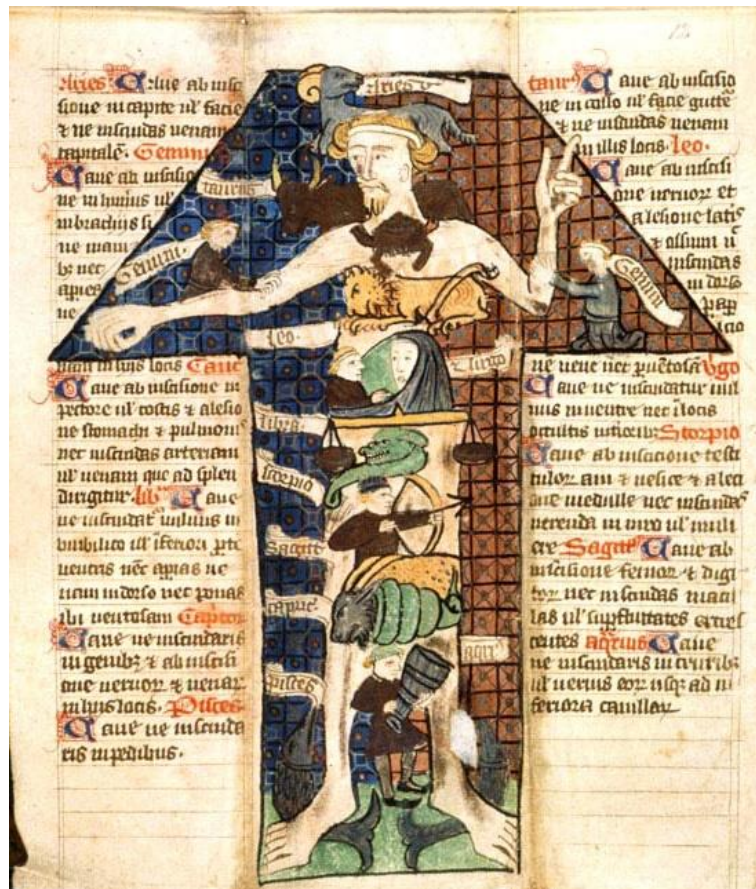


As Above, So Below: How Heavenly Bodies Influence Human Bodies.

A Critical Edition of Two Middle English Pseudo-Hippocratic Treatises in
Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 513, ff. 98r-107r.



MA Thesis

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16/07/2015

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1. Introduction

This thesis will offer a critical edition of Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 513 (henceforth Hunter 513), folios 98r–107v. The contents of these folios deal with two Middle English Pseudo-Hippocratic treatises from the fifteenth century; they are Pseudo-Hippocratic in the sense that they have been attributed to Hippocrates by the author or the scribes, but do not belong to the works of Hippocrates and have not been written by him.

An edition of these particular treatises has not yet been made, whereas other texts in the manuscript have been edited before: the *De Arte Probatissima Oculorum* (ff. 1r - 37r) has been edited by L.M. Eldredge in 1996 and by Teresa Marqués Aguado, Antonio Miranda Garcia and Santiago González in 2008; the *Antidotary* (ff. 37v - 96v) was edited by Teresa Marqués Aguado in 2012. Thus, this thesis completes the editing of the manuscript Hunter 513 and offers a critical edition of these unpublished treatises. Besides the aim to provide an edition for scholars and advanced students of Middle English, it is also the aim for this edition to offer new material and connections for the research into this manuscript and the related versions of the treatises found in it, by accompanying the edition with research into the contents and contexts of the treatises.

The first item, *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence*, can be found on folios 98r–104r; it revolves around the moon and the position of the moon and other planets in the various houses of the zodiac, and the implications these alignments have for medieval medicine, as certain positions and alignments of the planets in certain houses of the zodiac were believed to be harmful to man and to cause illnesses and other kinds of afflictions. The treatise also deals with the effects that each specific sign has on the human body. The treatise then also suggests the treatment for such illnesses. The second item, named *The Signs of Death*, can be found on folio 105r–107r and is a shortlist of symptoms that indicate whether someone who fell ill will die. It instructs the physician to look for certain symptoms and allows him to know when to treat someone and when not to. In particular, it indicates the signs or symptoms that indicate when a patient will die, hence the name ‘Signs of Death’.

There are five other known witnesses of *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence*, as will be detailed in chapter three, yet no parallel versions in manuscripts can be identified for *The Signs of Death*, though Faith Wallis has made a translation of a Latin text with which *The Signs of Death* shows considerable overlap.

So, this thesis will provide a critical edition of the two treatises and give an introduction that places the texts in their contexts. The critical edition has been adapted

slightly to conform to modern conventions in order to make it more legible for a modern reader. A diplomatic edition with all medieval conventions, line endings, and peculiarities intact, can be found in Appendix A. This thesis will contain an analysis of the historical context and worldview of the treatises, and introduce the field of medieval medicine as well as the part of astrology that had implications for medicine. I will also explain the specific medical procedures that are referred to in the treatises. I will then analyse the manuscript codicologically as well as analyse the tradition the manuscript belongs to, followed by an analysis of the script. Next, I will discuss the author of the text, as well as the role of the scribe and the intended audience for the treatises. Lastly, it will analyse the narrative structure of the treatises.

2. The 'Worldview' of Hunter 513

This chapter introduces and explains the medical traditions to which *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence* and *The Signs of Death* belong and refer. The chapter is divided into two subchapters, the first of which deals with the tradition of medicine, which will detail the several special operations referred to in the treatises, such as blood-letting and urinoscopy. The second part deals with the implications and consequences of astrology for medicine, since the signs of the zodiac held a certain influence over one's body and health.

Medicine

During the Middle Ages, there was a divide between the professional medical practitioner and the local leech. The learned medical practitioners could mostly be found in the monasteries and later also at the universities. Here they had access to medical knowledge from Antiquity. Those living outside of cities would turn to local leeches or locals with medical knowledge, usually gathered from practical experience, training from another leech, or practical experience (Bovey, n.p.). Considering the skills and knowledge required for the texts, it seems that Hunter 513 had been made for either a physician in training or a professional physician (see chapter five).

Medieval medicine was mostly a continuation of the tradition and thought passed down from Antiquity, most notably from the Greek physicians Galen (129–216 CE) and Hippocrates (460–370 BCE). In their thoughts and works lies the origin for the theory of the human body being connected to four elements –fire, water, earth, and air– and to four humours: yellow bile, black bile, blood, and phlegm (Bovey, n.p.). The system attested in the treatises at hand builds on this thought of humorism and the premise that the human body and its health are governed by a balance between the four humours. These humours all have a combination of qualities, which are hotness, coldness, dryness, and wetness. Potions and medicines were tailored to these qualities, and administering the wrong kind of medicine for a certain malady was very dangerous. This is attested in the introduction of *The Signs of Death*, where it is written that “ther be many lechis þat knowen not the maledye ne the sekenes ne þe medesyne wyche be colde ne wyche bene hote, and therfor they yeuen the seke contrarious drynkes and medycynes in grete perell of mannys body” (l. 114-116). Blood is hot and wet, yellow bile is hot and dry, black bile is cold and dry, and phlegm is cold and wet. As Linda Voigts puts it: “For much of Western history, the body was seen as one pattern of fours in a tetralogical universe. The bodily tetrad, the four humours, corresponded to and

expressed the four elements – earth, air fire water – and the four qualities, moistness, aridity, heat, cold” (40). Each person was believed to have their own “characteristic complexion or temperament,” i.e. their own balance of the four elements and qualities (Lindberg 332). Health, then, was the delicate balance between these humours, and sickness meant a disturbance of this balance. Being and staying healthy required nothing more than what is required today: one could stay healthy “by regulating air, diet, exercise, sleep, evacuation and emotion” (Medicine, Diagnosis, and Treatment in the Middle Ages, n.p.). There were several ways to restore this balance if it had been lost. The physician could prescribe a diet to the patient. Lindberg states that, seeing as “humors are the end products of food consumed,” if the physician could figure out his patient’s complexion, he could prescribe a diet to re-balance his complexion. Another very common form of treatment was giving the patient drugs. Common ingredients for the drugs administered were herbs, but “animal and mineral substances were also employed” (Lindberg 333). The knowledge and “ability to identify and prepare drugs” (Lindberg 333) were essential to being a physician. Another method, and a more dramatic method at that, was to let the patient’s blood to take away superfluous fluids and thus restore the balance.

Blood-letting, also known as *minutio*, *venesection*, and *phlebotomy*, was a procedure that was frequently used by physicians. Its relation to the humoral-based approach of medicine was the idea that the patient’s affliction was caused by an excess of blood in his body, and that this superfluous blood upsets the humoral system of the patient. The physician lets his patient’s blood because too much blood in the body was causing the affliction (Rubin 141). To cure a certain disease, specific veins had to be opened, which is also reflected in *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence*, where the text specifically mentions that the physician should let the blood from the “hert veyne” to remedy the affliction treated (l. 14). The timing of blood-letting was very important, since there were certain days on which it was considered very dangerous to do so, and the physician had to know these. These days included holy days, the Egyptian Days, and certain Mondays throughout the year (Rubin 142).

Diagnosis

There were a number of ways in which the physician was able to diagnose a patient. Besides focusing on the maladies pointed out by the patient, he analysed the patient’s body language and posture, and he could also analyse his urine.

Urinostopy was a longstanding practice of analysing someone’s urine for medical diagnosis. Clay tablets attest its early use by Sumerian and Babylonian physicians around

4000 BCE, and later it was advocated by the renowned Greek physicians Hippocrates and Galen (Conner 507). Both used it to diagnose diseases that affected kidneys, bladder or urethra only. This system was expanded upon by Arabian physicians, who turned it into a complete system for diagnosis. It became a vital method for physicians in the Middle Ages as well, since it was the best way for them to assess the patient's humoural balance, pointing them to the best treatment. Texts on uroscopy were written in Latin for the biggest part of the Middle Ages, but from 1375 onwards, there was a great flux of versions in the English vernacular.

To come to a diagnosis, the urine had to be assessed in a number of ways. For this, it was put in a flask of a special shape and glass, called the matula or jordan (Conner 507). *The Signs of Death* also refers to using a bottle for diagnosis, yet not to inspect urine; instead, it advises to use a flask to test blood, though perhaps it was so obvious for a medieval physician to test the urine in a flask that such a reference was superfluous. A physician then took into account the colour, consistency, odour and clarity of a patient's urine (Lindberg 335). The uroscopy attested in Hunter 513 seems to work in a similar vein: it bases its diagnosis of a disease on the colour of the patient's urine. The text of *The Signs of Death* warns for a patient's urine that is "grene and blacke" (l. 153-154). It also takes consistency and clarity into account, for example, when a physician should analyse if a patient "may notte well pisse but late and blake and medelyd with blode" (l. 142). Having difficulty with urinating is a bad sign, as well as when one's urine is mixed with blood.

Besides urine, there were other ways to diagnose a patient, and these too are attested in the treatises in Hunter 513. Hippocrates argued, in his *Prognosis*, that one should also consider the body language of a patient, and stated that a physician should, among others, look at "the patient's color, his eyes, face, voice, silence, the position in which he is lying, the attitude of his body, and his bearing" (Wallis 39). Examples of such instructions for analysing a patient's body language can be found in *The Signs of Death*. For example, it is bad when a patient is not very conscious, but instead rather "slepy and somdele dombe" (l. 131). The patient's appetite, too, is a factor that indicates his state: there are a number of attestations in which a lack of appetite is considered symptomatic of a lethal disease. Besides the instances in which a patient has "no desyringe to mete" (l. 136) or "no talent to drynke" (l. 170), unusual appetites are also indicative of a patient's health: in *The Signs of Death*, it states that it is a bad sign when a patient "desyrithe to etyn benys" (l.170). In the version of *The Signs of Death* in Hunter 513, there is a heavy focus on the patient's posture and position in which he is lying. For example, it is a bad sign if a patient's "chynne hange dunward" (l.

161), or if he lies facing the wall (l. 162) or the door (l. 167), and also when he is lying in his bed the wrong way around, i.e. “yf [he] turne his fete there his hede laye (l. 165-166). *The Ivory Casket*, a text translated by Faith Wallis in her reader, shows overlap with *The Signs of Death* yet it differs in focus: it focuses more on when a patient desires hot baths as this symptom recurs in multiple entries. This symptom is attested once in *The Signs of Death*, stating that it is an ominous sign when a patient “desire hote wasschyng” (l. 132).

Another element in the diagnostic practices found in *The Signs of Death* is a test to find out whether a fluid from the patient sinks or floats in water. According to Luke DeMaitre, this was a method to “differentiate between the expectorations of pus and the less worrisome spitting of phlegm” (20). He explains this method and puts it in a context by quoting a similar instruction from Constantinus Africanus’ (c. 1020–1087) *Liber Pantegni*: “You will find out by dropping the sputum into a vessel filled with water and waiting for an hour: it is purulent matter if it sinks to the bottom, but phlegm if it floats” (qtd. in DeMaitre 20).

Several practices of medicine, then, are collected within these treatises, from the theory of humorism that stems from Antiquity, to the practices added by later (Pseudo-Hippocratic) texts. Besides medicine, the treatises also built on the science of astrology.

Astrology

It is perhaps difficult for us to imagine that the star signs in today’s horoscopes once held a much greater and more important influence. Yet, astronomy, or astrology – Sophie Page states that the names were used interchangeably in the Middle Ages (7) – were considered a full-fledged science, and a rather important one at that. Its initial use was similar to modern horoscopes of today: the science of astrology was used to interpret or predict the effects of certain planets, stars and constellations on (a certain aspect of) a person’s life. However, in the Middle Ages, it meant a great deal more than it does now: planets and stars were believed to influence people’s lives and affairs. The nature of their influence was inherent to each planet, but the degree of their influence was partially based upon their position in the sky. In this, the planets were in some degree associated with and affected by the signs of the zodiac: for example, “the sun is most powerful when in the same house as Leo” (Kieckhefer 127).

While today the practice of astrology is rather prone to scepticism or ridicule, it was much called upon in medieval times. The stars were often consulted, especially when important decisions had to be made, when to set out on a journey or when definitely not to, to

establish the best day for a marriage, what political or career decisions to make, to name but a few examples. It was not uncommon for rulers or other notable figures to consult astrologers and base decisions partially on their advice. This does not mean that astrology was left without dispute: there were great debates on its usefulness and the extent of the influence it was believed to exert. If the stars influence man's behaviour, it opposes the Christian doctrine of man's free will and God's omnipotence. Lindberg states that there is no simple answer to the question of how the medical tradition from Antiquity interacted with "Christian ideas of healing" but puts forward a few things to keep in mind: firstly, that there was indeed a tension between the "naturalism of the medical tradition" and the healing tradition from Christianity. Most people, however, were not "philosophically inclined" and therefore did not pick up on this tension (320). If they did, he states that "there were various ways of easing or resolving the tension, short of repudiating one kind of healing or the other" (320).

Astrology had implications for medical science as well. Planets and the signs of the zodiac especially were thought to exert influence on a man's life and even on his body; the signs of the zodiac each governed a different part of the human body. Physicians would usually have almanacs or calendars with them, which included charts of the stars and planets, helping them with their diagnosis (Bovey, n.p.). They would also know which sign of the zodiac governed which part of the human body. All this is probably why astrology was studied "more systematically in medical schools than in other branches of medieval universities" (Kieckhefer 122). According to Sophie Page, Astrology and mathematics, which were needed for the calculations, were both part of the quadrivium, the education in the four mathematical arts (14). Besides the direct influence that these planets had on humans and their health, there were certain days and periods in a year on which it was dangerous to perform surgery or to bleed patients, such as the so-called Dog Days or the Egyptian Days (Kieckhefer 87; Chardonnens 9). On these days, the influence of the heavenly bodies was too intense and therefore lethal. Surgeons, barber-surgeons, and physicians needed to know these days, and they also needed astrology and knowledge of the stars to calculate when these days were.

In the Middle Ages, astrologers drew from Greek and Latin sources. According to Pearl Kibre, this was nothing new, but rather part of an ongoing tradition:

This adherence to astrology or to the belief in the rule of the stars, that is the supposed influence of the heavenly bodies on human affairs, and especially upon the states and disease of the human, was not, however, a novel phenomenon of the later Middle Ages

and early modern era. It was rather part and parcel of earlier medieval thought, as well as, very probably, of antiquity. As [Lynn Thorndike] has remarked, the rule of the stars in the Middle Ages was thought of as a universal law of nature and astrologers based their confidence in divination of the future on the acceptance of this law. (134)

Sophie Page adds to this that, before the twelfth century, the practice of astronomy was mostly found in monasteries, and was used for “time-keeping and the construction of the Christian calendar” (7). Due to the “the absence of accurate astronomical tables and instruments it was difficult to arrive at the precise calculations necessary for horoscopic astrology,” which, in turn, sparked simpler forms of astronomy and divination to flourish, which depended on the lunar cycle or the positions of the planets within the zodiac (7). During the high Middle Ages, there was an influx of new material: in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, astrology peaked owing to Arabic sources that were being translated and became available.

The elements of astronomy that the two treatises in Hunter 513 refer to are not limited to the zodiac and the position of the planets within the houses of the zodiac, but the treatises also refer to a concept known as ‘the zodiac man’. The premise of the concept of ‘the zodiac man’ is that the zodiac do not only influence planets, but also parts of the human body directly. Knowledge of the zodiac and the zodiac man is key to understanding the two treatises and their workings, so it is necessary to explain these concepts.

The system of the zodiac consists of twelve signs or houses. The order of the houses of the zodiac starts with Aries, and then continues with Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces. These signs, as stated before, exert an influence on the human body. As the zodiacal cycle often starts in Aries, it is not surprising that Aries governs the top of a man’s body: Aries exerts its influence on the head and eyes, but also on his adrenal glands and blood pressure. Taurus influences a man’s neck, throat, shoulders and ears. Gemini has an effect on one’s lungs, nerves, arms and fingers. Cancer governs the top of a man’s torso: the chest wall and breasts, but it also affects certain body fluids. Leo has a man’s heart, spine, spleen and upper back. Virgo affects a man’s abdomen, intestines, gall bladder, pancreas and liver. Libra exerts its influence on the lower back, buttocks, the hips, kidneys, and endocrine glands. Scorpio governs one’s pelvis and reproductive organs, the urinary bladder and the rectum. Sagittarius influences someone’s thighs and upper legs. Capricorn has one’s knees, but also one’s bones and skin. Aquarius governs the ankles and the blood vessels, and, finally, Pisces affects one’s feet, as well as

certain body fluids (Hetherington 87; “An Illustration mapping the Zodiac to parts of the human body” n.p.).

Put in a simple schematic, this system looks like this:

Aries	Head, eyes, adrenal glands, blood pressure
Taurus	Neck, throat, shoulders, ears
Gemini	Lungs, nerves, arms, fingers
Cancer	Chest wall, breasts, some body fluids
Leo	Heart, spine, upper back, spleen
Virgo	Abdomen, intestines, gallbladder, pancreas, liver
Libra	Lower back, buttocks, hips, kidneys, endocrine system
Scorpio	Reproductive organs, pelvis, urinary bladder, rectum
Sagittarius	Thighs, legs
Capricorn	Knees, bones, skin
Aquarius	Ankles, blood vessels
Pisces	Feet, some body fluids

Textual Tradition

Pearl Kibre states that there were various manuscripts and texts named *Astronomia* or *Astrologia ypocratis*. The tract on “astrological medicine circulated in Latin form under the name of the famous physician, Hippocrates of Cos, in the high Middle Ages and early modern era” (Kibre 133). While the earlier versions of this texts circulated in Latin, later versions were translated to several vernaculars. In her article “‘Astronomia’ or ‘Asrologia Ypocratis,’ she has listed both the Latin witnesses of the text and the vernacular versions. She includes the implicit for the texts in her lists, and these match *The Treatise of Zodiacal Influence*. *The Treatise of Zodiacal Influence* in Hunter 513, while not part of her list, is therefore a part of this tradition.

Unfortunately, the tradition of *The Signs of Death* was less easily found. A number of entries in *The Signs of Death* overlap with *The Ivory Casket*, a text that Faith Wallis has translated from Karl Sudhoff’s edition named “Die pseudohippokratische [sic] Krankheitsprognostik nach dem Auftreten von Hautausschlägen, ‘Secreta Hippocratis’ oder ‘Capsula eburnea’ benannt”. While there is not a complete overlap, there is enough to establish a link to the tradition of this text. In the table below, the two texts are put next to each other. The following table displays the first eleven signs which show overlap between the two texts. The fifteenth entry for *The Ivory Casket* has been moved up since that one shows overlap with the eleventh entry in *The Signs of Death*. The full version of both texts can be found in Appendix D.

<i>The Signs of Death</i> . Hunter 513, ff. 105v-107v.	<i>The Ivory Casket</i> , in F. Wallis, <i>Medieval Medicine: A Reader</i> , pp. 43-45.
1. Here begynne the tokens, fyrste of þe hede: whoso haþe doloure or ache in his hede or swellynge in his vesage <i>withowten</i> redde and <i>with</i> the lyft <i>and</i> allway pykud his nosethrylles, þat <i>xxiiiith</i> day he schall dye.	1. If [the patient] has pain or swelling of the face without cough and without other pain, and his right hand constantly scratches his chest or nostrils, he will die on the twenty-second day.
2. Yff a man be frentik <i>and</i> haue his chekis rounde and swellynge <i>withouten</i> goode digestyoun of stomake, the ix day he schall dye yf the maladye begynnithe <i>with</i> cold.	2. If both cheeks of someone suffering from frenzy are solid pink and swollen, and there is no digestion in the stomach, he will die on the ninth day. This disease begins with sweating and chills, cold ears, cold teeth.
3. Also yf a manys eyen be cold <i>and</i> the teþe cold and yf he be alway slepy <i>and</i> somdele dombe, he schall dye on þat sekenes.	3. There are three defects in the teeth: if [the patient's] mouth is in pain, if the veins of the neck bulge, and if he is asleep and just about deaf. And if he has hot pustules upon these veins and a little white stone appears there and if in his illness he desires hot baths or steam baths, he will die on the fiftieth day. This ailment happens to a person who desires hot baths.
4. And yf a wen wax about þe vayne on þe forhed <i>and</i> yf þe wenne be whyte and desire hote wasschyng þe xv. day he schall dye, or ellys take an harde passyoun be fefris or yf the grete to other þe fote be brennyng þe viiith day he schall dye	4. Again, if pustules like small lentils appear under the tongue of someone who has a high *fever (<i>causon</i>), and if he desires baths or a steam bath, and the fever is in his inward parts, and if there is a small black swelling on his big toes, he will die on the seventh day.
5. Aso yf the seke be in the feuer ageus and haþe an evyll stomake <i>and</i> in the ryghte foote or in þe lefte fote wax a wenne or in the sole of the fote so þat it be not to grete but evynlyche and as colour as ynde and a perty swellynge and no desyringe to mete þe <i>xxiith</i> day, he schall dye.	5+6. Again, in a high fever, if a small pustule – not raised up, but flat – appears on the stomach or the sole of the right foot and [the patient] is full of the worst kind of *humor, and has no appetite, he will die on the twenty-first day.
6. Also yf ther come in þe grete to an evell þat the blode schede owte of the to and yf ii. kyrnellis waxe in þe to rede as blode <i>and</i> isene yskyd ofte and late in the vii day he schall dye.	7. Again, in a cause of pneumonia, if blood comes out of [the patient's] thumb or a bloody pustule emerges from it, and if he sneezes frequently or latterly, he will die on the seventh day.
7. Also yf the seke haue euyll in þe mynte <i>and</i> þat euyll meve from a place to anodyr and too pusshes wax in þe throte of whyte coloure he schall dye and yf the grete to on þe ryghte fote begynne to rote <i>and</i> if he may notte well pisse but late <i>and</i> blake <i>and</i> medelyd <i>with</i> blode þe <i>viii</i> day he schall dye.	8. If [the patient's] liver hurts, and if two conjoined white pustules appear on his neck and throat, and the big toe of his right foot starts to itch a great deal, and later on he urinates and blood comes out, he will die on the seventh day.
8. Also yf hard passyon comme to þe herte of colde <i>and</i> hold contynually and be <i>viii</i> . dayes fastyng <i>and</i> on nyghte <i>withowte</i> purgacioun	9. Again, *cholera is an illness of a single day. If [the patient] does not improve on the same day, he will die on the third. These are

þe iii. day he stonte in dowte yf ii. pusshis waxyn all owte of the navyll <i>and</i> the tou be whyte and þe todyr blo and abowte rede as blode þat selve day he schall dye.	the signs of cholera: if three pustules like scars appear next to the navel, to the left and right, one white, one somewhat livid, and the third pink, he will die on the same day.
9. Also yf the too happes to schew a pussche of þe grettnes and þe coloure of a lytill notte <i>and</i> þerwith hevvy the iiith day he schall dye.	10. If in [a patient] suffering from stomach pain, pustules like hazel-nuts appear on the eyebrows of the same color as the eyebrows, and he also feels pain, I know that he will die within four days
10. Also yf a man be seke of the splene <i>and</i> blede at þe nostrellis as come the xiii day he schall dye.	11. If the spleen hurts and an odd number of white pustules appear on [the patient's] left hand and if rather foamy blood runs from his nose, he will die on the twelfth day.
11. And yf the seke caste blood and there waxe blacke spottis þorugheowte his body <i>and</i> þe membris be swollen <i>and</i> ryse bladders like benys of Egipte þat day he dyethe for sothe.	15. If *sanies exudes from any part of the body and if spots like Egyptian beans appear all over the body, he will die on the fifty-first day.

Table 1. A comparison between *The Signs of Death* and *The Ivory Casket*. The square brackets and asterisks are copied from Wallis.

The fact that the overlap between these two texts is only partial could mean that there were more versions of this text. It is likely that physicians added their personal knowledge to these texts, thus creating different and more local versions. As can be concluded from the comparison between these two versions, there were many signs that a physician could look at and these were probably different for each version.

The name of *The Ivory Casket* apparently, stems from the narrative introduction of the text: the text relates how Hippocrates wrote down the signs of death, which were put inside an ivory casket in his tomb after he died. Besides this, Wallis puts forth a number of other names for the text: besides *The Ivory Casket*, it is also called *The Secrets of Hippocrates*, *The Prognostics of Democritus*, or *The Indications of Illness* (43).

Wallis summarises the text as “a catalogue of diseases, comprising a few clinical signs followed by a bald declaration of the time that death will occur” (43). This formula applies to *The Signs of Death* too. Furthermore, she states that the signs in question are “often pustules that appear like tokens on the body”(43). The lack of causal explanation, as well as the narration of how the text was ‘found’ by Caesar, leads Wallis to sense “an oracular air to the text” (43). She elaborates on this by linking *The Ivory Casket* to another text, *The Signs of Impending Death*, attributed to Galen. This text was also found outside of medical manuscripts, namely in “prayer books and clerical compendia” (43). It allowed the physicians

in monasteries to find out when a patient was near death, so that the rites could be prepared and performed.

3. The Manuscript

Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 513 is part of the Hunterian collection at the University of Glasgow. It is catalogued as having been created between 1424 and 1475 (“MS Hunter 513 (V.8.16)”, n.p.). The manuscript is a medical miscellany and contains only texts and treatises on medicine. Besides *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence* and *The Signs of Death*, there are two other texts: one on the medical care of the eye, called *De Probatissima Arte Oculorum*, and another text called *The Antidotary*.

In terms of layout and codicology, the manuscript consists of 107, originally 108, vellum folios, and spans 176 mm x 147 mm in size. The folios particular to the treatises are margined on all four sides with plummet, whereas the other folios were margined with red ink or brown crayon according to the catalogue description (“MS Hunter 513 (V.8.16)” n.p.). There is no foliation, but there are “signatures of numeration” in red at the bottom of the first three verso leaves of the first treatise (Málaga Corpus for Late Middle English Scientific Prose, n.p.). These, however, are not continued for the other folios nor the second treatise.

Another striking characteristic is that the treatises are nearly devoid of punctuation, save for a few markers. There is a punctus at the end of each page to indicate the end of a passage. Within the text, when necessary, there are virgules to indicate the end of a clause. In *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence*, the initials are written in blue ink and the paragraph marks and rubrications are in red and blue alternately. As for *The Signs of Death*, both the initials and the paragraph marks and rubrications are in red ink.

Both treatises are written in single columns of run-on prose. The number of lines per page is variable for *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence*, since the scribe wrote only one constellation to a page instead of using all the available space. The lines per page range between 8 and 28; there are approximately 10 lines to a page for the individual constellations, yet the introduction and the conclusion are significantly longer. For *The Signs of Death*, the scribe uses the full page to write. Margués Aguado has catalogued the lines per page for this treatise as 20-22, with 10 lines on the last page (Málaga Corpus for Late Middle English Scientific Prose, n.p.).

In *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence*, the passages on the individual zodiac constellations start on a new page, even when there is enough space left on the page to fit another passage. While this could be a way to facilitate looking up a sign of the zodiac by looking at the first word of each page, a comparison to the version of this text in London, British Library, Harley 2378, where the signs are followed by diagrams, could mean that this

was the intention for Hunter 513 as well, but that the diagrams were never added. Eventually, on some of the pages this empty space was used to write down recipes, formulas, or just merely one's name, in the case of Charles Chancy on f. 98v. The layout in *The Signs of Death* is more structured, which is also necessary since this treatise consists of twenty-seven different entries or signs, presented as continuous prose. Each new entry, therefore, has been marked by both a paragraph mark in red ink, and by numbering the entries in the margins. The numbering was highlighted in red ink.

This scribe uses line fillers to fill up the text blocks, which consist of waving lines that alternate in brown and red ink. He also uses two virgules to reserve space for a paragraph marker, and reserved space for the initials, indicating that these were to be added later. The scribe wrote a small 'h' on folio 105v in the space reserved for the capital, to indicate that the capital should be an 'h'. Ruling is only visible on f. 104r, and seems absent from the rest of the folios, yet prickings are visible in the right-hand margin of f. 105r, and therefore also on the left-hand margin of 105v. Prickings are also visible on ff. 106r-v and 107r-v. Some of the folios still show a lot of hair follicles. While this mostly does not impair the legibility of the texts, it does blur the text on f. 107v.

The manuscript seems to have been made for a practicing physician. Marqués Aguado states that;

[I]ittle is known about the circumstances in which this manuscript was produced, as well as about its later history, although its external appearance (small size of the volume, script used, stitched folios and scarce decoration) suggests that it was not an expensive production, most probably intended for a medical practitioner interested in the contents, rather than in the quality of the manuscript itself. (57)

The practicality of the manuscript is actually visible in the traces of the provenance of the manuscript: several recipes have been added to blank spaces in the text, which indicates that the manuscript continued to be used. The recipe written on f. 107v has most likely been added during the Middle Ages, as the hand uses a thorn, medieval abbreviation conventions, and is written in a medieval script. The recipe added to f. 104v retains some medieval abbreviations too, yet it is hard to make out a medieval script. The **g** is horned and the **a** in one compartment, which indicates that this could be a crude Secretary script, but one should be careful here not to overanalyse. If it is medieval, it was probably added during the very late medieval period. Lastly, a recipe has been added on f. 101r. This one seems to be post-medieval, as can be seen from the script and from the fact that it no longer uses abbreviations. A later hand seems to have copied these last two recipes onto other folios: the recipe on

f.101r was copied to on f. 100v, and the recipe on f. 104v was copied onto the nearest blank space, which was on 103v. It seems that this hand found the original recipes illegible, but valuable enough to preserve. His copying of the recipes, and thus rendering them easier to read, could indicate that he intended to use these recipes.

In the eighteenth century, the manuscript had found its way into the hands of Charles Chancy (1706-1777), who was a physician and collector (“Charles Chancy” n.p.). After this, the manuscript made its way into the personal collection of William Hunter (1718 – 1783). He became a Doctor of Medicine at the University of Glasgow, and after working as an assistant, a tutor, and a surgeon, he became the Physician Extraordinary to Queen Charlotte and was the president of the Society of Licentiate Physicians in 1781 (“William Hunter”, n.p.).

Parallel versions

Teresa Marqués Aguado’s description of the manuscript in the Malaga Corpus for Late Middle English Scientific Prose states that parallel texts for *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence* and *The Signs of Death* have not been identified. It seems, however, that there are several parallel versions to be found of *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence*: one version, which is more complete, is found in London, British Library, Harley 2378. The version in Harley 2378 is available on-line and has been used by me to decipher corrupted lines in Hunter 513, since the version in Harley 2378 is more complete and more coherent. The connection between these two versions of the text seems to have gone unnoticed, since neither the catalogue of the Hunterian collection, nor the British Library in their description of this passage in Harley 2378, nor Pearl Kibre in her list of Pseudo-Hippocratic texts on astro-medicine refer to Hunter 513 (“MS Hunter 513 (V.8.16),” n.p; “Harley 2378,” n.p.; Kibre 155-156). The British Library catalogue description and Pearl Kibre do, however, point to five other versions of this text. This renders the following list of all known versions of *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence*:

- Cambridge: CUt R. XIV. 52, 143-145r
- London, British Museum, Additional 12195, 185r-190r
- London, British Library, Harley 1736, 232r-234r
- London, British Library, Harley 2378, 7r-11r
- London, British Library, Sloane 73, 132v-136r
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 393, 32r-33r.

The fact that so many parallel versions have been found means that the text was popular, and most likely also much used.

I have not been able to consult all of the parallel versions stated above, but *The Signs of Death* is absent from Harley 2378 and Ashmole 393. If the same is true for the remainder of the parallel versions, then the attestation and pairing of these two Pseudo-Hippocratic treatises in Hunter 513 is a unique phenomenon. In this light, it is interesting that William Hunter seemed to view them as one book, as he logs them in his own index to the manuscript as “a pretended book by Ypocras” (“MS Hunter 513 (V.8.16)” n.p.). The next chapter will analyse the script of the two treatises, which will also provide further evidence that the two treatises cannot be considered one book.

4. The Script

This chapter will analyse the type of script of the two treatises, as well as peculiarities peculiar to the hand. The description in the catalogue of the Malaga Corpus of Late Middle English Scientific Prose states that the script for both treatises is a cursive Secretary. While the script of *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence* does share a few features with the Secretary script, there are many features that indicate that it is not a Secretary script, but that it is, in fact, an Anglicana or a script based on Anglicana. While *The Signs of Death* does have noticeably more features from the Secretary script, there are also quite a number of features that it takes from the Anglicana, and therefore is a hybrid between the two, as will be shown below.

Both the Anglicana and Secretary scripts are cursive scripts. Cursive scripts allowed scribes to write letters easier and faster, which sped up the writing and copying process. Cursive scripts were also smaller and took up less space on a page (Parkes xiii). In contrast to display scripts, scripts meant to aesthetically enhance a text or manuscript, the purpose of cursive scripts was to be practical. The Anglicana is a cursive of English origin that developed in the thirteenth century and was used for centuries after (Parkes xiv). The Secretary script was introduced around the third quarter of the fourteenth century and probably came from the continent (Parkes xix)

The hand of one of the scribes at work in another text in the manuscript, the *Antidotary*, switches between an Anglicana and a Secretary script. The scribe of *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence* writes in an Anglicana script which also has Secretary features, and it seems that this is the same scribe. The script and writing style look very similar, though the scribe writes the **a** in one compartment, whereas the **a** in the Pseudo-Hippocratis treatises is consistently written in two compartments. This would mean that the scribe knows both Anglicana and Secretary scripts, and writes in a combination of the two, a combination that differs slightly per text.

The Treatise of the Zodiacal Influence

The scribe of the first treatise writes in a script based on the Anglicana cursive script, but he also displays some features of the Secretary script. The **a** is consistently written in two compartments, which is a clear feature of the Anglicana script. While the main form of the **a** has a slightly curved body (see fig. 2), it is sometimes also written with a very straight back (see fig. 1), which is a feature that Parkes attributes to a Bastard Anglicana. In an earlier stage

of the Anglicana, the height of the **a** was exaggerated, meaning that the top extended in height over other letters. While this is still present (see fig. 1), there are also words in which the scribe writes the **a** with the same height as the other letters (see fig. 2).

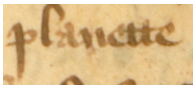


fig. 1: 'planette'. An **a** in two compartments with a straight back, extending in height over the other letters.

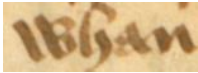


fig. 2: 'whan'. An **a** in two compartments with a curved back. This image also shows the **w** with a yogh-like flourish on the right-most stroke. Note also that this **a** does not rise above the height of the other letters.

The ascenders, especially on letter forms such as the long **s** or the **f**, are composed of rather thick strokes that dive beneath the baseline (see fig. 4 and 5).

Another letter indicative of Anglicana is the **d**. The **d** is has a loop in its ascender, and according to Parkes this is indicative for the Anglicana script (xv). There are occasions where it is written with a straight back (see fig. 3), which Parkes states as a feature that belongs to the Bastard Anglicana (xviii).

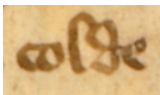


fig. 3: 'colde'. A **d** with a straight back and a looped ascender. The angular stem of the **c**, however, is indicative of a Secretary hand.

While there are some instances of the use of long **r** (see fig. 4 left), which is typical for the Anglicana script, the scribe mainly uses the short **r** (see fig. 4 right), which is an ambiguous form that both Anglicana and Secretary scripts employ (Parkes xv; xvii).

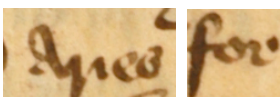


fig. 4: 'Aries' and 'for'. The long **r** (left) vs the short **r** (right).

Yet, there are also forms of certain letters that do not belong to Anglicana, but instead to Secretary. For example, the **g** is not written like an 8, which is a feature of the Anglicana script (Parkes xv). The angular strokes that make up the diamond-like lobe of the **g** and the horn at the top of the letter indicate that this is a Secretary letter (see fig. 5)(Parkes 9).

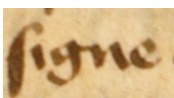


fig. 5: 'signe'. The horned and angular strokes that make up the **g** belong to the Secretary script. Note also the thick descender of the **s**.

The script, then, seems to be based on the Anglicana, but shares features with the Bastard Anglicana and Secretary scripts as well. As the Secretary script developed around the third quarter of the fourteenth century, it gives us a *terminus post quem* in the late fourteenth century.

The Signs of Death

The second treatise, *The Signs of Death*, is written in a hand that is a hybrid of Anglicana and Secretary script. Significant letters are the cursive e (see fig. 6), written in one circular stroke, which Parkes denotes as an updated form of Anglicana script from after the first quarter of the fourteenth century (Parkes xv).

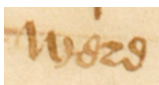


fig. 6: 'were'. The simplified **w** is indicative of the Secretary script. The cursive **e** belongs to the Anglicana script. Also note the 2-like **r**.

The **w** has been simplified and lacks the yogh-like flourish on its right side that is typical of Anglicana (see fig. 2). Instead, its form is written in a manner that belongs to the Secretary script (see figs. 6 and 9).

The **g** is made of angular strokes, which is indicative of the Secretary style of writing (fig. 7)(Parkes xix).

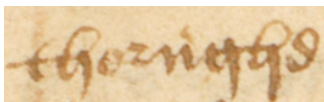


fig.7: 'thorughe'. The **h** and **g** made up from angular strokes.

The **p**, similar to the **g**, is also made up from angular strokes, rather than a curved lobe (see fig. 8).

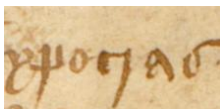


fig. 8: 'ypocras'. The **p** made up from angular strokes.

The **r** is written mostly as a 2-like **r** (see figs. 6 and 7), which was used in both the Anglicana and the Secretary scripts, but in some instances the scribe uses a long **r**, which belongs to Anglicana specifically (see fig. 9)(Parkes xv).

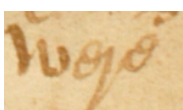


fig.9: 'were', this time written with the long **r**.

The hand that wrote *The Signs of Death* is a clear hybrid between the Anglicana and Secretary hands.

A number of explanations for these hybrids of scripts have been put forward by Parkes. One explanation for the blend between scripts put forward by Parkes is that “[m]any fifteenth-century scribes were able to write well in more than one script” and that “a mixture of the two is inevitable” (xxiv). Another explanation is that scribes at universities “achieved a blend” of the Anglicana and Secretary scripts that basically was a script by itself (xxiv). This could apply to the two treatises in Hunter 513 as well: the dialect of *The Signs of Death*, as will be discussed in chapter six, can be traced to Cambridgeshire. It is possible then that this treatise was written by a scribe at the university of Cambridge.

To sum up: both texts are written in a cursive script, which allowed a scribe to quickly copy a text. The purpose of this type of script is practical, which underlines the practical intent for this manuscript: it was most likely meant as a practical guide to a practicing physician. While both hands were denoted as a Secretary script in the Málaga Corpus of Late Medieval Scientific Prose, there is ample evidence that they not exclusively Secretary scripts; the hand of *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence* is an Anglicana with some features, and the hand of *The Signs of Death* is a hybrid of Anglicana and Secretary.

5. The Author, the scribe, and the audience

The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence and *The Signs of Death* are both pseudo-Hippocratic treatises, meaning that they are both ascribed to Hippocrates, but very likely have not been written by him. As stated before, there were a number of texts and manuscripts circulating under the names of *Astronomia* or *Astrologia Ypocratis*, according to Pearl Kibre (133). She explains that a text would be attributed to Hippocrates to give the text a sense of authority and prestige (134). She does not think it probable, however, that these texts originate from Hippocrates himself, or even one of his disciples, because “there is no indication that such a work was ever ascribed in antiquity to Hippocrates” (Kibre 134). She then proceeds to give an alternative: although the work circulated under the name of Hippocrates, she states that it “is not found in its complete form in extant Latin manuscripts before the 13th century”, and it is very likely that the source of this text lies in an earlier Greek or Byzantine text, and it is suggested that this is a work from the sixth-century Byzantine Imbrasius of Ephesus. This text is connected to the *Prognostication of Disease by Astrology*, a tract attributed to Galen (135).

The treatises are based on Hippocrates’ ideas, but they are not by Hippocrates and merely attributed to him. The real author remains unknown, although it is certain that the scribe of this text was not the author, because he was copying from an exemplar in view of a number of corrupted words and even lines.

The *Astrologia Ypocratis*, originally in Latin, then made its way into numerous vernaculars, and *The treatise on Zodiacal Influence* is probably a Middle English translation of it. The vernacular translation made the treatise available to a wide range of people. Of course, one still had to have enjoyed an advanced education, especially for treatises like these on medicine and astrology, but it was no longer exclusive to those educated in Latin.

If Margués Aguado is right with her suggestion about the purpose of the manuscript, namely that this is a practitioner’s guide or manual, it would mean that the readership of these texts were practicing physicians and perhaps their assistants. The scribe, however, has made some critical copying errors that may impair the usability of the treatise though. For example, at a certain point he has written that the “sikenesse [...] shall turne into a place” (l.75; emended) a comparison with Harley 2378 has shown that the intended line should have read that the illness turns into a “palsye”, i.e. a paralysis, rather than ‘into a place.’

The instructions in the treatises for the physicians as to which symptoms to look for, or what treatment to give to the patient are very complete, which could mean that the texts

were intended for beginning physicians. This can also be seen in the fact that some of the instructions are also very basic, such as that the physician should regard the position of the moon, or that he should look at the colour of the pustules and swellings. The author also gives the vernacular translation for Aries, “on Englissh a ramme” (l. 8), but does not translate the other Latin-based names of the zodiac. For each sign of the zodiac, he also gives the tempers and the parts of the human body that it governs. While all the steps necessary are spelled out for the physician in the instructions, the many different diseases and afflictions mentioned in the treatises are not explained and merely mentioned by name, which suggests that the reader of these treatises was required to have some knowledge of diseases and medical care.

6. The Language

This chapter will analyse the language of the two treatises and in doing so attempt to determine their origin. This chapter will focus therefore on (1) the spelling, i.e. significant spellings and the way the scribe deals with certain fixed spelling variables; (2) the morphology, i.e. significant morphemes that the scribe uses; (3) the syntax, or syntactic peculiarities, and lastly, (4) dialect and dialectal features. For some of the significant features discussed in this chapter, dot maps from the electronic version of the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English* (henceforth *LALME*) have been added in Appendix C.

Spelling

The scribe is very inconsistent in his spelling and often has various forms of the same word, especially for the word ‘sickness’, which he uses very frequently. Besides spelling variation, there is even variation in writing at the level of letters. In Middle English writing, there are a number of interchangeable clusters of letters, such as i/j/y, u/v, y/z, z/g, and þ/th. For some of these pairs, there is a pattern to when one option is chosen and when another. For example, it is very common in Middle English writing that a ‘v’ is written word-initially, to indicate either a ‘v’ or a ‘u’, and that a ‘u’ is written for these letters in the middle of a word. The scribe of *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence* follows this pattern as well; he uses a ‘v’ word-initially for a ‘u’, as in ‘vmours’, or to indicate a ‘v’, as in ‘vesage’, and word-medially he writes a ‘u’, as in ‘ffeuer’.

For the interchangeable letters i/j/y, the scribe uses the ‘j’ or ‘long i’ only to signal the final stroke of a sequence of i’s. Sequences of i’s are mostly found in Latin texts, usually word-finally in words like *iudicii*, and they are also found in Roman numbers. Since there is hardly any Latin in the text, and no words among those that feature a sequence of i’s, the ‘j’ occurs only at the end of Roman numbers. Word-initially, the scribe only uses an ‘i’, but word-medially, he uses the ‘i’ and ‘y’ interchangeably, as in *sike/syke*, or *moist/moyste*. The ‘y’ is also used as the substitute for the yogh, which is completely absent in both *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence* and *The Signs of Death*. The scribe therefore writes words like ‘yeueth’.

There seem to be patterns behind the scribe’s use of ‘þ/th’. Word-initially, they are interchangeable, as the scribe uses both the ‘þ’ and the ‘th’, as in *þe/the*. For word-medial position, he only uses a thorn, and word-finally, he uses only ‘th’, with the exception of one case where he writes ‘wiþ’ (l. 68). The scribe consistently writes a ‘-th’ in the inflection of

the third person singular present indicative form, as can also be seen in ‘yeueth’ and ‘tokenythe’. This pattern is present in both treatises.

Then there are a number of individual peculiarities to the scribes. Interestingly, in line 22, the scribe writes ‘sigkenesse’. This is an interesting erroneous form, since it indicates that two of the most frequent words in the treatise, ‘signs’ and ‘sickness’, are affecting the scribe’s spelling. The scribe of *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence* also has a tendency to use double consonants. Sometimes, medieval scribes use this to indicate a capital, but the scribe uses it in both word-medial and word-final position, for example in ‘yff’ and ‘nessh’, and a capital letter would not make sense here. Another characteristic of the scribe is that he sometimes writes ‘be’ for ‘by’, for example, “the wyche no *man* may escape be no medecyne in erthe” (l. 114).

There are a number of confusing strokes above certain words throughout the first treatise, many of which occur above or near an ‘n’ or a ‘y’. They are confusing because they could be nasal abbreviation strokes, yet if this are, there are a number of items in which an abbreviation would be redundant or would not even make sense. An alternative is that they are dots on the ‘y’, but if this were true, the problem would be that the stroke also appears on some words without an ‘y’, and that it does not appear above many words which do have a ‘y’. Lastly, the stroke could also be a stroke to indicate an ‘n’, in order to avoid confusion and to increase the readability of the text.

In the fifth line on folio 98r, there is one such stroke above ‘brayn’, which could be a dot for the ‘y’ or a stroke to mark the ‘n’. The stroke appears on ‘whan’ several times, either to mark the ‘n’, or it could turn the word into ‘whann(e)’. Though the scribe does use the forms ‘whanne’ and ‘þanne’, these forms are used considerably less frequently than ‘whan’ and ‘þan’. In the other cases, the stroke is equally ambiguous and often not really relevant for the solution of a word. As a result, these ambiguous cases have not been expanded in the critical edition, except in cases where the extra letter is clearly required.

Morphology

The two treatises in Hunter 513 have their own distinct morphologies. Both treatises have a third person singular present indicative conjugation with a thorn, which, according to the *LALME* is a feature of the dialects in the Midlands (see appendix C, map 1). In *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence*, the scribe uses both the -ith and -eth suffixes to indicate third person present indicative, a feature used in both the East and West Midlands dialects. The scribe

uses ‘ben’ and ‘beth’ for the plural form of ‘to be,’ which is characteristic for the East Midlands dialect (Fulk 88). The form for the strong past participle is -e, as in ‘yeve’ (l. 73; l. 94), which . There is one instance of genitive inflection on a noun, where it reads “mannys body” (l. 63). For all other forms of genitive case or possession, the scribe uses the modern prepositional construction.

The Signs of Death has –ethe, -ythe, and –ithe as the suffixes for the third-person singular present indicative, for example; ‘begynnithe’ (l.130), ‘dyethe’ (l.169), and ‘castithe’ (l.156). This feature is also a feature of the Midlands dialects (See appendix C, map 5). The plural present indicative is -en, as in ‘knowen’ (l. 115), which is present in the Midlands dialects (See appendix C, map 6). The suffix on the past participle is –yn, which can be seen in ‘letyn’ (l. 157) and ‘rotyn’ (l. 173). The *LALME* indicates that this is a feature of the Midlands dialects (see Appendix C, map 9).

Syntax

The language at this point of time is analytic, meaning that it has lost most of its inflection and compensated for these syntactic functions through prepositions and word order. Generally the word order is Subject-Verb-Object, though there are some interesting deviations from this pattern in *The Signs of Death*. One of these is a line that reads “if the seke graunt all thyngis that the leche hym saythe” (l. 166); the word order at the end of this clause is Subject-Indirect Object-Verb, which means that the language of the scribe still had to be ‘updated’ to the modern Subject-Verb-Indirect Object. Another example is “yf the seke [...] no mete desire” (l. 168-69), in which the object is placed before the verb. A different case is the line “the seke, yf he myghte be hole thorughe medycyne” (l. 110). The subject is first introduced and then followed by a specifying clause. It would be more common if the subject was within this clause, i.e. ‘yf the seke myghte be hole thorughe medycyne’. These idiosyncrasies could stem from the fact that the text was translated from Latin.

Dialect

The morphology of both treatises has shown that the language of the treatises can be traced to the dialect of the Midlands. This section will analyse the language of both treatises separately through words that are diagnostic for a certain dialect.

The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence

The demonstrative ‘these’ is reflected as ‘þis’, as can be seen in ‘þis signes’ (l. 19). The personal pronoun for the third person plural is consistently written as ‘þey’. The relative pronoun that the scribe uses is ‘þe whiche’. These three features place the treatise in the dialect of the West Midlands (see appendix C, maps 11-13). On all three maps, there is a cluster of dots centred around the Hertfordshire and Worcestershire regions, especially for the feature ‘þis’ for ‘these’, though one should keep in mind that this does not directly mean that we can place this treatise to these regions. In line 10, the scribe writes ‘os’ for ‘as’; this feature, in contrast, points toward the dialect of the East Midlands (see appendix D, map 3).

The Signs of Death

The scribe of *The Signs of Death* has some interesting features of its own that differ from the first treatise. The third person plural pronoun is consistently written as ‘they’. The scribe also writes ‘ilke’ (l. 156) for ‘each’, which is a feature present in the Midlands dialects which also spreads to the north (See appendix C, map 8). In line 188, the scribe writes ‘odyr’ for ‘other,’ which points to the East Midlands dialect (See appendix C, map 4). The scribe also writes ‘mechill’ for ‘much’; the *LALME* shows that this a feature of the East Midlands, and seems centered around Cambridgeshire (See appendix C, map 7). Although this feature points to a very specific location, there is merely one attestation of the form in the text, and one must therefore be careful in concluding that the text is indeed of this region. In line 121, the scribe writes ‘aftyr’ for ‘after,’ which is a feature of the East Midlands dialect, and shows a cluster of dots in the Cambridgeshire region (See appendix C, map 10).

The analysis of several language features indicates that the dialect of the texts was a Midlands dialect. *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence* shows mostly features of the West Midlands dialect, and some features converge around the Hertfordshire and Worcestershire regions, though the evidence is not conclusive. The dialect of *The Signs of Death* points to an East Midlands dialect, and though the evidence is not ample, there are indications that it is written in the Cambridgeshire region.

7. The Structure

In terms of both the textual as the narrative structure of the text, the treatises in Hunter 513 are very simple, concrete and practical, because the texts are meant as a guide to a practicing physician. *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence* starts with an introduction which states that the text is from Hippocrates and that he has written it so that one may diagnose patients through the signs of the zodiac and the position of the moon in them. He then gives an example diagnosis for the moon in the constellation of Aries, and after this the treatise proceeds to deal with the other eleven signs of the zodiac in order, one sign to a page. As mentioned earlier, this could have been done to facilitate browsing through the treatise. The physician only has to look at the first word or words to scan for the zodiac sign he is looking for. Another reason could be because the rest of the space was reserved for astrological diagrams, as can also be seen in Harley 2378. At the end of the text there is a summary or a shortlist, which shows for each type and colour of sore or pustule which humoral qualities they possess and which planets belong to them. The last line is an explicit, and reads “Here endith þe boke of Ypocras, of deth and lyfe, translate of astrolamyors, þe best þat euer were founde” (l.109). Initially this looks like the scribe signing his name or the name of the previous scribe or author even underneath the text, but a glance at Harley 2378 shows that the word is corrupted, because in Harley 2378 it reads ‘astronomerys’. So the text was supposedly copied from the best astronomers; the author most likely wrote this to give the treatise some authority, comparable as to why the text has been attributed to Hippocrates.

The second treatise opens with an epilogue that explains why the text was written and how it was ‘found’. It argues that Hippocrates wrote the treatise because many physicians did not know what signs to look for and administered their patients the wrong potions and medicines, much in danger to their health. It states that God has decided that there are signs that indicate illness and malady in a man’s body, and knowledge of these signs allows a physician to know whether a patient can be cured or that he will die. The text argues that Hippocrates then wrote these signs down and ordered the text to be laid in his tomb with him when he died. Caesar found Hippocrates’ tomb and entered it, hoping to find treasure, but found only his body and this text. The text was then brought to Amadas, Caesar’s physician. Then the text proceeds as a list of twenty-seven signs through which a physician can recognize an illness and whether the patient will die. The signs are separated by paragraph marks in red, which allows the reader to quickly find where each entry starts. The entries have also been numbered in the side margins in red, to render the text even more accessible

and practical. Besides, this, almost every entry ends with ‘he will die’ or ‘means death to be nigh,’ which can be considered as in-text markers of structures, as the reader will know that this is the end of an entry. After the twenty-seventh sign, the text ends quite abruptly, and only gives an explicit in Latin: “explicit signus mortis secundum ypocras” (l. 177), which can be translated to “here ends the second (treatise) of the signes of death by Hippocrates”. The fact that it reads ‘second’ raises a number of questions: did the scribe write this or did he copy this line? If the scribe copied it, is this the second treatise in this tradition, and is there then another, preceding treatise on the signs of death? If he wrote this himself, does he then consider *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence* also a treatise of ‘signs of death’ and has he named that the first text? Unfortunately, the scope of this thesis does not allow elaboration on this, nor have I encountered any evidence for either option.

Such, then, are the narrative structures to the two treatises. They are simple and practical, with short introductions and thorough instructions. The first treatise treats one zodiac sign per page, perhaps to facilitate looking them up, perhaps because there was an intention to add diagrams such as in Harley 2378. The second treatise has been extensively rubricated and has numbers in the margins, clearly to facilitate the readability of the text. The narrative structure underlines once more the practical purpose of the manuscript.

8. Editorial procedure

In the critical edition, the text of the treatises has been rendered into run-on prose, as opposed to keeping the original line endings. Several changes have been made to adapt the text to modern conventions: capitalisation has been adapted to modern conventions, meaning that the first word of the sentence has been capitalised, as well as the first person subject pronoun, names of people, entities, and the constellations of the zodiac. Where needed, unconventional capitals have been turned to lower case. Punctuation, too, has been adapted to modern conventions based on syntax, instead of the speech-based system. Paragraph markers have been removed. Words have also been separated and compounded to adapt to modern spelling conventions. The diplomatic transcription with the text in its unedited form can be found in Appendix A. The spelling of the Middle English has been preserved, and all abbreviations have been expanded in italics.

To help the reader, glosses have been added after the edition. Some of the lines in Hunter 513 were corrupted or did not make sense, and in these cases, the parallel version in Harley 2378 has been consulted to make sense of the text. This resulted in the dilemma of preserving the text that the physician saw or making it understandable for a modern reader; in the case that adding words would make sense of the text, they have been added to the text in square brackets and notes have been made of these instances in the textual apparatus. This prevents the error of analysing a sentence wrongly due to a missing word and attributing the wrong syntax to it. In case a word or phrase would have to be altered, the original text has been preserved and the alternative reading was noted in the textual apparatus following the text.

The second treatise, as stated before, has been heavily rubricated and has a numbering in the margins, all to allow the reader to quickly and easily browse through the text. For this same purpose, I have added the numbering in the margins to the text, which renders the text like a list similar to the original.

9. Critical Edition of Hunter 513, ff. 98r- 107v.

[The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence]

This is the boke of Ypocras. In this boke he techith for to knowe by planette sykenesse, lyfe [98r]
and deth, and the formes therof. First, seyth Ypocras, a leche shulde take kepe of þe mone
 whan he is at þe full: þan wexith blode, mary, brayn, *and* oþer vmours, þe which beth moyst
and colde, moist *and* hote, þat sikkenesse colde *and* drye or hote *and* drye. Sewe the cowers of
 5 þe mone wherefore whan þou takyst cure, be hit fisike or els of surgery. Take kepe of þe
 mone *and* þe tyme whan þe sikkenesse toke *and* began first *and* in what signe. [þe mone] is
 þan a sample. Y shall shewe þe be al þe xii signes, euerych be hemsilfe. Whan þe mone is in
 a signe callid Aries, on Englissh a ramme, þis signe hath a man þe hed, þe chyn. Þis signe is
 kynde of fyre, hote *and* drye, colerike. Wherefore for whan þat a planet þat hyght Mars or els
 10 þe sonne, þe which be hote *and* drye, os þy sykenesse moste nedis be in þe hed of hete *and* of
 feueres *and* [may nowt] well speke. Þe longes *and* þe brest brenneth for hete; hit is a poynt of
 fransy. If hit so be þat Saturnes be *with* þe mone þat tyme he shall d[ye] *within* viii dayes
 certeynly. If hit so be þat Saternes *and* Mars be not *with* þe mone at þe tyme he shall ascape
 þe xiii day after þat sykenesse toke hym, *and* remedye is to lete hym blode of þe hert veyne
 15 *and* vse colde medicynes in his mete *and* his drinke. A sample in forme þat is nexte
 folwyng.

Whan þe mone is in a signe clepled Tawrus, þis signe is of þe kynde of þe erþe – colde *and* [98v]
 drye – *and* in a planet that is Saternes *with* þe mone in þis signe, *and* Mars, þat is a planet
 contrary to the mone, þis signes shall be of codenus *and* drinus. Þese signes hath of a man þe
 20 þrote, *and* þe sikkenesse be feuer quarteny, colde dropesy, colde gowte, *and* oþer þat beth
 passiouns of splene, whereof, if þe mone be in þis signe *and* þe planet *with* hym colde, þat
 sigkenesse may not be heled, or þe mone be contrary to þe planet. If þe mone holde *with*
 Mars *and* caste lyght to hym: *within* xxvii dayes he shall dey. If þou wylte a medisign
 when þe mone *and* Venus *and* þe sonne beth togyder of surger[ye], cankers marmolis *and*
 25 oþer woundes *with* ded flessch cure in þis tyme - all oþer tymes medicynis worch nought to
 non afecte - *and* þat is for þe kynde inpressyun þat pla[ne]ytes haue þat accordith in kynde
with þe sikkenesse.

Gemyny is a signe hote *and* moyste, kynde of blode. When þe mone is in his signe *and* planet [99r]
with hym of þe same kynde as Venus *and* moystenesse, *and* þe sonne *and* Mars in hotnus,

30 þan sikenesse most be of blode *and* colere, as ben þe feuer *tercyan* caused sinokes sinotha
 outwarde. Other apostym þat ben of blode rede in colere and nesh in felyng, whan þat a
 man hath þis sikenesse *and* þe mone be in þis signe *and* oþer planettes contrary, þan hit is
 gode for to yeue medisignes; but *Saternus and* Mars ben togyder whan þis sikenesse taketh
 hym withinne xv dayes, he shall dey. This signe hath of man þe arme *and* þe shuldres, and all
 35 þat sikenesse þat longith to hem. þerfore þe mone is in þis by hymselfe of no medycyn to þis
 membirs, for þou shall not profyte noþer within nore withowte.

Cancer is a signe þat is colde, moyste of kynde and of fleme. When þe mone is in þis signe, [99v]
 he is in his apix hows. If a man fall syke at þis tyme *and* þe sikenesse be of fleme, þat is colde
and moyste, as by dropesye *and* ffeuer cotidyan, apostym þan ben in color whyte *and* in
 40 felyng nesshe, þey may not be cured or þe mone come in to a ssigne þat hatte Leo. If þe mone
 haue with hym *Saternus and* no planet þat is gode *and* yeueth no lyght to þe mone, he shall
 neuer be hoole, but he shall dey þe next colde wynter, after all wyndes þat cometh oute of þe
 north be contrary *and* causith increasing of þe sikenesse. Cancer hath þe breste and sykenesse
 of þe breste is in þis tyme most grevous.

45 Leo is a signe þat is hote *and* drye, kynde of þe [fyre]. When þe mone is in þis signe and a [100r]
 man fall in any sikenesse þat is hote *and* drye, as þe jawndyse or an hote dropesye, or palsye
 þat longith to þe lyver, þey may not be cured or þe mone be in a signe þat is contrary in
 kynde to þe signe of Leo, as is þe signe *Scorpio and* *Pisses and* *Cancer*, and a man falle sike
 while þe mone is in þis signe *and* Mars *and* Sol be with þe mone, he shall dey in þe hote
 50 somer within two yere be day whan þe sone is hottyst, þat is aboute none. Þis signe hath of a
 man þe stomak *and* þe lyver *and* þe galle, and of þe lyver greue moste whan þe mone is in þis
 signe.

Virgo is a signe þat is colde and drye, of the kynde of þe erthe. When þe mone is in þis signe,
 a man þan fallith in many sikenessis þat is colde and dry, [þat gnawyth] in þe wombe as þe
 55 costyfnesse doth in þe colyca passyo, and þis sikenesse may not be cured or þe mone come in
 to a tyme þat is contrary to þe kynde of þe signe, as is *Libra, Aquarius and* *Gemyny*. When þe
 mone hath with him *Saternus*, he shall dye sone after hervest in Septembre. Alle maner
 sikenesse þat ben fro þe navill to þe stomak greveth more whan the mone is in þis signe.

Libra is a signe þat is hote and moyste. Whan þe mone is in þis signe, all maner of sikenesse [101r]

60 þat be in þe reynes, as þe stone boyling of þe membris of blode. Ye shul resceyve no medyson but whan þe mone is in a signe þat hat Scorpyo or Pisses or Cancer. If þe mone haue with hym þe Sonne or Mars, þe sikenesse shall neuer leve hym in his lyfe. Þis sikenesse hath a mannys body in þe reynes and in þe lyndes and in þe bladder. Perfor all sikenesse þat ben in þese membris greve moste whan þe mone is in this signe.

65 Scorpyo is a signe colde and moyste, of kynde of water. Whan þe mone is in þis signe and a man take any sikenesse in þe fundament, as bene þe emerowdes and the fyges *and* candolomata; do no medysigne for þis signe or the mone come oute of this signe in to a signe þat hat Taurus or Virgo or Capricornys and if Venus and Mercurius be wiþ þe mone in þe signe, in certeyn tymes þey shall blede, þat is whan þe mone metith with Mercurius and
70 Venus.

Sagittaryus is a signe hote and drye, of the kynde of þe fyre. Whan þe mone is in þis signe of a man *and* fallith in sikenesse in þe haunche or in þe þyes from the kne to þe haunche, as is Cyetica passio, þer shall no medycyne be yeve to hym afore hym or þe mone come in to a signe þat is callid Capricornys or Virgo. If þe mone haue wiþ hym a planet that hat Venus, þe
75 sikenesse is incurable for he shall turne into a [palsye] wiþin þe yere, þe which shall benyme hym his lymes fro þe girdell donward. All maner passions þat be fro þe hepe bon to þe kne grevith moste whanne þe mone is in þat signe for þis signe hath þis party of a man.

Capricornys is a signe þat is colde and drye, of the kynde of the erthe. Whan þe mone is in þis signe, all maner sikenesse þat is in þe kne of coldenesse *and* drynesse, þer shall no
80 medyson recover till þe mone be in a signe þat hate Aquarius or Libra or Gemyny. If þe mone haue with hym Saturnus or Venus if þe signe be contrary and þe kne be bolnyng þat passyon is oncurable. Þis signe hath of a man in þe kne *and* þe hamme and þerfor all soris þat fallith þerto. Whan þe mone is in þis signe þey be vncurable.

Aquarius is a signe þat is hote and moyste. Whan þe mone is in þis signe, all maner sikenesse
85 þat ben fro þe kne to þe ancle shall take no medycyne, as is þe crampe in þe calfe of the legge and þe marmole and þe dropsy. If þe mone haue with hym [Jupiter] and Saturnus, þat sykenesse þat he takyth in þat tyme shall laste hym till þat mone hath gone 3 tymes aboute and þat is a quartar of a ye. Do þy medycyne what þat euer þou wylte, saufe whan þe mone is in þis signe.

90 Pisses is a signe þat is colde and moyste. Whan þe mone is in þis signe, all maner sykenesse [103v]
 þat is in þe fote, as is þe goute, þat archeteca padogua, sacer ignis, herysypula, noly me
 tangere to her feete and þey shull no medyson take. Whan þe mone is in þis signe, it is
 vncurable, but hit so be þat þe medycyn be yeve þerto anon aftor þat þe mone and Saturnus
 partith and so of sonne and Mars afterward and a man may ese hym and *with* medycynes cure
 95 hym.

For to knowe of all maner soris within and withowte, and of what complexioun they be, [104r]
 knowe be þis rule: if þou se a sore or apostyme þat is withoute and of what perty þat þey be
 in þe body, ffirst take kepe of þe color. If hit be rede and nesh in felyng, he is gendred of
 euell blode *and* if he be hote and moyste, his signes beth Gemyny, Lybra, and Aquarius and
 100 the planettes is Iubiter and Mercury. While þe mone is in þis signe with þe[se] planet[tes], do
 no medsyne to no suche sore. Iff þe color of þe sore be rede in sight and somewhat harde, he is
 gendred with colde *and* he is hote *and* drye, his signes beth Aries and Leo *and* Sagittar, his
 planettes ben Sol and Mars. While þe mone is in þis signe with þese planettis do no medisyn
 þerto. Iff þer be a sore þat is white or grey or blakyssh; if hit be harde he is gendred of
 105 coldenesse and drynesse and his signes ben Tawrus, Virgo and Capricornys, his planette ben
 Saturnus. Iff hit be of the this color and nesh in felyng, hit is kynde of fleme gendred of
 colde and moystnesse, þe signes ben Cancer, Scorpyo, Pisses. His planettes ben Venus and
 Luna. Pese rulis ben generall for all maner surgeons of postumus outewarde. Here endith þe
 boke of Ypocras, of deth and lyfe; translate of [astronomerys], þe best þat euer were founde.

[The Signs of Death]

110 Here begynnethe þe tokenys þat Ypocras, þe leche, wrote to knowe the seke, yf he myghte be [105r]
 hole thorughe medycyne. Ypocrase, the goode leche, sayde þat medycyne ys formde for all
 maner of sekenes of mannys body, but yf it be kynde dethe þat no man may scape, and
 therefore God haþe ordeyned þat euery man þat leuyth, what tyme and owre that they schull
 dye, the wyche no man may escape be no medecyne in erthe. Therefore ther be many lechis
 115 þat knowen not the maledye ne the sekenes ne þe medesyne wyche be colde ne wyche bene
 hote, and therefore they yeuen the seke contrarious drynkes and medycynes in grete perell of
 mannys body. For why, and every man myghte be hole þourghe medycynes of letuaries or of
 odyr spices other of erbys, thanne schule no man dye, and therefore God haþe ordeyned serten
 tokens in mannys body before þe kynde of dethe. These tokenes Ypocras wrote and

120 comaundid þat they schuld be layd in hys tombe whanne he were dede *and* so they were. And
 aftyr lange tyme cam Seser þe emperoure and passyd forby there he lay. He sawe þe tombe of
 Ypocras and wende to haue founde grete tresoure in the tombe and did it ondone and he ne [105v]
 fond nought but þe body and a strippe vndyr his hede where in were thes tokenys of mannys
 body wreten in. Pan the Emperowre comaundid þat they schuld be taken to Amadas, his
 125 leche, to his lyf weel.

1. Here begynne the tokens, fyrste of þe hede: whoso haþe doloure or ache in his hede or
 swellynge in his vesage *withowten* redde and *with* the lyft *and* allway pykud his nose
 thrylles, þat xxiiith day he schall dye. 2. Yff a man be frentik *and* haue his chekis rounde and
 swellynge *withouten* goode digestyoun of stomake, the ix day he schall dye yf the maladye
 130 begynnithe *with* cold. 3. Also yf a manys eyen be cold *and* the teþe cold and yf he be alway
 slepy *and* somdele dombe, he schall dye on þat sekene. 4. And yf a wen wax aboute þe vayne
 on þe forhed *and* yf þe wenne be whyte and desire hote wasschyng, þe xv. day he schall dye,
 or ellys take an harde passyoun be fefris or yf the grete to other þe fote be brennyng þe viiith
 day he schall dye. 5. A[ll]so yf the seke be in the feuer ageus and haþe an evyll stomake *and*
 135 in the ryghte foote or in þe lefte fote wax a wenne or in the sole of the fote so þat it be not to
 grete but evynlyche and as colour as ynde and a perty swellynge and no desyringe to mete þe
 xxith day, he schall dye. 6. Also yf ther come in þe grete to an evell þat the blode schede
 owte of the to and yf ii. kyrnellis waxe in þe to, rede as blode, *and* isene yskyd ofte and late
 in the vii day he schall dye. 7. Also yf the seke haue euyll in þe mynte *and* þat euyll meve
 140 from a place to anodyr and too pussches wax in þe throte of whyte coloure, he schall dye and
 yf the grete to on þe ryghte fote begynne to rote *and* if he may notte well pisse but late *and*
 blake *and* medelyd *with* blode, þe viii day he schall dye. 8. Also yf hard passyon comme to
 þe herte of colde *and* hold contynually and be viii dayes fastyng *and* on nyghte *withowte*
 purgacioun, þe iii day he stonte in dowte. Yf ii pusschis waxyn all owte of the navyll *and* the
 145 ton be whyte and þe todyr blo and abowte rede as blode, þat selve day he schall dye. 9. Also
 yf the too happes to schew a pussche of þe grettnes and þe coloure of a lytill notte *and*
 þerwith hevy the iiith day he schall dye. 10. Also yf a man be seke of the splene *and* blede at [106v]
 þe nostrellis as come the xiii day he schall dye. 11. And yf the seke caste blood and there
 waxe blacke spottis þorugheowte his body *and* þe membris be swollen *and* ryse bladders like
 150 benys of Egipte þat day he dyethe for sothe. 12. Also yf he haue euyll in the bladder *and*
 flesshe in þe lefte syde swelle and he may not slape *within* xv dayes he schall dye. 13. Also
 yf þe seke haue grete maledye in þe lendis and fallythe into þe yerde, aftyr swell up into þe
 wombe and comythe to the herte, þe v day he schall dye. 14. Also yf he make vryne *with*

grete payne *and þe vryne be grene and blacke and he frete of his eyen, withinne xv dayes he*
 155 *schall dye. 15. Also yf þou wylte proue yf a man haue þe tesik and the etyke whether he*
schall leue or dye: take þat ilke þat he castithe owte at his mowþe and do it into a vessel with
watyr and yf it falle to grounde, he schall leue, and yf yt flete aboue, he schall dye. And yf he
be letyn blode, take v dropis of þat bloode and caste into watyr and yf yt synke to grounde,
he leuythe, and yf it flete, he diethe. 16. Also yf a man be feuerous and come ouer hym þe
 160 *euyll þat men clepyn crampe and laste hym iii dayes, on the selfe day he schall dye. 17. Also* [107r]
yf þe eiyn of the seke be colde and his teþe cold and þe tyype of his nose and his chynne
hange dunward, he schall dye within v days. 18. Also yf the seke turne ofte to þe wallward
and rubbe ofte his nosethyrles, [it] betokenythe þe dethe to be nyghe. 19. Also yf the seke
slepe and his mouþe opyn and gapyng vpwards, aske hym yf he haue euyll in þe wombe of
 165 *fretynge and yf he caste noughte or he do wepe with þe right eye, in þe iii day he schall dye.*
20. Also yf the seke turne his fete there his hede laye, it sygnifyethe dethe. 21. Also yf þe
seke graunt all thyngis þat þe leche hym saythe and may not well slepe and lobely ofte to the
doreward, it tokenythe þat he schall dye of that sekenes. 22. Also yf the seke turne ofte on his
wombe and haþe his stomak cold, no mete desire, and therwith full grete colde, þe ix day
 170 *withowten fayle he dyethe. 23. Also þe man þat is dropesek and haþe no talent to drynke and*
desyrythe to etyn benys, in þe xiv daye he schall dye. 24. Also yf ther waxe mechill spatell in
his mouþe betokenythe þat the bleddyrs ys perished; and yf he haue in his breste so narowe [107v]
þat he may onnethe drawe his breþe, þat signifyethe þat postym stronge be wexynge of
bloode. 25. Also yf a man haue ane chall rotyn fylþe at his mouthe þat sygnifyeth þe mydrem
 175 *to be perished. 26. Also yf a man haue euyll aboue þe breste, þat sygnifye the bloode to breke.*
27. Also yf the seke loke dedely and ters his cloþis as a man þat ys frantik, [it] betokenythe
he schall die of þat selfe evyll.

Explicit signus mortis secundum Ypocras.

10. Notes to the Edition.

Textual notes

This section contains notes pertaining to emendations to the text and omissions and additions by the scribe. It also features notes on collations with Harley 2378. Harley 2378 is represented here as ‘LH’, and Hunter 513 is represented here as ‘GH’.

- l. 6 *þe mone* added after Harley 2378.
- l. 6-7 *began first and in what signe / is þan a sample*] Harley: “began first. Þe mone is þanne a saumple.”
- l. 11 *may nowt* added in collation with Harley 2378.
- l. 12 *he shall dye*] GH: *dry*.
- l. 24 *surgerye*] collated with Harley 2378, GH: *surger*.
- l. 25 *worch*] Harley: *werkyth*.
- l. 26 *planete*] collated with Harley 2378, GH: *playtes*.
- l. 45 *kynde of þe fyre*] GH: *ffeuer*. Fever is not one of the elements of the human tempers, and therefore it should read ‘fire’. Error also attested in Harley 2378.
- l. 54 *þat gnawyth*] collated with Harley 2378, GH: *comyth*.
- l. 57 *he shall dye*] GH: *drye*. Scribe mistakenly added an ‘r’.
- l. 66 *as bene þe emerowdes and the fyges and candolomata*] due to the close proximity of the first three words, two interpretations are possible: 1. “as bene þe”, which would be a clarification and specification of ‘sikenesse in þe fundament,’ or 2. ‘as beneþe’ which would specify the location of the sikenesses.
- l. 69 *signe*] Harley: *sikenesse*.
- l. 75 *palsye*] Collated with Harley 2378, GH: *place*.
- l. 79 *is*] this singular verb-form does not accord with the plural subject.
- l. 86 *Jupiter*] Collated with Harley 2378, GH: *Gemini*.
- l. 88 *ye*] Scribal error. Read: *year*.
- l. 100 *planettes is*] verb does not accord with subject number; *þese planettes*] Collated with Harley 2378, GH: *þe planet*.
- l. 106 *ben Saternus*] the plural verb form implies that the scribe has left out another planet.
- l. 109 *astronomerys*] collated with Harley 2378, GH: *astrolamyors*.
- l. 134 *also*] GH: *aso*. The scribe omitted the ‘l’.
- l. 152-153 this line seems corrupted.
- l. 167 *lopely ofte to the doreward*] The scribe has omitted the verb.

Explanatory notes

This passage contains notes to parts of the text that need further clarification or elaboration, such as medical terms, names, and certain phrases.

- l. 1 *Ypocras*] This is the famous Greek physician Hippocrates of Kos (c. 460 – c. 370 BCE).
- l. 3 *blode, mary, brayn, and oper vmours*] while blood is a humour, marrow and brain are not attested as such. This phrase, however, is also attested in Harley 2378.
- l. 20 *feuer quarteny*] a fever recurring every four days.
- l. 24 Harley gives ‘mormalis’ for ‘marmolis’. ‘*Cankers marmolis*’ indicate ulcers or abscesses.

- l. 30 *sinokes sinotha*] there is no translation or medical term identifiable for this; *feuer tercyan*] tertian fever; a choleric fever, recurring every three days.
- l. 39 *ffeuer cotidyan*] a daily recurring fever.
- l. 55 *colyca passio*] an affliction of the colon.
- l. 67 *candolomata*] ‘candilomates,’ or a morbid swelling or excrescence occurring on or near the anus or genitals.
- l. 73 *cyetica passio*] sciatica, or a pain in the hip or the leg.
- l. 91 *archeteca padogua* denotes gout in the toes or foot joints. *Sacer ignis* and *herysypula* both denote the same affliction, erysipelas, which is a skin infection. The term *noly me tangere* denotes ‘hidden cancer’(cancer absconditus) which either meant that they started with a hidden or latent phase, or that they ‘hidden’ in blood vessels or nerves (Wallis 344-345).
- l. 93 *but it so be*] unless.
- l. 112 *but yf*] unless.
- l. 117 *and*] here: if
- l. 121 *Seser*] Gaius Julius Caesar, the Roman emperor (100 BC–44 BC)
- l. 122 *did it ondone*] did it undone, i.e. he opened the tomb.
- l. 125 *to his lyf weel*] to his good life.
- l. 133 *yf the grete to other þe fote*] if the great toe or the foot.
- l. 138 *isene yskyd*] The seventh entry in *The Signs of Death* matches the seventh entry in F. Wallis’ *The Ivory Casket*, which gives “sneezed” in this place.
- l. 143 *hold contynually*] the disease keeps on; it does not fade.
- l. 144 *he stonte in dowte*] his [the patient’s] condition is doubtful; *the ton be whyte and þe todyr blo*] one is white and the other dark-coloured.
- l. 149 *benys of Egipte*] Egyptian beans.
- l. 152 *fallythe into þe yerde*] falls on the ground.
- l. 156 *it falle to grounde*] it sinks.
- l. 157 *yt flete aboue*] it floats.
- l. 165 *there*] read: where.

11. Glossary

List of abbreviations

3sg. third person singular
 A Anglian
 AF Anglo-French
 conj. conjunction
 ind. indicative
 LA Latin
 ML Medieval Latin
 n. noun
 OE Old English
 OF Old French
 past past tense
 pl. plural
 pron. pronoun
 pr. present
 prep. preposition
 pc. participle
 ppc. past participle
 sg. singular
 v. verb
 WS West-Saxon

Glossary

afecte, n. *effect* [LA effectus]
ague, n. *acute fever* [OF ague]
and, conj. *and; if* [OE ond]
apix, n. *top, highest part* [LA apex]
apostym, n. *aposteme, morbid swelling or inflammation* [OF aposteme]
archeteca padogua, *gout in the toes or foot joints*. [cf. Explanatory Notes, line 91]
benyme, v. *take (away)* [OE beniman]
blo, n. *a dark colour, often blue or black* [OF blo]
bolnyng v. pr.pc. *swollen* [ON bolnen]
candolomata, n. *morbid swelling or excrescence near anus or genitals* [LA candilomata] [cf. Explanatory Notes, line 67]
canker marmolis, n.pl. *ulcers, abscess* [Cf. Explanatory Notes, line 24]
caste, v. 3sg.pr.ind. *sheds* [NO casten]
chall, n. *gall, bile* [A galla]
clepled, v. past. *called* [OE clepian]
codenus, n. *coldness* [OE ceald + ness]
colere, n. *colour*. [OF coulour]

colerike, adv. *relating to the humour of yellow bile* [OF colerique]
colyca passio, n. *an affliction of the colon*. [cf. Explanatory Notes, line 55]
contrarious, adj. *adverse, opposing* [OF contrarios]
costyfnesse, n. *constipation* [OF costeve+ness]
cyetica passio, n. *sciatica, or a pain in the hip or leg*. [cf. Explanatory Notes, line 73]
dedely, adv. *deathly* [OE deadlice]
dolour, n. *pain, suffering* [OF dolour]
drinus, n. *dryness* [OE drygnes]
dropesy, n. *oedema* [from idropsie]
dropesek, adj. *suffering from the dropsy* [from idropik]
eiyn, n.pl. *eyes* [OE eage]
emerowdes, n.pl. *hemerroids, hemerroidal veins* [LA haemorrhoida]
erbys, n.pl. *herbs* [OF erbe]
etyke, n. *continuous or recurring fever* [OF etique]
everych, pron. *each* [OE everi + on]
feuer cotidyan, n. *a daily recurring fever*. [cf. Explanatory Notes, line 39]
feuer quarteny, n. *a fever recurring every four days*. [cf. Explanatory Notes, line 20]
fisike, n. *medicine, medical science* [OF physique]
fleme, n. *phlegm* [OF fleume]
fransy, n. *frenz.* [OF frenesie]
frentik, adv. *frantic* [OF frenetique]
frete, v. 3sg.pr.ind. *moves agitatedly, frets* [OE fretan]
fulpe, n. *filth, impure bodily fluids* [OE fylp]
fyges, n.pl. *hemerroids, 'figs'* [LA ficus]
gowte, n. *gout* [OF gote]
graunt, v. *agree with, allow* [OF granter]
grettnis, n. *size* [OE greatnes]
happes, v. 3sg.pr.ind. *happens* [OE hæppan]
hyght, v. 3sg.pr.ind. *'is called'* [OE hætān]
inpressyun, n. *influence* [OF impressioun]
jawndyse, n. *jaundice* [OF jaunice]

kynde, n. *nature* [OE cynde]
kyrnellis, n.pl. *lumps* [OE cyrnell]
leche, n. *physician* [OE læce]
lendis, n.pl. *loins* [OE lende]
letuaries, n.pl. *medicine, usually a paste or syrup* [OF leituaire]
lyft, n. *air* [OE lyft]
longith, 3sg.pr.ind. *belongs* [from 'long' adj.]
lopely, adv. *with ill feeling* [OE laplice]
lymes, n.pl. *limbs* [OE lim]
maledye, n. *a disease* [OF maladie]
mary, n. *marrow* [OE mearg]
medelyd, v.ppc. *mixed* [OF medler]
mete, n. *food* [OE mete] v. *to eat* [OE metan]
meve, v. 3sg.pr.ind. *moves* [OF movoir]
mydrem, n. *diaphragm* [OE micgern]
nessh, adj. *soft* [OE hnesce]
none, n. *noon* [OE non]
notte, n. *knot* [OE cnotta]
nosethyrles, n.pl. *nostrils* [OE nosu + OE þyrel]
onnethe, adv. *with difficulty* [OE unneþe]
or, conj. *or* [from 'other,' conj.] prep. *ere, before*. [OE ær]
os, conj. *as* [OE ealswa]
owre, n. *hour* [OF hore]
palsye, n. *paralysis* [OF paralisie]
purgacioun, n. *purgatives, purgation* [OF purgacion]
push, nl. *a boil, pustule* [from pus, n.]
pykud, v. 3sg.pr.ind. *picks* [OE piken]
reynes, n.pl. *kidneys, guts* [OF reine]
rotyn, adj. *rotting* [OE rotung]
sample, n. *example, model* [OF saumple]
saufe, prep. *except* [OF sauf]
sewe, v. *observe* [OE sceawian]
somdele, adv. *somewhat* [OE sum-dæl]
spatell, n. *spittle* [OE spætl]
serten, adj. *certain, specific* [OF certain]
surgerye, n. *the medical science and practice concerned with wounds, fractures, and ulcers* [OF cirurgie]
taken, v. *take* **toke**, v.past. *took hold* **takist cure** *take medicine*. [OE tacan]
takist cure, see **taken**
talent, n. *desire*. [OE talent]
tesik, n. *disease of the lungs, lung or throat ailment* [OF tisique]

to, n. *toe*. [OE ta]
todyr, pron. *the other (of two)* [from that+other]
ton, pron. *the one (of two)* [from that+on]
too, adj. *two* [OE twa]
toke, see **taken**
þourghe, prep. *through* [OE þurh]
þyes, n.pl. *thighs* [OE þeoh]
vesage, n. *face* [OF visage]
vryne, n. *urine* [LA urina]
wen, n. *a lump, cyst, or wart* [OE wenn]
waxen, v. *to grow* **waxe** v. pl.pr.ind. *grow*
wexith, 3sg.pr.ind. *grows* [OE weaxan]
wende, v. 3sg.past.ind. *approached, went, proceeded* [OE wendan]
wexith see **waxen**
worch, v.pl. *work* [OE wyrcan]
ye, n. *year* [OE zær]
yerde, n. *ground, land* [OE gearð]

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Appendix A: Diplomatic transcription

This is the diplomatic edition of G.U.L. MS Hunter 513, which is an unedited transcription from the manuscript. Abbreviations are represented in italics and initials are represented in bold. Original underlinings and rubrications are represented by underlinings. Line fillers have been denoted as [LF].

[98r] This is the boke of ypocras in this boke he techith for to knowe by planette sykenesse lyfe *and* deth and the formes therof // ffirst seyth ypocras a leche shulde take kepe of þe moun whan he is at þe full þan wexith blode mary brayn *and* oþer vmours þe which beth moyst *and* colde moist *and* hote þat sikkenesse colde *and* drye or hote *and* drye / Sewe the cowrs of þe mone wherefore whan þou takyst cure be hit fisike or els of surgery / take kepe of þe mone *and* þe tyme whan þe sikkenesse toke *and* began first *and* in what signe is þan a sample y shall shewe þe be al þe xii signes euerych be hemsilfe whan þe mone is in a signe callid Aries on englissh a ramme þis signe hath a man þe hed þe chyn / þis signe is kynde of fyre hote *and* drye, colerike where fore for whan þat a planet þat hyght Mars or els þe sonne þe which be hote *and* drye os þy sykenesse moste nedis be in þe hed of hete *and* of feueres *and* well speke þe longes *and* þe brest brenneth for hete hit is a poynt of fransy if hit so be þat saturnes be *with* þe mone þat tyme he shall dry *with-* in viii dayes *certeynly* if hit so be þat saternes *and* mars be not *with* þe mone at þe tyme he shall ascape þe xiii day after þat sykenesse toke hym *and* remedye is to lete hym blode of þe hert veyne *and* vse colde medicynes in his mete *and* his drinke / A sample in forme þat is nexte folwyng

[98v] Whan þe mone is in a signe clepled Taurus / þis signe is of þe kynde of þe erþe / colde *and* drye *and* in a planet that is Saturnes *with* þe mone in þis signe *and* mars þat is a planet *contrary* to the mone þis signes shall be of codenus *and* drinus þese signes hath of a man þe þrote *and* þe sikkenesse be feuer quarteny

colde dropesy / colde gowte *and* oþer þat beth passiouns of splene
 where of if þe mone be in þis signe and þe planet with hym
 colde þat sigkenesse may not be heled or þe mone be contrary
 to þe planet if þe mone holde with mars *and* caste lyght to
 hym within xxvii dayes he shall dey / if þou wylte a medisign
 when þe mone *and* Venus *and* þe sonne beth to gyder of surger
 Cankers Marmolis *and* oþer woundes with ded flessch cure in
 þis tyme all oþer tymes medicynis worch nought to non a-
 fecte and þat is for þe kynde inpressyun þat playtes haue þat
 accordith in kynde with þe sikenesse.

[99r] Gemyny is a signe hote *and* moyste kynde of blode / when
 þe mone is in his signe *and* planet with hym of þe same
 kynde as venus *and* moystenesse and þe sonne *and* mars in
 hotnus þan sikenesse most be of blode *and* colere / as ben þe feuer
 tercyan caused sinokes sinotha oute warde / other apostym
 þat ben of blode rede in colere / and nessh in felyng
 whan þat a man hath þis sikenesse *and* þe mone be in
 þis signe *and* oþer planettes contrary þan hit is gode for to
 yeue medisignes / but Saternus *and* Mars ben togyder whan þis
 sikenesse taketh hym withinne xv dayes he shall dey
 this signe hath of man þe arme *and* þe shuldres and all
 þat sikenesse þat longith to hem þerfore þe mone is in þis
 by hym silfe of no medycyn to þis membirs / for þou
 shall not profyte noþer with in nore with owte.

[99v] Cancer is a signe þat is colde, moyste of kynde and of
 fleme / when þe mone is in þis signe, he is in his apix
 hows if a man fall syke at þis tyme *and* þe sikenesse be of
 fleme þat is colde *and* moyste as by dropesye *and* ffeuer cotidyan,
 apostym þan ben in color whyte *and* in felyng nesshe þey
 may not be cured or þe mone come in to a ssigne þat hatte
 leo if þe mone haue with hym Saternus *and* no planet þat is
 gode *and* yeueth no lyght to þe mone he shall neuer be hoole

but he shall dey þe next colde wynter after all wyndes
þat cometh oute of þe north be contrary *and* causith increasing
of þe sikenesse / Cancer hath þe breste and Sykenesse of þe
breste is in þis tyme most grevous.

[100r] Leo is a signe þat is hote *and* drye kynde of þe ffeuer when
þe mone is in þis signe and a man fall in any
Sikenesse þat is hote *and* drye as þe jawndyse or an hote drope-
sye or palsye þat longith to þe lyver þey may not be cured
or þe mone be in a signe þat is contrary in kynde to þe signe
of leo as is þe signe Scorpio *and* pisses *and* Cancer / and a man
falle sike while þe mone is in þis signe *and* mars *and* Sol
be with þe mone he shall dey in þe hote Somer
within two yere be day whan þe sone is hottyst þat is aboute
none þis signe hath of a man þe stomak *and* þe lyver *and*
þe galle / and of þe lyver greue moste whan þe mone
is in þis signe.

[100v] Uirgo is a signe þat is colde and drye of the kynde of
þe erthe when þe mone is in þis signe a man þan
fallith in many sikenessis þat is colde and dry comyth in þe
wombe as þe costyfnesse doth in þe colyca passyo and þis
sikenese may not be cured or þe mone come in to a tyme þat
is contrary to þe kynde of þe signe as is libra *Aquarius* and
Gemyny when þe mone hath with him *Saturnus* he shall drye
sone after hervest in Septembre alle maner sikenesse þat
ben fro þe navill to þe stomak greveth more whan the
mone is in þis signe.

[101r] Libra is a signe þat is hote and moyste whan þe mone
is in þis signe all maner of sikenesse þat be in þe
reynes as þe stone boyling of þe membris of blode ye shul
resceyve no medyson but whan þe mone is in a signe þat
hat Scorpyo or Pisses or Cancer / if þe mone haue with

hym þe Sonne or mars þe sikenesse shall neuer leve hym
 in his lyfe / þis Sikenesse hath a mannys body in þe reynes
 and in þe lyndes and in þe bladder þerfor all sikenesse þat
 ben in þese membris greve moste whan þe mone is in
 this signe.

[101v] Scorpyo is a signe colde and moyste of kynde of water
 whan þe mone is in þis signe and a man take any
 Sikenesse in þe fundament as beneþe Emerowdes and the
 fyges *and* candolomata do no medysigne for þis signe or the
 mone come oute of this signe in to a signe þat hat *Taurus*
 or *virgo* or *capricornys* and if *venus* and *mercurius* be wiþ þe
 mone in þe signe in certeyn tymes þey shall blede þat
 is whan þe mone metith with *Mercurius* and *Venus*

[102r] Sagittaryus is a signe hote and drye, of the kynde of
 þe fyre whan þe mone is in þis signe of a man *and*
 fallith in sikenesse in þe haunche or in þe þyes from the
 kne to þe haunche as is *Cyetica passio* þer shall no medycyne
 be yeve to hym afore hym or þe mone come in to a signe
 þat is callid *Capricornys* or *virgo* if þe mone haue wiþ hym
 a planet that hat *venus* þe sikenesse is incurable for he shall
 turne into a place wiþin þe yere þe which shall benyme
 hym his lymes fro þe girdell donward / all *maner* passions
 þat be fro þe hepe bon to þe kne grevith moste whanne þe
 mone is in þat signe for þis signe hath þis party of a
 man.

[102v] *Capricornus* is a signe þat is colde and drye of the
 kynde of the erthe whan þe mone is in þis signe
 all *maner* sikenesse þat is in þe kne of coldenesse *and* drynesse
 þer shall no medyson recover till þe mone be in a signe þat
 hate *Aquarius* or *libra* or *Gemyny* if þe mone haue
 with hym *Saturnus* or *venus* if þe signe be contrary and þe

kne be bolnyng þat passyon is oncurable þis signe hath of a man in þe kne *and* þe hamme and þerfor all soris þat fallith þer to whan þe mone is in þis signe þey be vn-curable.

[103r] **A**quarius is a signe þat is hote and moyste whan þe mone is in þis signe all maner Sikenesse þat ben fro þe kne to þe Ancle shall take no medycyne as is þe crampe in þe calfe of the legge and þe marmole and þe dropesy if þe mone haue with hym Gemeni and *Saturnus* þat sykenesse þat he takyth in þat tyme shall laste hym till þat mone hath gone 3 tymes aboute and þat is a quartar of a ye Do þy medycyne what þat euer þou wylte saufe whan þe mone is in þis signe /

[103v] **P**isses is a signe þat is colde and moyste whan þe mone is in þis signe all maner sykenesse þat is in þe fote as is þe Goute þat Archeteca padogua *Sacer ignis* herysypula noly me tangere to her feete and þey shall no medyson take whan þe mone is in þis signe it is vncurable but hit so be þat þe medycyn be yeve þerto anon aftor þat þe mone and *Saturnus* partith and so of sonne and mars afterward/ and a man may ese hym and *with* medycynes cure hym/

[104r] **F**or to knowe of all maner soris with in and with owte and of what complexioun / they be knowe be þis rule if þou se a sore or apostyme þat is with oute and of what party þat þey be in þe body / ffirst take kepe of þe color if hit be rede and nessh in felyng he is gendred of euell blode *and* if he be hote and moyste his signes beth Gemyny lybra and Aquarius and the planettis is jubiter and mercury. While þe mone is in þis signe with þe planet do no med-syne to no suche sore **I**ff þe color of þe sore be rede in sight and somewhat harde he is gendred with colde *and* he is hote

and drye his signes beth Aries and leo and Sagittar / his planettis
 ben Sol and mars while þe mone is in þis signe with
 þese planettis do no medisyn þerto / Iff þer be a sore þat
 is white or grey or blakyssh if hit be harde he is gendred
 of coldenesse and drynesse and his signes ben tawrus
 virgo and Capricornys his planettis ben Saturnus / Iff hit
 be of the this color and nessh in felyng hit is kynde of
 fleme gendred of Colde and moystnesse þe signes ben
 Cancer Scorpyo pisses / his planettes ben venus and luna
 þese rulis ben generall for all maner surgeons of postu-
 mus outwarde here endith þe boke of ypocras of
 deth and lyfe translate of Astrolamyors þe best þat
 euer were founde. /

[105r] Here begynnethe þe tokenys þat ypocras þe leche /
 wrote to knowe the seke yf he myghte be hole
 thorughe medycyne / ypocrase the goode leche sayde
 þat medycyne ys formde for all maner of sekene / of
 mannys body but yf it be kynde dethe þat no man may
 scape / And therefore god haþe ordeyned þat euery man þat leuyth
 what tyme and owre that they schull dye / ¶ / The
 wyche no man may escape be no medecyne in erthe
 ¶ / Therefore ther be many lechis þat knowen not the
 maledye ne the sekene ne þe medesyne wyche be
 colde ne wyche bene hote / ¶ / And therefore they ~~yne~~
 yeuen the seke contrarious drynkes and medycynes
 in grete perell of mannys body for why and every man
 myghte be hole þourghe medycynes of letuaries or
 of odyr spices other of erbys thanne schule no man
 dye / ¶ / and therefore god haþe ordeyned serten tokens
 in manys body before þe kynde of dethe / these tokenes
ypocras wrote and comaundid þat they schuld be layd
 in hys tombe whanne he were dede and so they were
 And aftyr lange tyme cam seser þe emperoure and

passyd forby there / he lay he sawe þe tombe of ypocras
 [105v] And wende to haue founde grete tresoure in the
 tombe and did it ondone and he ne fond nought
 but þe body And A strippe vndyr his hede where In
 were thes tokenys of mannys body wreten In / þan
 the Emperowre comaundid þat they schuld be taken to
 Amadas his leche to his lyf weel [LF]

[1.] **H**ere begynneth the tokens fyrste of þe hede
 who so haþe doloure or ache in his hede or
 swellynge in his vesage *with* owten redde and *with* the
 lyft *and* allway pykud his nose thrylles þat xxiiiith day
 he schall dye ¶ [2.] Yff a man be frentik *and* haue his chekis
 rounde and swellynge *with* outen goode digestyoun of sto-
 make the ix day he schall dye yf the maladye be-
 gynnith *with* cold ¶ [3.] Also yf a manys eyen be cold
and the teþe cold and yf he be alway slepy *and* somdele
 dombe he schall dye on þat sekene ¶ [4.] And yf a wen
 wax aboute þe vayne on þe forhed *and* yf þe wenne
 be whyte and desire hote wasschyng þe xv. day
 he schall dye or ellys take an harde passyoun be
 fefris or yf the grete to other þe fote be brennyng
 þe viii day he schall dye ¶ [5.] Aso yf the seke be
 in the feuer ageus and haþe an evyll stomake *and*
 [106r] in the ryghte foote or in þe lefte fote wax .A.
 wenne or in the sole of the fote so þat it be not
 to grete but evynlyche and as colour as ynde
 and a perty swellynge and no desyringe to mete þe
xxiith day he schall dye ¶ [6.] Also yf ther come in þe
 grete to an evell þat the blode schede owte of the to
 and yf ii. kyrnellis waxe in þe to rede as blode *and* isene
 yskyd ofte and late in the vii day he schall dye ¶ [7.] Also
 yf the seke haue euyll in þe mynte *and* þat euyll meve
 from a place to anodyr and too pusshes wax in þe
 throte of whyte colour he schall dye and yf the grete

to on þe ryghte fote begynnethe to rote *and* if he may
 notte well pisse but late *and* blake *and* medelyd *with* blode
þe viii day he schall dye /¶/ [8.] Also yf hard passyon comme
 to þe herte of colde *and* hold contynually and be viii.
 dayes fastynge *and* on nyghte *withowte* purgacioun þe iii.
 day he stonte in dowte yf ii. pusshis waxyn all owte
 of the navyll *and* the tou be whyte and þe todyr blo
 and abowte rede as blode þat selve day he schall dye
 ¶ [9.] Also yf the too happes to schew a pussche of þe
 grettnes and þe coloure of a lytill notte *and* þerwith hevvy
 [106v] the iiith day he schall dye /¶/ [10.] Also yf ~~the too~~ a man be
 seke of the splene *and* blede at þe nostrellis as come the
xiii day he schall dye /¶/ [11.] And yf the seke caste blood
 and there waxe blacke spottis þorughe owte his body
and þe membris be swollen *and* ryse bladders like benys
 of Egipte þat day he dyethe for sothe [12.] Also yf he haue
 euyll in the bladder *and* flesshe in þe lefte syde swelle
 and he may not slape *with* in xv. dayes he schall dye /
 ¶ [13.] Also yf þe seke haue grete maledye in þe lendis
 and fallythe into þe yerde / aftyr swell up into þe wombe
 and comythe to the herte þe v. day he schall dye /¶/ [14.] Also
 yf he make vryne *with* grete payne *and* þe vryne be grene
 and blacke *and* he frete of his eyen *withinne* xv. dayes he
 schall dye /¶/ [15.] Also yf þou wylte proue yf a man haue þe tesik
 and the etyke whether he schall leue or dye take þat ilke
 þat he castithe owte at his mowþe *and* do it into a vessel
with watyr *and* yf it falle to grounde he schall leue *and*
 yf yt flete aboue he schall dye /¶/ And yf he be letyn
 blode take v. dropis of þat bloode *and* caste into watyr *and*
 yf yt synke to grounde he leuythe and yf it flete he
 diethe /¶/ [16.] Also yf a man be feuerous *and* come ouer hym þe
 [107r] euyll þat men clepyn crampe and laste hym iii dayes
 on the selfe day he schall dye /¶/ [17.] Also yf þe eyn of
 the seke be colde and his teþe cold and þe type of his

nose and his Chynne hange dunward, he schall dye
within v days ¶ [18.] Also yf the seke turne ofte to þe
 wallward *and* rubbe ofte his nosethyrles betokenythe
 þe dethe to be nyghe ¶ [19] Also yf the seke slepe *and* his mouþe
 opyn *and* gapyng vpwards aske hym yf he haue euyll
 in þe wombe of fretyng *and* yf he caste noughte or he
 do wepe *with þe* right eye in þe iii. day he schall dye. [LF]
 ¶ [20.] Also yf the seke turne his fete there his hede laye it
 sygnyfieth the dethe [21.] Also yf þe seke *graunt* all thyngis þat þe
 leche hym saythe *and* may not well slepe *and* loþely ofte
 to the doreward, it tokenythe þat he schall dye of that
 sekenes ¶ [22.] Also yf the seke turne ofte on his wombe
 and haþe his stomak cold no mete desire *and* therwith full
 grete colde þe ix. day *withowten* fayle he dyeth ¶ [23.] Also
 þe man þat is dropesek *and* haþe no talent to drynke and
 desyrythe to etyn benys in þe xiv. daye he schall dye /
 ¶ [24.] Also yf ther waxe mechill spatell in his mouþe
 [107v] betokenythe þat the bleddyrs ys perished *and* yf he /
 haue in his breste so narowe þat he may onnethe
 drawe his breþe þat signifyeth þat postym stronge
 be wexyng of bloode ¶ [25.] Also yf a man haue ane
 chall rotyn fylþe at his mouthe þat sygnyfieth
 þe mydrem to be perished ¶ [26.] Also yf a man haue
 euyll aboue þe breste þat sygnyfy the bloode to
 breke ¶ [27.] Also yf the seke loke dedely *and* ters his
 cloþis as a man þat ys frantik betokenythe he
 schall die of þat selfe euyll [LF]

Explicit signus mortis secundum ypocras

Appendix B:

This appendix contains the recipes that were written in the blank space that was left underneath the texts of the treatises. The recipes were added by hands centuries later than the treatises, and hence they are not part of the treatises themselves. Yet, to be inclusive, they have been transcribed and put in this appendix. As the manuscript has been in the hands of physicians mostly, the recipes are worth looking into. It also seems that one of the youngest hands has copied the text that a different hand wrote before him in a neater handwriting. A hashtag has been used in this transcription for the symbol in the original that probably denoted a measure of weight but could not have been identified.

[100v] for a pyn or a web in þe zey take a rost-
tyd aeg, rost yt hard *and* take owte þe
zoke wote *and* but in wyte choberosse and
whan yt ys molte stran yt thorow a clote
& but in þat water in hys zey iij iiij tymys
and he challe be holle brovyd.

[101r] for the pynne and weebb
Take a rosted egge, and when it is
hard rosted, take out the yolke, and
put in what soperisse, and when it
is molten, strayn it stronge &a slowe
and put the water in his eys iij
ore iiii tymes, and he shalbe wholl
proved.

[103v] *Rum* of Agaricke iii# weight of rubarb ii# weyght
spikenard, annise seed, gynger an halfpenny
weyght, and beat thes grossely and put them in a
thyn clothe, and hange it in a glasse *with* whytt wyn
or clarrel xvj howers, and take vj ore vij spoonfull
jelayed *with* ii spoonfull of endive water for
collor; for fleame *with* fennell water; and drinke
thes together early *and* late v or vij spoonfull warme

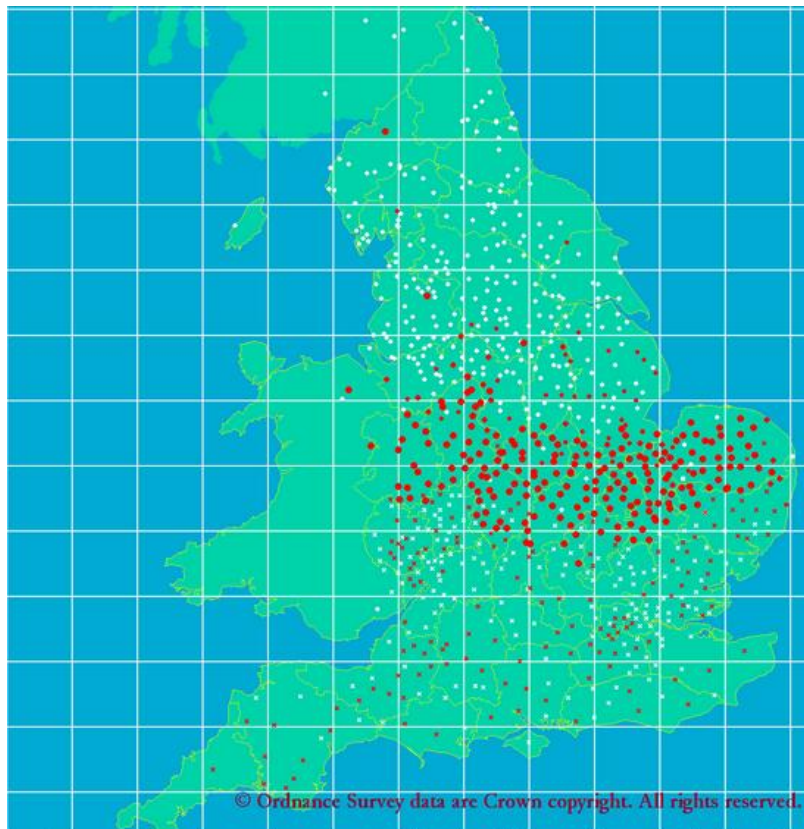
with a little sugar

[104v] *Rum* of agoryke iii# wayght rubarb &
 ii# wayght / spenard / anes leves and
 gonger of eche a halfpenny wayght and
 let yt be grosly bet or cutt and put yt
 in a thyne clothe *and* hang yt in a glase
 wyth wytte wyne or claryl xij hours
 and v to vij spoonfull delayed wyth
 ii spoonfull of water of endyve for
 color; for fleme *with* water of fenell
 and drynke thes early or late v
 or vi spoonfull warme *with* a lytel
 sugar

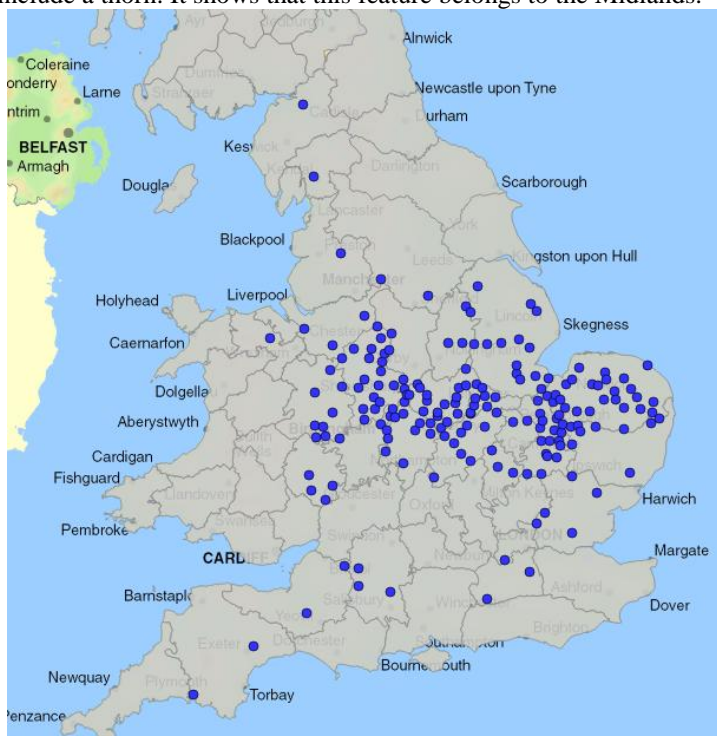
[107v] a postelycon

Take oyle of olyue *and* lytarge of lede *and* of seluer *and* of
 golde *and* stampe to geder *and* sefte hit þorow a smal sarce
 or ellis thoru a cloþe *and* do þat powder to þe oyle *and* set /v/ on
 the fyre *and* stere it til hit be hard for it is a good
 trete and a helyng [LF]

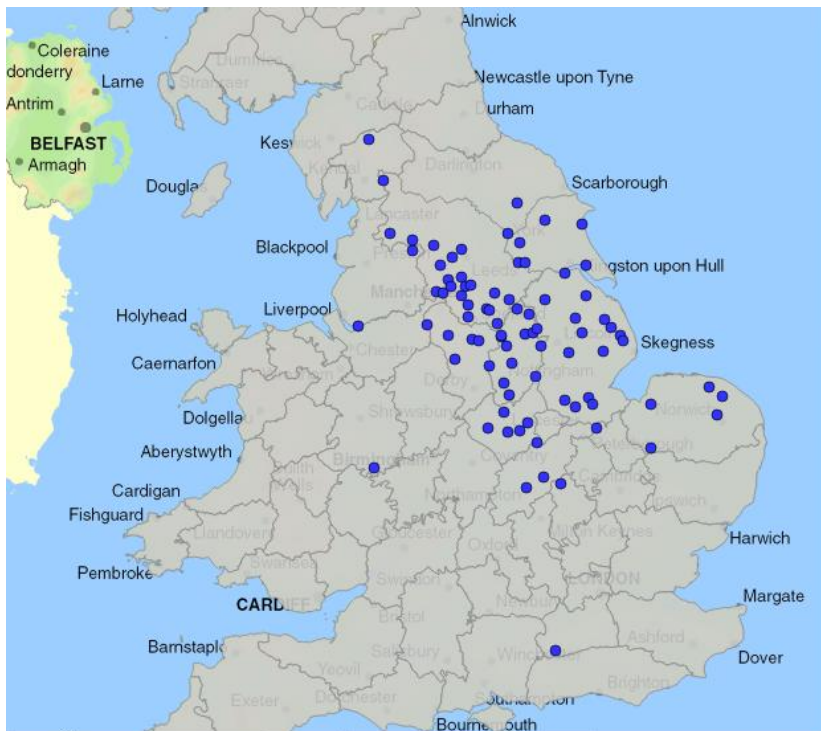
Appendix C: Maps from the Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English



Map 1. A map showing the attestations of the inflections for the third person singular present indicative that include a thorn. It shows that this feature belongs to the Midlands.



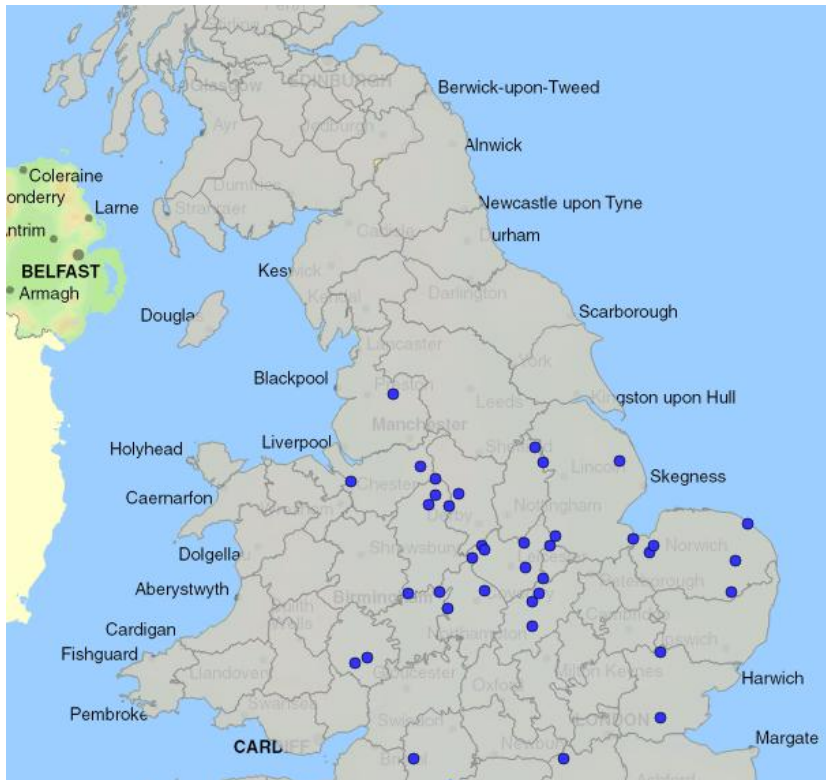
Map 2. A map showing the third person singular present indicative inflection *-eth* and *-ith*, as attested in *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence*. It shows that this feature is present in the dialects of both the East and West Midlands.



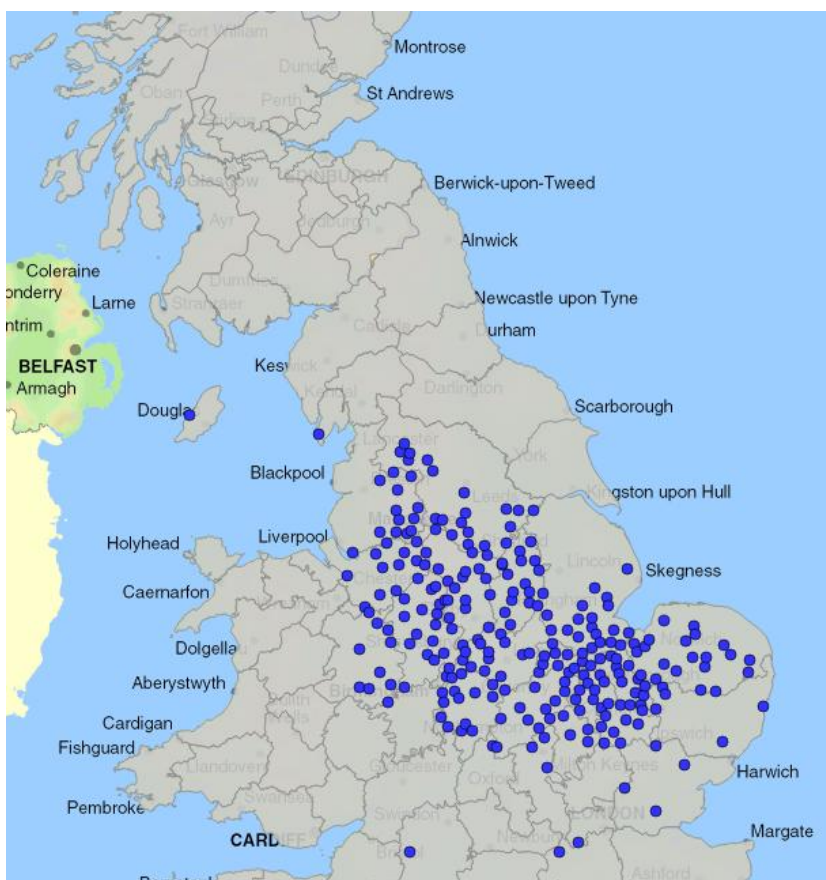
Map 3: a map showing the form 'os' for the word 'as', as attested in *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence*. It shows that this is a feature of the East Midlands dialect.



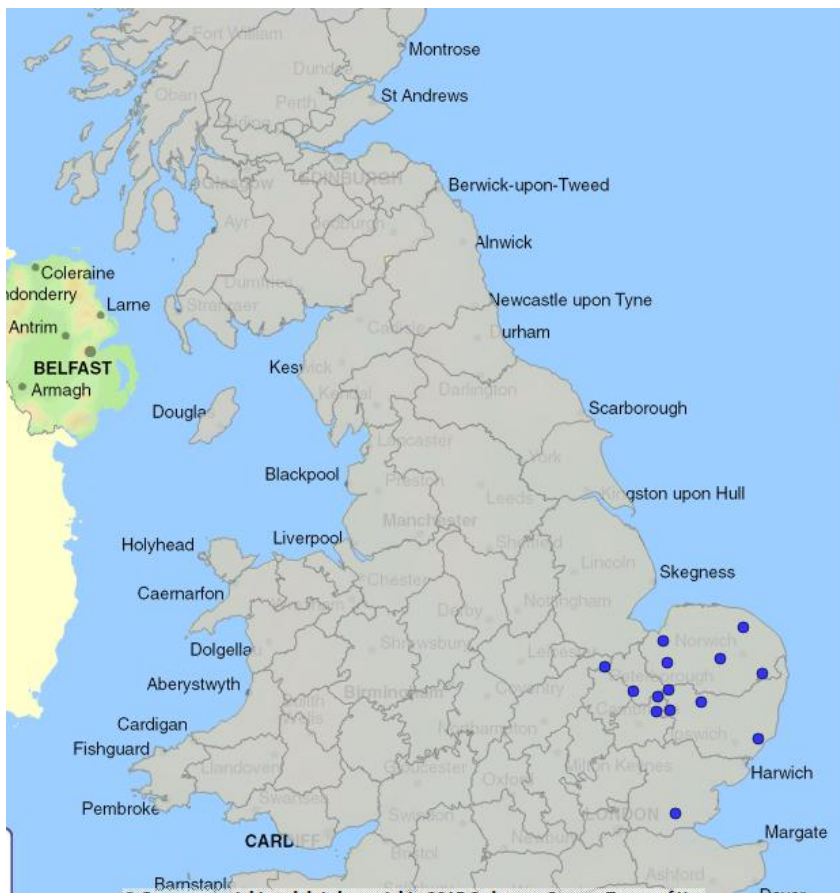
Map 4: a map showing the form 'odyr' for the word 'other', as attested in *The Signs of Death*. It is spread out over the Midlands, with slightly more dots in the East Midlands area.



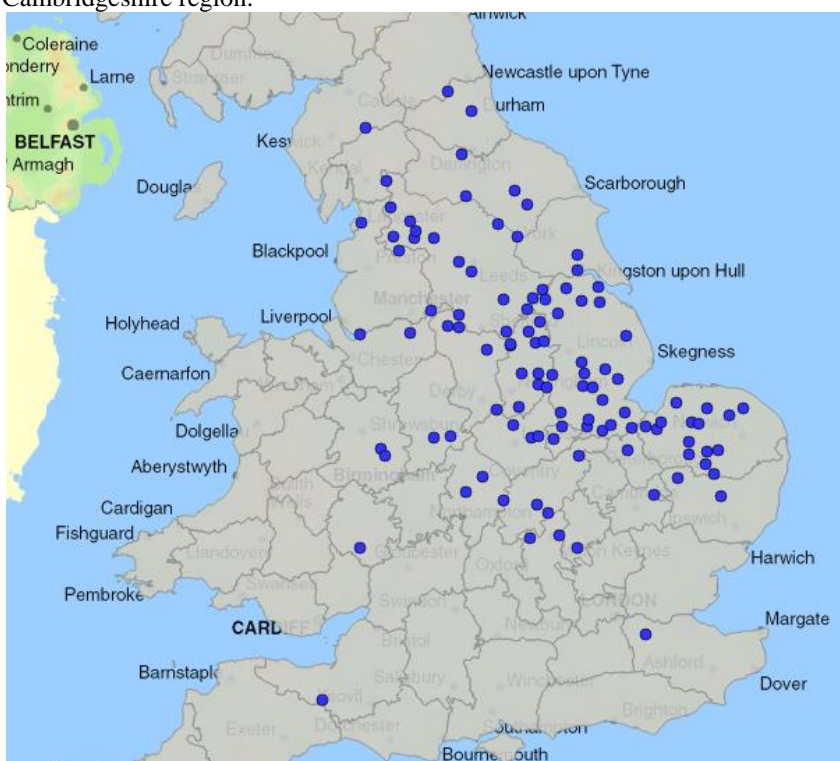
Map 5. A map showing the dots for the third person singular present indicative inflections -ethe, -ithe, and -ythe, as attested in *The Signs of Death*. It is spread out over the area of the Midlands.



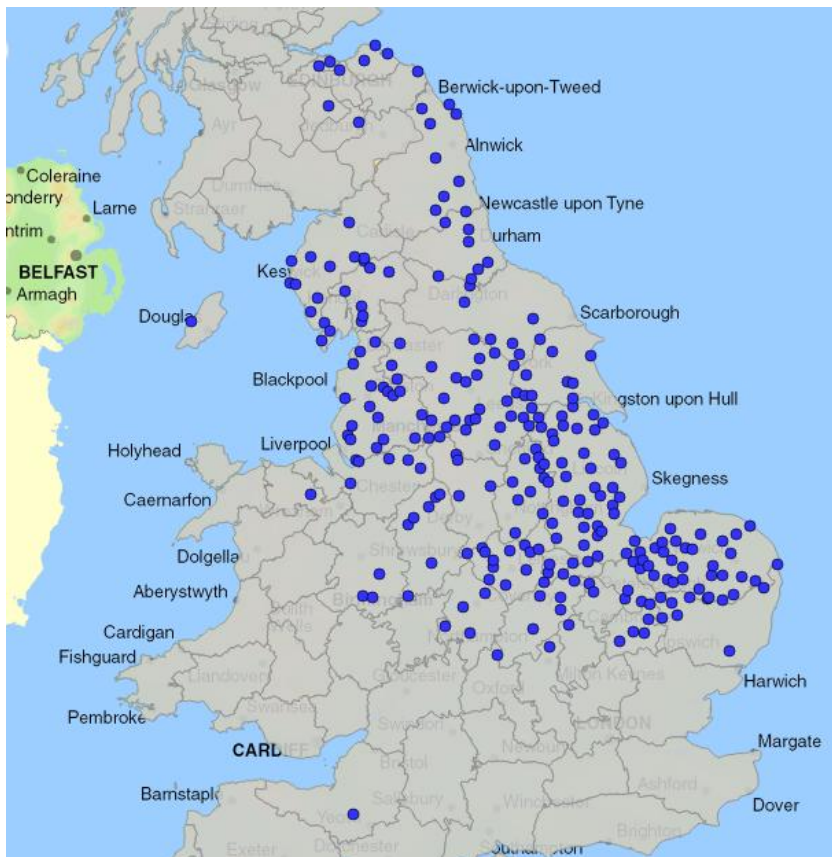
Map 6. The plural present indicative inflection -en, as attested in *The Signs of Death*, also indicates an origin in the Midlands.



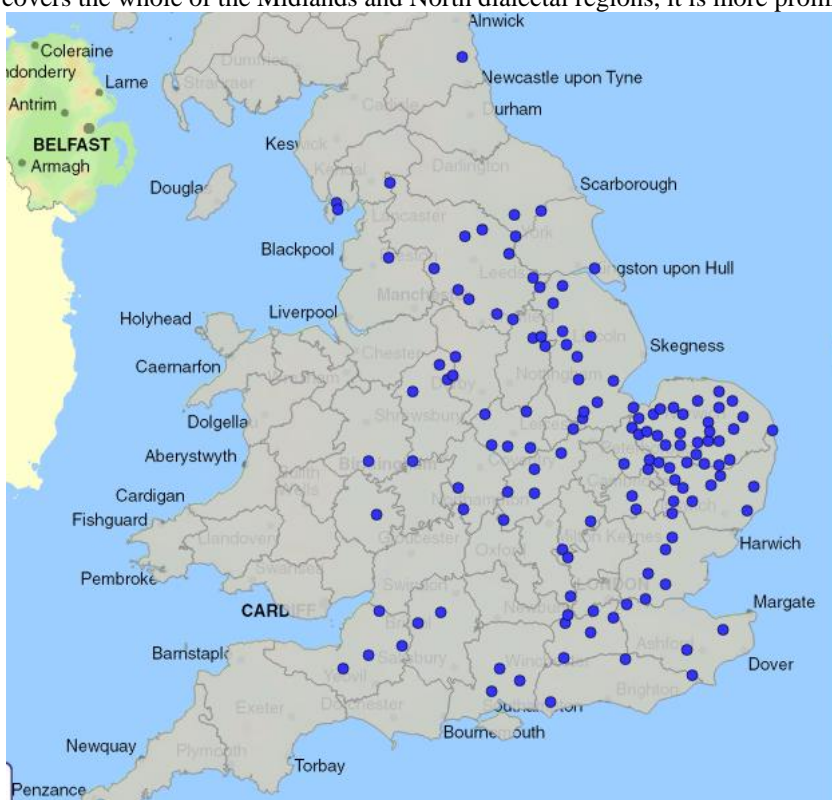
Map 7. A map showing the dots for ‘much’, written in *The Signs of Death* as ‘mechill’. It is centred around the Cambridgeshire region.



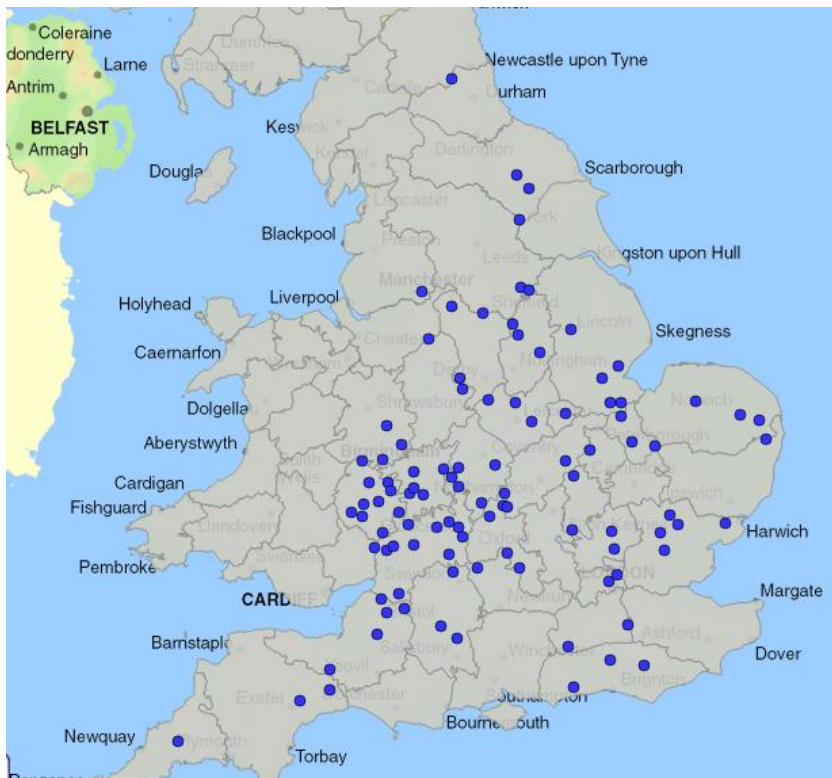
Map 8. A map showing the dots for ‘each’, attested in *The Signs of Death* as ‘ilke’. It is more prominent in the East Midlands.



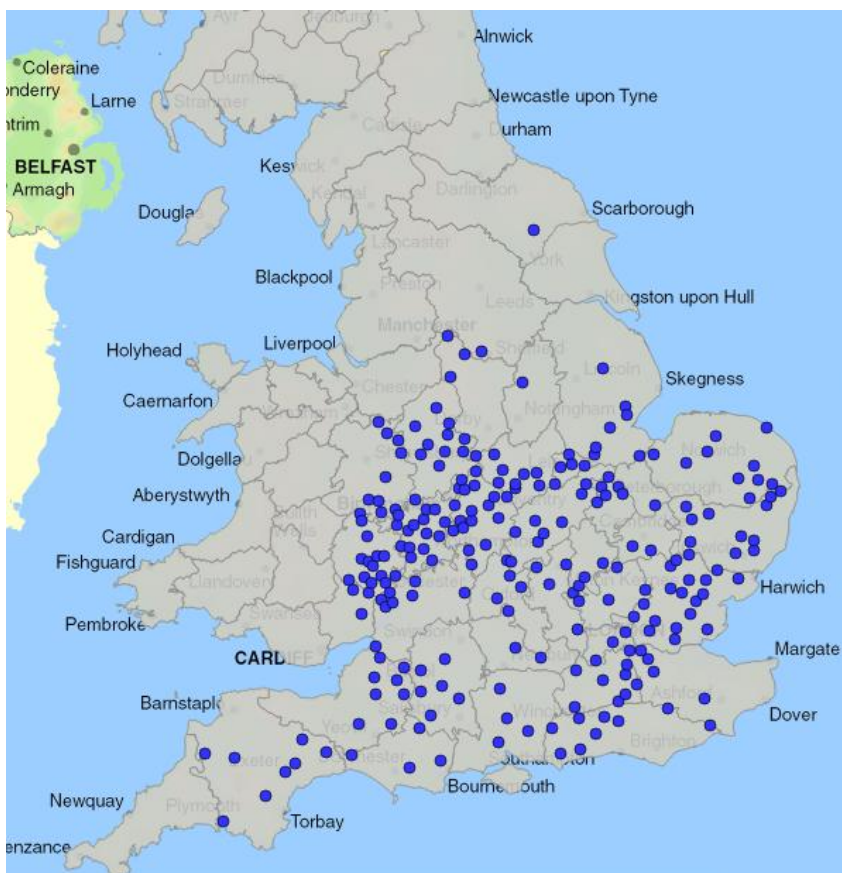
Map 9: a map indicating the form *-yn* for the strong past participle, as attested in *The Signs of Death*. Though it covers the whole of the Midlands and North dialectal regions, it is more prominent in the East Midlands.



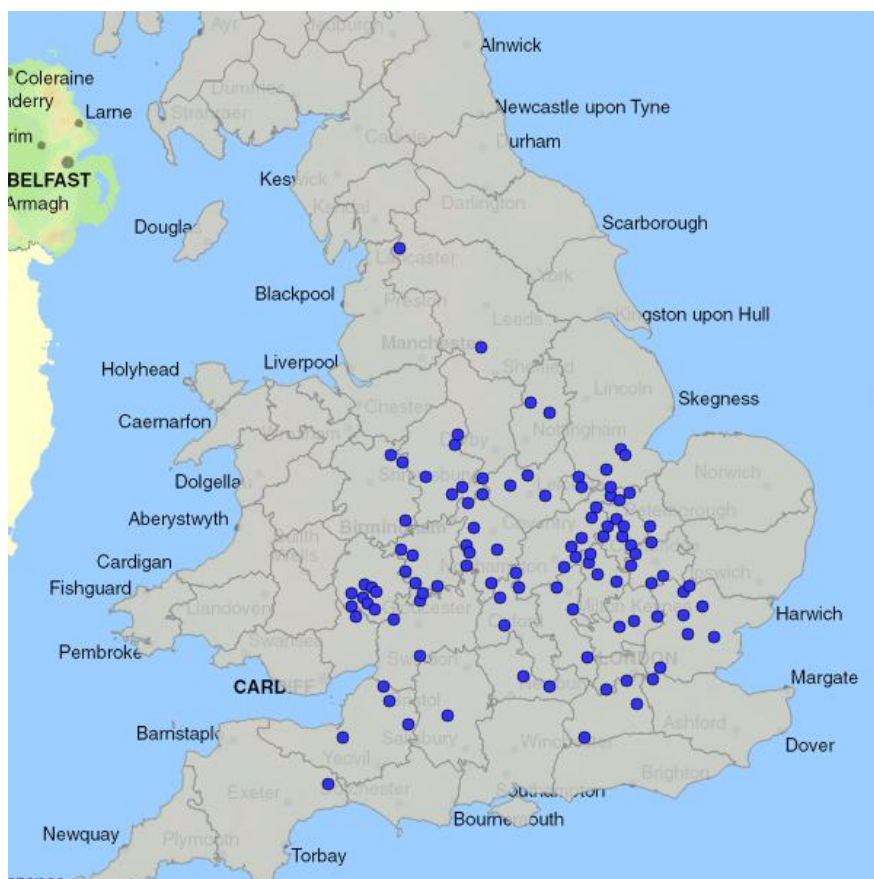
Map 10: a map indicating the forms of 'after', as attested in *The Signs of Death*. It is more prominent in the East Midlands area, and shows a cluster around the Cambridgeshire region.



Map 11: a map showing the form 'bis' for 'these', as attested in *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence*. The feature covers the whole of the Midlands and Southern dialectal areas, though there seems to be a cluster around the Hertfordshire and Worcestershire regions.



Map 12: a map showing the form 'þey' for 'they', as attested in *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence*. It is present in the Midlands and Southern dialects, though it is more dominant in the West Midlands area.



Map 13: a map showing the dots for 'pe-whiche' for 'which', as attested in *The Treatise on Zodiacal Influence*. It is spread across the Midlands.

Appendix D: Table with the comparison between The Signs of Death and The Ivory Casket

<i>The Signs of Death</i> . Hunter 513, ff. 105v-107v.	<i>The Ivory Casket</i> , in F. Wallis, <i>Medieval Medicine: A Reader</i> , pp. 43-45.
1. Here begynne the tokens, fyrste of þe hede: whoso haþe doloure or ache in his hede or swellynge in his vesage <i>withowten</i> redde and <i>with</i> the lyft <i>and</i> allway pykud his nosethrylles, þat xxiiiith day he schall dye.	1. If [the patient] has pain or swelling of the face without cough and without other pain, and his right hand constantly scratches his chest or nostrils, he will die on the twenty-second day.
2. Yff a man be frentik <i>and</i> haue his chekis rounde and swellynge <i>withouten</i> goode digestyoun of stomake, the ix day he schall dye yf the maladye begynnithe <i>with</i> cold.	2. If both cheeks of someone suffering from frenzy are solid pink and swollen, and there is no digestion in the stomach, he will die on the ninth day. This disease begins with sweating and chills, cold ears, cold teeth.
3. Also yf a manys eyen be cold <i>and</i> the teþe cold and yf he be alway slepy <i>and</i> somdele dombe, he schall dye on þat sekene.	3. There are three defects in the teeth: if [the patient's] mouth is in pain, if the veins of the neck bulge, and if he is asleep and just about deaf. And if he has hot pustules upon these veins and a little white stone appears there and if in his illness he desires hot baths or steam baths, he will die on the fiftieth day. This ailment happens to a person who desires hot baths.
4. And yf a wen wax about þe vayne on þe forhed <i>and</i> yf þe wenne be whyte and desire hote wasschyng þe xv. day he schall dye, or ellys take an harde passyoun be fefris or yf the grete to other þe fote be brennyng þe viiith day he schall dye	4. Again, if pustules like small lentils appear under the tongue of someone who has a high *fever (<i>causon</i>), and if he desires baths or a steam bath, and the fever is in his inward parts, and if there is a small black swelling on his big toes, he will die on the seventh day.
5. Also yf the seke be in the feuer ageus and haþe an evyll stomake <i>and</i> in the ryghte fote or in þe lefte fote wax a wenne or in the sole of the fote so þat it be not to grete but evynlyche and as colour as ynde and a perty swellynge and no desyringe to mete þe xxiith day, he schall dye.	5+6. Again, in a high fever, if a small pustule – not raised up, but flat – appears on the stomach or the sole of the right foot and [the patient] is full of the worst kind of *humor, and has no appetite, he will die on the twenty-first day.
6. Also yf ther come in þe grete to an evell þat the blode schede owte of the to and yf ii. kyrnellis waxe in þe to rede as blode <i>and</i> isene yskyd ofte and late in the vii day he schall dye.	7. Again, in a cause of pneumonia, if blood comes out of [the patient's] thumb or a bloody pustule emerges from it, and if he sneezes frequently or latterly, he will die on the seventh day.
7. Also yf the seke haue euyll in þe mynte <i>and</i> þat euyll meve from a place to anodyr and too pusshes wax in þe throte of whyte colour he schall dye and yf the grete to on þe ryghte fote begynne to rote <i>and</i> if he may notte well pisse but late <i>and</i> blake <i>and</i> medelyd <i>with</i> blode þe viii day he schall dye.	8. If [the patient's] liver hurts, and if two conjoined white pustules appear on his neck and throat, and the big toe of his right foot starts to itch a great deal, and later on he urinates and blood comes out, he will die on the seventh day.
8. Also yf hard passyoun comme to þe herte of	9. Again, *cholera is an illness of a single

<p>colde <i>and</i> hold contynually and be viii. dayes fastynge <i>and</i> on nyghte <i>withowte</i> purgacioun þe iii. day he stonte in dowte yf ii. pussis waxyn all owte of the navyll <i>and</i> the tou be whyte and þe todyr blo and abowte rede as blode þat selve day he schall dye.</p>	<p>day. If [the patient] does not improve on the same day, he will die on the third. These are the signs of cholera: if three pustules like scars appear next to the navel, to the left and right, one white, one somewhat livid, and the third pink, he will die on the same day.</p>
<p>9. Also yf the too happes to schew a pussche of þe grettnes and þe coloure of a lytill notte <i>and</i> þerwith hevvy the iiiith day he schall dye.</p>	<p>10. If in [a patient] suffering from stomach pain, pustules like hazel-nuts appear on the eyebrows of the same color as the eyebrows, and he also feels pain, I know that he will die within four days</p>
<p>10. Also yf a man be seke of the splene <i>and</i> blede at þe nostrellis as come the xiii day he schall dye.</p>	<p>11. If the spleen hurts and an odd number of white pustules appear on [the patient's] left hand and if rather foamy blood runs from his nose, he will die on the twelfth day.</p>
<p>11. And yf the seke caste blood and there waxe blacke spottis þorugheowte his body <i>and</i> þe membris be swollen <i>and</i> ryse bladders like benys of Egipte þat day he dyethe for sothe.</p>	<p>15. If *sanies exudes from any part of the body and if spots like Egyptian beans appear all over the body, he will die on the fifty-first day.</p>
<p>12. Also yf he haue euyll in the bladder <i>and</i> flesshe in þe lefte syde swelle and he may not slape <i>within</i> xv. dayes he schall dye.</p>	<p>13. In a patient with dysentery, if a pustule resembling a plant appears behind his left ear, and if frequent thirst eventuates, he will die on the twenty-first day. (44)</p>
<p>13. Also yf þe seke haue grete maledye in þe lendis and fallythe into þe yerde aftyr swell up into þe wombe and comythe to the herte þe v. day he schall dye.</p>	<p>14. In those suffering from *lientery, if a hard white pustule appears on the left ear and abundant urine flows out, he will die on the twentieth day.</p>
<p>14. Also yf he make vryne <i>with</i> grete payne <i>and</i> þe vryne be grene and blacke <i>and</i> he frete of his eyen, <i>withinne</i> xv. dayes he schall dye.</p>	<p>12. If there is pain in the nose, and if on the left side there are thick red [patches] without pain, and if [the patient] consistently desires vegetables, he will die on the twenty-fifth day</p>
<p>15. Also yf þou wylte proue yf a man haue þe desise and the etyke whether he schall leue or dye: take þat ilke þat he castithe owte at his mowþe <i>and</i> do it into a vessel <i>with</i> watyr <i>and</i> yf it falle to grounde he schall leue <i>and</i> yf yt flete aboue he schall dye. And yf he be letyn blode take v. dropis of þat bloode <i>and</i> caste into watyr <i>and</i> yf yt synke to grounde he leuythe and yf it flete he diethe.</p>	<p>16. In one who is in pain from falling intestines, which the doctors call "hernia," should his right elbow become livid and he desire wine in his illness, he will die on the fith day</p>
<p>16. Also yf a man be feuerous <i>and</i> come ouer hym þe euyll þat men clepyn crampe and laste hym iii dayes, on the selfe day he schall dye.</p>	<p>17. If there is pain in the bladder and a pustule like an apple appears in the arm-pit in the morning at the outset [of the disease] and [the patient] falls into a deep sleep, he will die on the fifteenth day.</p>
<p>17. Also yf þe eyn of the seke be colde and his teþe cold and þe tyype of his nose and his chynne hange dunward, he schall dye <i>within</i></p>	<p>18. When there is difficulty in urinating and many pustules like lentils appear on the left ear, and [the patient] in his illness rubs his</p>

v days.	eyes vigorously, he will die on the eleventh day.
18. Also yf the seke turne ofte to þe wallward <i>and</i> rubbe ofte his nosethyrles betokenythe þe dethe to be nyghe.	19. If pulstules appear on the soles of someone with hemorrhoids, he will die on the eighteenth day.
19 Also yf the seke slepe <i>and</i> his mouþe opyn <i>and</i> gapyng vpwards aske hym yf he haue euyll in þe wombe of fretyng <i>and</i> yf he caste noughte or he do wepe <i>with</i> þe right eye in þe iii. day he schall dye.	20. If in someone who is spitting up blood pustules like barley appear on the throat or saliva appears often on the chin, he will die on the twentieth day.
20. Also yf the seke turne his fete there his hede laye, it sygnifyethe dethe	21. If in someone who has wounds or *fistulas or *rheumatic ulcers or any kind of aposteme, numerous solid white pustules appear on the neck or navel or next to the heart or near the vein that runs down the spine, he will die on the eleventh day.
21. Also yf þe seke graunt all thyngis þat þe leche hym saythe <i>and</i> may not well slepe <i>and</i> lōpely ofte to the doreward, it tokenythe þat he schall dye of that sekenes.	
22. Also yf the seke turne ofte on his wombe <i>and</i> haþe his stomak cold, no mete desire, <i>and</i> therwith full grete colde, þe ix. day <i>withowten</i> fayle he dyethe.	
23. Also þe man þat is dropesek <i>and</i> haþe no talent to drynke <i>and</i> desyrythe to etyn benys, in þe xiv. daye he schall dye.	.
24. Also yf ther waxe mechill spatell in his mouþe betokenythe þat the bleddyrs ys perished; <i>and</i> yf he haue in his breste so narowe þat he may onnethe drawe his breþe, þat signifyethe þat postym stronge be wexyng of bloode.	
25. Also yf a man haue ane chall rotyn fylþe at his mouthe þat sygnifyeth þe mydrem to be perished.	
26. Also yf a man haue euyll aboute þe breste þat sygnifye the bloode to breke.	
27. Also yf the seke loke dedely <i>and</i> ters his cloþis as a man þat ys frantik betokenythe he schall die of þat selfe evyll.	