0	1
Lung & flesh of a ram	0	1

Flesh of heron	0	1
Flesh of goose	1	0
Flesh of owl	0	1
Flesh of stork	1	1
Flesh of fox	1	4
Flesh of cat	1	0
Flesh of a snake	1	2
Flesh of hedgehog	0	1
Cantharides	1	2
Oyster	1	0
Spider webs	1	0
Human saliva	3	0
Human urine	5	2
Human faeces	2	0
Dove dung	1	0
Crow dung	1	0
Goshawk dung	1	0
Eagle dung	1	0
Stork dung	1	0
Goose dung	1	1
Cow's/heat's dung	1	1
Horse dung	0	1

Pig dung	0	1	
Goat dung	0	1	

Appendix Six

British Library Add. MS. 37,664, ff. 46r-47v: Will of John Bradmore

Testamentum Johannis Bradmore Cirurgicus londiniensis

In dei nomine Amen, die Jouis septimo die mensis Januarii, Anno domini millesimo quadragintesimo undecimo, et Anno regni Regis henrici quarti post conquestum Anglie tertio decimo: Ego Johannes Bradmore Ciuis et Cirurgicus Ciuitatis Londiniensis sanus mente et consciencia condo presens testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis lego animam meam deo omnipotenti beate Marie virginis et omnibus sanctis et corpus meum ad sepeliendum in cimiterio Sancti Botulphi extra Aldrychgate Londinensis prope duas uxores meas. Item lego summo altari predicte ecclesie pro decimis meis oblitis sex solidos et octo denarios sterlingorum. Item volo quod exequie mee funerales fiant secundum dispositionem et ordinacionem executorum meorum. Item lego fraternitati Sancte trinitatis fundate in ecclesia suprascripta unum pannum de serico vocatur Bawdekyn Item lego fraternitati sanctorum fabiani et Sebastiani in ecclesia suprascripta fundate tres solidos et quatuor denarios. Item do et lego Johanni longe meum librum vocatum Philomena gratie. Item lego agneti filie mee unum pelnem cum lauatorio de noua factura, sex coclearia argenti, unam peciam argenti, unum par linthiaminum et unam mappam cum mantergio. Item lego Nicholo fratri meo unum nigrum librum de papiro Item lego Johanne filie predicte Nicholi unum anulum aureum cum cornu de unicorni Item lego Alexandrio Boner unum magnum baselardum harnizatum cum argento. Item lego Philippo Brychford meum nigrum librum de Cirurgica et unum gladium. Item lego et do Agneti filie mee unum illorum duorum tenementorum cum Gardino adiacenti quod nuper habui ex dono et feoffamento Thome Exton, Willielmi atte Gate, Rogeri Stoke et Johannis Baldok executoribus testamenti Rogeri Elys nuper Ciuis et Wexchaundeler Londinensis videlicet allud tenementum proprinquius tenementum quondam Johannis Clophill habendum predictum tenementum cum gardino adiacenti ad terminum vite predicte

agnetis Item do et lego Katerine uxori mee tenementum meum proximum annexum cum
 giardino *adiacent*, quod quidem tenementum etiam perquisiui de predictis Thoma,
 Willelmo, Rogero et Johanne executoribus predicti Rogeri Elys que quidem tenementa
 similiter sunt situata in le Barbican in parochia predicta. Item lego eidem Katerine uxori
 mee tenementum meum in quo inhabito cum omnibus suis *pertinentiis* quod quidem
 tenementum situatur in parochia *supradicta* inter tenementum Johannis Hertishorn ex
 parte boriali et communem viam ducentem usque (ad fossatum de) houndysdych ex parte
 Australi et extendit se a vico Regio de Aldrychgatestrete versus occidentem usque ad
 fossatum de houndesdyche versus orientem, quod quidem tenementum nuper perquisiui
 de Johanne Colman Ciue et Aurifabro *Londiniensis* et Johanna uxore sua prout in qua(n)dam
 carta inde confecta lecta et irrotulata in hustengo *Londiniensis* de communibus placitis
 terretenentium die lune proximo post festum Sancti Edwardi Regis et confessoris, Anno
 regni Regis Ricardi Secundi quintodecimo plenius continetur. Item do et lego eidem
 Katerine uxori mee illud tenementum cum omnibus suis *pertinentiis* quod nuper perquisiui de
 Johanne hertishorne seniore quod quidem tenementum situatur in parochia *supradicta*
 inter tenementum meum superius legatum in quo modo inhabito ex parte Australi et
 tenementum predicti Johannis Hertishorne senioris ex parte boriali et extendit se a vico
 regio de Aldrichegatestrete versus occidentem usque ad fossatum de houndysdyche
 versus orientem prout in quadam carta inde confecta lecta et irrotulata in hustengo
Londiniensis de communibus placitis terretenentium die lune proximo post festum
 conuersionis sancti Pauli, Anno regni Regis henrici quarti nono plenius continetur
 habendum et tenendum omnia predicta terras et tenementa cum omnibus suis *pertinentiis* ut
supradictum est prefate Katerine uxori mee ad terminum vite sue de Capitalibus dominis
 feodi illius pro seruicia inde debita et de iure consueta. Et post decessum predictae
 Katerine uxoris mee volo et lego omnia predicta tenementa mea cum omnibus suis
pertinentiis | infanti iam in utero predictae Katerine uxoris mee existenti si vitam duxerit in
 humanam, habendum et tenendum eidem infanti et heredibus suis de Capitalibus dominis

feodi illius pro seruicia inde debita et de iure consueta. (nota) Et si idem Infans sine herede de corpore suo legitimo procreato obierit extunc volo et lego omnia predicta terras et tenementa cum omnibus suis *pertinentiis* superius eisdem Katerine et Agnete (superius) data et legata Johanni Michell seruienti domini Regis ad arma et Alano Brette ciui et carpentario *Londinensi*, Custodibus ffraternitatis Sancti Trinitatis in Ecclesia Sancti Botulphi supradicta fundate et eorum successoribus custodibus ffraternitatis supradicte pro tempore existentibus *in perpetuum*. Ita quod supradicti Custodes et eorum successores pro tempore existentes onerentur ad tenendum solempniter anniuersarium meum singulis Annis die obitus mei in Ecclesia predicta *in perpetuum*, et etiam quod Capellanus seruiens superdicte ffraternitatis seruetur specialiter ad orandum pro anima mea, animabus Margarete et Katerine uxorum mearum, necnon pro animabis patris et matris mee omnium benefactorum meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium ubicumque existentium superius non legatorum debitum que de iure teneor prius *per solutum et satisfactum* do et lego Katerine uxori mee nomine dotis et racionabilis partis sue huius autem testamenti ultime voluntatis mee ordino et constituo executores meos videlicet predictam Katerinam uxorem meam et Radulphum Ramsey Capellanum ad disponendum et ordinandum pro salute anime mee. Sicut coram summo Iudice voluerint respondere. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti testamento meo sigillum meum apposui datum *Londinensi* die et anno supradictis.

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