

STEPHEN DODESHAM'S *MACER*
WITH MEDICAL WRITINGS AND PROGNOSTICATIONS
IN LATIN AND MIDDLE ENGLISH AND
JEAN MOLINET'S EPITAPH FOR PHILIP THE GOOD*

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MANUSCRIPT D/4398/1 in the Cheshire Record Office at Chester is a copy of the Middle English translation of *Macer Floridus, De viribus herbarum* and its continuations, a well-known handbook on the medical properties of herbs. Well known also, and from twenty-two other manuscripts, is the hand of its scribe, namely Stephen Dodesham, who died old as a monk of Sheen in the year before Easter 1482. The texts on the binding leaves, written sometime during the later fifteenth century, are less prominent landmarks in medieval *Anglistik*, and are self-evidently diverse. These are not only of interest in themselves, but bear on the make-up and later history of the volume.

The manuscript was brought to notice in October 2009 by Mr. John Benson, at that time an assistant archivist, while I was searching for local documents that might bear on a revision of the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*;¹ fixated on property deeds and administrative writings, I should not have found the manuscript for myself. This article's

* For help of various kinds in connection with this article, I am grateful to Dr. Timothy Bolton (Stockholm), Dr. David Howlett, and Dr. Tony Hunt (both Oxford), and Dr. Patrick Stiles (London), as also to the editor and the two anonymous reviewers for *Mediaeval Studies*. Images of the Chester manuscript appear by kind permission of Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, that of Hunter 258 by kind permission of Glasgow University Library. Other acknowledgements are made at the appropriate points in the text.

¹ Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, and Michael Benskin, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, 4 vols. (Aberdeen, 1986); on the importance of local legal and administrative writings in its making, see my "Local Archives and Middle English Dialects," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 5 (1977): 500–514.

first duty is therefore to thank Mr. Benson, and to record the *Atlas* project's other indebtedness both to him and to his colleagues at Chester.²

Dodesham's hand was unknown to me before I worked on the Chester manuscript, a curious and no doubt culpable ignorance, but the scribe emerged as soon as the language was localized:³ it proved to be almost identical with that of London, British Library Additional 11305, the source of linguistic profile ("LP") number 6440 in the *Atlas*, and known to be Dodesham's work. It was obvious that the hands might be the same; shortly afterwards, photographic comparisons at the British Library confirmed them to be so. The LP derived from the *Macer* was duly incorporated in the electronic version of the *Atlas* (*eLALME*, LP 6445), with a summary notice of the manuscript in the Index of Sources.⁴ It remains questionable whether Stephen Dodesham's language, which looks to be metropolitan rather than locally rooted, should be used at all in an atlas of local written varieties, but metropolitan usage was a fact of fifteenth-century English, and there is at least a taxonomic justification for representing it, provided that its placing is understood to be schematic.⁵ The present case affords some vindication: although a system based on handwriting could have been established long ago, it is still hard to see what systematic procedures independent of the *Atlas* could have discovered the Chester manuscript to be Dodesham's at all, let alone so efficiently.⁶

² The work at Chester, undertaken in course of preparing the atlas for publication in electronic form was with much else made possible by a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation of New York, acknowledged here with gratitude beyond words. The electronic version, *eLALME*, was published in March 2013 as a freely-accessible website, <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme.html>.

³ For the principles of localization, see Angus McIntosh, "A New Approach to Middle English Dialectology," *English Studies* 44 (1963): 1–11; *LALME* I.9–12; and Benskin, "Local Archives," 502–3, and "The 'Fit'-Technique Explained," in *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. Felicity Riddy (Cambridge, 1991), 9–26.

⁴ In *LALME* Dodesham's language is represented by LP 6440 (London, British Library Add. 11305) and LP 6730 (Dublin, Trinity College 678), both retained in *eLALME* as a supplement to LP 6445.

⁵ These matters are treated more fully in a contribution to Kari Anne Rand's forthcoming edition of the Syon Pardon Treatise in British Library Harley 2321 (Middle English Texts, Heidelberg).

⁶ See Angus McIntosh, "Towards an Inventory of Middle English Scribes," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 75 (1974): 602–24.

The present article, however, has little if anything to add to the study of Dodesham's language. It reconstructs the codex of which the Chester manuscript was once part, and establishes some of its post-medieval history; collation of Dodesham's copy with Frisk's edition of *Macer* identifies a peculiar congener, whence collation with copies unknown to Frisk indicates a wider metropolitan circulation; a list of the entries on the binding leaves includes the text of Molinet's *Epitaph*; there follows a linguistic study of the Middle English items. With the record of Dodesham's ordination, the codex casts some new light on his career and Carthusian book production.

THE PROVENANCE OF THE CHESTER MANUSCRIPT

The binding of the manuscript that is now Cheshire Record Office D/4398/1 looks to be post-war, and shows no sign of wear. It is in the Chester Public Library's accustomed plain dark brown cloth, with two cartridge paper flyleaves both front and back; it measures 19 × 26.8 cm. On the spine, in gold leaf, is the title "MANUSCRIPT HERB BOOK GIVING CURES FOR AILMENTS—FIFIELD, S. AND HODGSON, J.," and at the base "61.5." The *Macer* and its continuations are the whole volume, except for the binding leaves, four at each end; these contain additions by late fifteenth-century hands, mostly medical works and prognostications. A typewritten paper notice inserted between the first and second of these leaves describes the volume thus: "SAMUEL FIFIELD and JAMES HODGSON | Manuscript herb book | giving cures for ailments." Fifield was explicitly an owner, Hodgson presumably so: inscribed on the verso of the first binding leaf (fol. i^v), opposite the typescript, is "E Libris | Samuelis Fifield," in a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand; omitted from the typescript notice is "A RONE," below Fifield's "E Libris," as is "Jacobus Ampleford" in the lower margin of fol. iv^r, both by seemingly seventeenth-century hands. Other signatures appear on the recto of the last binding leaf (fol. viii^r), and again look to be seventeenth-century: "Hobson" twice, near the middle; then at the foot "James," immediately followed (though not obviously in the same hand) by "J Hodgson." It is disappointing to report that these, like the names on the binding leaves, are still untraced. A word at the foot of p. 64, and in the same kind of writing, may also be a signature, but it is cropped and rubbed, and I

cannot make it out. In ink at the top right corner of fol. i^r is a seeming pressmark, “A=I=O” (?), in a post-medieval hand; in the same ink is written “C” near the middle of the page. In twentieth-century ink at the lower left corner is the Chester Public Library shelfmark “61.5 / 4586.” At the foot of fol. i^v is the stamp of Chester Public Library, as also on pp. 75 and 133, and fol. viii^r.

Informed by A. I. Doyle’s study of Stephen Dodesham,⁷ a detailed palaeographical description was prepared for the present article. It concluded that Dodesham’s *Macer* could well have been produced at about the same time as his manuscript that is now Glasgow University Library MS Hunter 259, from which Doyle had included a facsimile (p. 105); the scribal performances, including the layout and decoration, are remarkably alike. An admirable insight. Then dawned the significance of certain codicological details, barely registered before, in a footnote to Doyle’s account of Hunter 258 and 259 (p. 103 n. 39). These manuscripts are two of the now sundered parts of a single Dodesham codex that was broken up in the later eighteenth century, in or before 1769. Their foliation shows that they account for less than half of the original, and from Doyle’s report of this, of their dimensions, and of a certain textual continuity, it was obvious that the Chester *Macer* must surely be the missing remainder of that codex. Examination of the manuscripts at Glasgow has

⁷ A. I. Doyle, “Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen,” in *Of the Making of Books. Medieval Manuscripts, Their Scribes and Readers. Essays Presented to M. B. Parkes*, ed. P. R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim (Aldershot, 1997), 94–115 (with list of manuscripts on p. 115). Doyle’s paper includes facsimiles of Glasgow University Library Hunterian MS U.4.17 (259), p. 50 (top half only, pl. 8); Trinity College, Cambridge, MS B.14.54 (337), fols. 27v–28r (pl. 9); Cambridge University Library Additional 3042, fols. 124v–125r (pl. 10); Cambridge University Library Kk.6.41, fols. 113v–114r (pl. 11); it includes also a sample of Dodesham’s textura, fol. 1r of the former Cockerell/Duchesnes MS (pl. 7). Further specimens of Dodesham’s hand are published elsewhere. Glasgow University Library Hunterian MS T.3.15 (77), fol. 15v (part) appears in M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Bookhands 1250–1500* (Oxford, 1969), pl. 6(ii). Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 423, fol. 178 is in *Aelred of Rievaulx’s De institutione inclusarum. Two English Versions*, ed. John Ayto and Alexandra Barratt, EETS OS 287 (London, 1984), facing p. 1. Details from Trinity College, Dublin, MS 678 (pp. 49, 53, 60, 102 and 140) appear in *The Imitation of Christ. The First English Translation of the “Imitatio Christi,”* ed. B. J. H. Biggs, EETS OS 309 (Oxford, 1997), facing p. xxvi.

confirmed that it is so.⁸ The evidence can be set out quite briefly, and in advance of a formal description.

Doyle gave the Hunter dimensions as “260 × 180 mm, 10¼ × 7¼ ins,” and reported that Hunter 259 and 258, “in that order in the original codex, lack 57 leaves between them”; citing a paper by N. R. Ker,⁹ he noted that the folios of the missing portion “should be sig. ciiij–kiiij, in eights.” This all but specifies the Chester manuscript, whose fifty-seven folios are in quires of eight, whose first folio is marked “c iiij,” whose last folio is marked “k iiij,” and is in the hand of Stephen Dodesham. Besides the medieval foliation, all three bear a pagination of the eighteenth century.¹⁰ Hunter 259 begins at “p. 1” and ends at “p. 52,” Chester begins at “p. 53” and ends at “p. 166,” Hunter 258 begins at “p. 167” and ends at “p. 190.” Further, Doyle recorded that at the end of Hunter 258 is “the beginning of an English poem on blood-letting [*Index of Middle English Verse*, no. 3848] added in a fifteenth-century Secretary hand.” The rest of the poem is now seen in the Chester manuscript on the first binding leaf after the *Macer*, and the hand is the same (see figs. 1–2, on pp. 226–27 below). Written beside the opening lines of the poem’s continuation in the first binding leaf after the *Macer* is a copy, in an eighteenth-century hand, of the ten lines now separated in Hunter 258.

This is not the only evidence that the back binding leaves of the Chester manuscript were the back binding leaves for the original codex before it was broken up. In the outermost of Chester’s four back binding leaves, worm-holes are rife. They do not penetrate far, however, and the innermost back binding leaf has only a dozen. The three worm-holes in the last leaf of Hunter 258 continue almost exactly from the array on the

⁸ To the staff of the Department of Special Collections at Glasgow University Library I am indebted for willing and much-valued assistance. I have also to thank Mr Michael Keegan and Mr Adam Shaw of the Cheshire Record Office, for providing high-quality facsimiles of the Chester manuscript at short notice.

⁹ N. R. Ker, *William Hunter as a Collector of Medieval Manuscripts. The First Edwards Lecture on Palaeography delivered in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1983).

¹⁰ The date is Ker’s, *ibid.*, 20, against the Hunterian catalogue’s “late XVII Cent.” (John Young and P. Henderson Aitken, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum* [Glasgow, 1908], 210, 211).

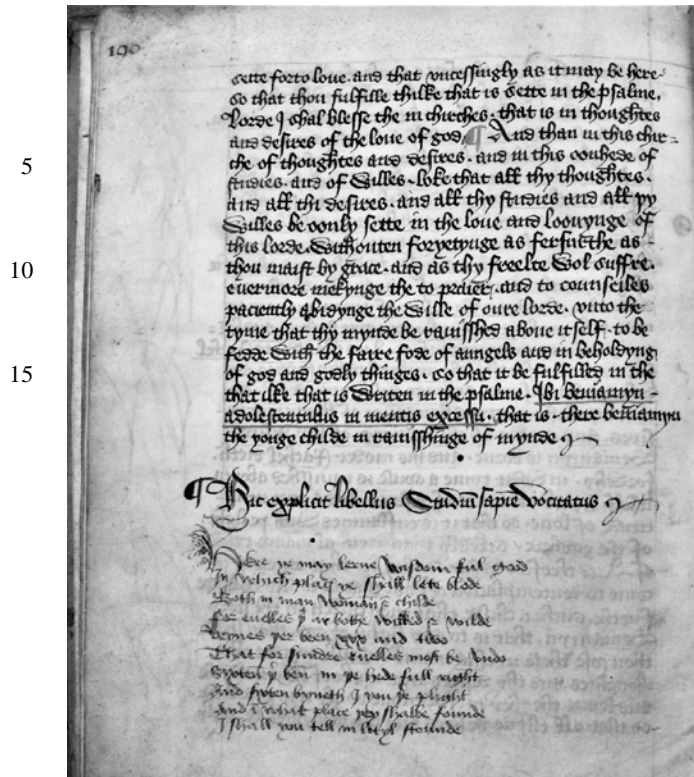


Fig. 1. Glasgow, University Library MS Hunter 258, last folio, verso
(by permission)

innermost back binding leaf of the Chester manuscript.¹¹ Since most of the entries on the front binding leaves are in the same hand as the last

¹¹ The last leaf of Hunter 258, fol. “1 vij” and pp. 189–90, is the penultimate of the original quire: the last leaf, which Ker thought “probably blank,” has been cut out. It must have been removed before the poem on blood-letting was added (i.e., sometime in the later fifteenth century), because there is no loss of text between Hunter 258 and the Chester binding leaves. The worm-holes were matched in the following way. Distances between the holes in the binding leaf were measured in threes, and then plotted on tracing paper as an array of conjoined triangles. A similar graph was made for Hunter 258, and compared by overlay. (The method is simple and accurate. By contrast, co-ordinates measured down and across the page, even if their axes could be maintained at right angles, are liable to disruption by even slight irregularities of edge or differences in page size. They can be useful for a general orientation, but not for accurate work.) The holes in p. 189 of Hunter 258

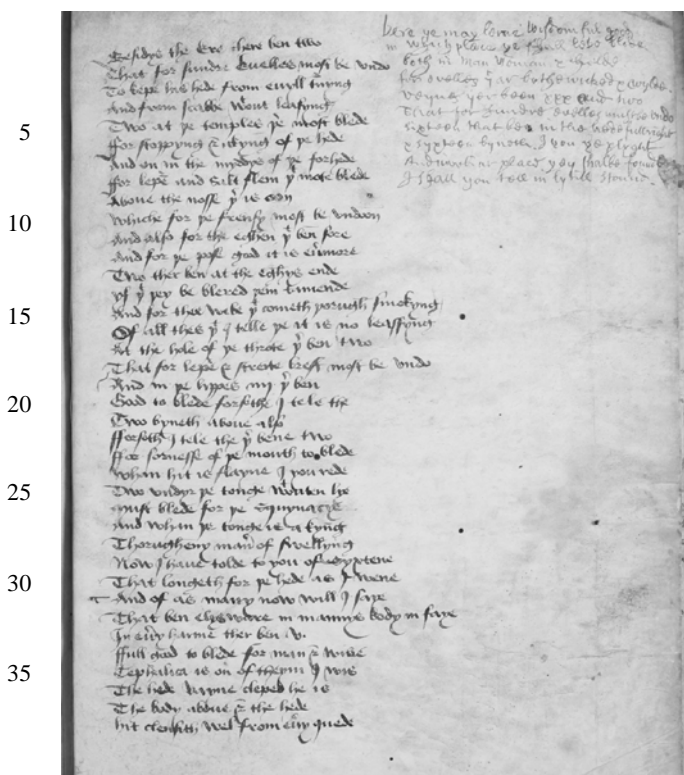


Fig. 2. Chester, Cheshire Record Office D/4398/1, first binding leaf at back (v^r) (by permission of Cheshire Archives and Local Studies)

entry on the penultimate back binding leaf, it follows that these also were part of the original codex.

are “ α ,” in the tail of y in *yit* 12; “ β ” in a of *and* 19; and “ γ ” between *al* and *manny* 23. On p. 190, α is between the letters a and b of *abidyng* 12; β is below the e of *raussinge* 18, in the blank line below; and γ is in the second blank line below the c of *explicit* 19. In binding leaf v^v of Chester, α is in r of *fyng* 16; β is to the right of lines 23–24, below e of *mete* 22; and γ is between lines 27–28, above h of *right* 28. On binding leaf v^r of Chester, α is to the right of lines 15–16; β is between *to* and *blede* 23; γ is to the right of lines 27–28. The Hunter distances (in mm) are $\alpha\beta$ 58 (Chester 57.5), $\beta\gamma$ 45 (Chester 46), $\alpha\gamma$ (and Chester) 61. The diameter of holes β and γ is just under 1mm, that of α just over. The very slight discrepancies between Hunter and Chester may have arisen from differential shrinkage (the manuscripts have been apart for nearly two hundred and fifty years), as well as the slight slant of the worms’ progress in relation to the writing surfaces.

Reassembly of the original codex narrows the date for the Chester manuscript, though not by very much. The making of the Middle English *Macer* is not itself datable, and copies could have been circulating before Dodesham's scribal activity began. His own *Macer* now looks to be from after 1440. The codex to which it belonged was made up by copies, all intact as Hunter 258 and 259, of (i) "the English verse paraphrase of the *Parvus Cato* and *Magnus Cato* by Benedict Burgh, a secular priest, probably not composed before 1440, followed by the verse *Dietary* by John Lydgate († ca.1449), though neither author is named here"; (ii) the Middle English translation of *Macer Floridus*, *De viribus herbarum* and its continuations; and (iii) "the English prose treatise *Benjamin minor*, here called *Studium sapientie*." The citations are from Doyle (pp. 103–4), who continues, after noting the addition of the poem on blood-letting,

This may seem a somewhat surprising selection of contents, and with unknown matter between, but the pseudo-Cato, traditionally used to teach Latin and good manners to the young, the advice on health, and the allegorical exposition of spiritual life would not have been discordant in either a pious secular household or the novitiate of a religious community. The large size of the writing could have been helpful to beginners in learning.

The "unknown matter between" is the *Macer*, which, though increasing the diversity of the contents, shares something with Lydgate's *Dietary*, and it need not have been out of place in a religious community: Pershore Abbey owned a copy, which is textually the closest of the surviving copies to Stephen Dodesham's (see pp. 243–58 below). Since Doyle wrote, the career of Benedict Burgh has been more thoroughly investigated, and the composition of the *Distichs* plausibly assigned to the 1450s, with a *terminus ante quem* of about 1460.¹²

Doyle thought it likely that Dodesham had been a lay or clerical scribe for part of his career, partly because of the three copies he made of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* (p. 101); in spite of its Benedictine authorship, this sequel to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* "is quite secular in appearance." Doyle continued,

¹² Fraser James Dallachy, "A Study of the Manuscript Contexts of Benedict Burgh's Middle English *Distichs of Cato*" (Ph.D. diss., University of Glasgow, 2013, on-line at <http://theses.gla.ac.uk/4179>), 34–35. For a well-judged and informative review of the Hunter content, see pp. 114–19; it is hardly to be wondered that *Macer* was not proposed as the missing text.

The repeated copying of the same text in such a case points to paid employment, and although there are instances, more clearly on the continent than in England, of religious writing books “pro pretio” (as Lydgate himself in effect may have composed them), the austerity of Carthusian discipline would surely have drawn a line about content.

Likewise Dodesham's handwriting looks not be of the cloister. “His Anglicana Formata,” in Doyle's view, “resembles most closely that used in documents of the royal Chancery during the reign of Henry VI (1422–71)” and “one may therefore guess that he might have had his training with their scribes”;¹³ before reading Doyle's paper but after years of intensive work on Chancery documents, I was immediately impressed by such similarities in the Chester manuscript. This led to an extensive search for his name in the relevant files of Chancery, undertaken by Dr. Susanne Jenks of the University of Erlangen, but no evidence of his appointment or activity as a Chancery clerk has yet been found.¹⁴ It is still possible, of course, that Dodesham learned or adapted his handwriting in Chancery circles, for example, at one of the Inns of Chancery: by Dodesham's time these were attracting apprentices of the common law as well as providing for clerks of the king's writing offices, but they have left almost no institutional records.¹⁵

Chancery or not, from other codicological evidence Doyle had inferred that Dodesham's career was metropolitan before his *first* known Carthusian profession, sometime before 1462, at Witham in Somerset (p. 96).

¹³ Doyle, “Stephen Dodesham,” 113–14. Doyle refers explicitly, however, only to facsimiles of the royal charters of Eton and King's College Cambridge, issued in 1446, and another to Ipswich issued in the same year (114 n. 64).

¹⁴ Dr. Jenks, then on research leave at the Public Record Office, volunteered to search the files on my behalf; I am deeply indebted to her expertise and generosity.

¹⁵ D. S. Bland, *Early Records of Furnivall's Inn. Edited from a Middle Temple Manuscript* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1957), 12–13 and 47 n. 2. The surname *Dodesham* is unusual; links with the Somerset family prominent in Cannington, have been suggested (Doyle, “Stephen Dodesham,” 112 n. 62, reporting information from Alexandra Barratt). In a more recent study of Dodesham's career, Lauren R. McClelland has proposed connection with Dodesham of All Cannings in Wiltshire, constructing from copious materials an elaborate but (as she admits) a mainly speculative narrative, with Chancery at centre stage: see her “Studies in Pre-Reformation Carthusian Vernacular Manuscripts: the cases of Dom William Mede and Dom Stephen Dodesham of Sheen” (Ph.D. diss., University of Glasgow, 2013), 107–17.

As it now appears, the inference was correct, but the span of Dodesham's secular career was not as Doyle had supposed: some twenty-five years before Dodesham is known to have been at Witham, and thirty-two if not thirty-four years before his transfer from Witham to Sheen, he was already professed as a Carthusian, and at Sheen, just a few miles upriver from London. Overlooked was the record of Dodesham's ordinations in London, as deacon and then as priest, in February and March 1437; these had been reported in Carol Rowntree's "Biographical dictionary of the English Carthusians," part of her unpublished doctoral thesis of 1981.¹⁶ We do not know Dodesham's age when he was ordained priest, but if canon law were followed, he must have been at least twenty-four;¹⁷ hence even if he entered the priesthood as soon as he was old enough, there would still have been a few years for a secular scribal training and commercial practice. There may well have been more. In default of other evidence, his death in old age during the year before Easter 1482, allows that at the time of his ordination he could well have been forty.

Whatever his age, if Carthusian discipline was as Doyle supposed, it follows that Dodesham must have finished his three copies of *The Siege of Thebes* not later than February 1437; for how long before that date he was under discipline as a novice can only be guessed. It follows also that if Benedict Burgh's paraphrases of the *Parvus Cato* and the *Magnus Cato* were "probably not composed before 1440" (Doyle, p. 104), then Dodesham was professed before he copied the *Macer*. Again, Doyle's assessment proves right: the "somewhat surprising selection of contents" turns out to have been copied by a Carthusian. There is further suggestion that English Carthusian practice—or at any rate the practice of Sheen, as at various times of some Continental houses—was more liberal than the general chapter's ordinances allowed. These forbade medical treatment

¹⁶ Carol B. Rowntree, "Studies in Carthusian History in Later Medieval England. With special reference to the Order's relations with secular society" (D.Phil. diss., University of York, 1981, now on-line at theses.whiterose.ac.uk/10802.pdf 258002), 485–546, at 503; McClelland's explicit claim that the record is her own discovery ("Studies in Pre-Reformation Carthusian Vernacular Manuscripts," 121) sits ill with the use of Rowntree's thesis that she acknowledges in other connections. To avoid any uncertainty as to what the text of the ordinations does or does not state, it is printed below (Appendix 1).

¹⁷ Cf. Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100–1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993), 119–20.

almost without exception,¹⁸ yet it now appears that Dodesham copied a *Macer* after he was professed. It is possible that the medical contents added by another hand to the flyleaves of Dodesham's book were also for Sheen's use; the later addition of Jean Molinet's *Epitaphe* for Duke Philip the Good suggests that the book was still kept in Carthusian circles, if not at Sheen itself.

The binding leaves of the Chester manuscript were the binding leaves for the original codex, and were then new, not salvaged from some other manuscript. The texts added to them, as will appear, are to be considered as part of the whole book; when it was broken up, their predominantly medical character associated them naturally with the *Macer*, and not with the pseudo-Cato and *Benjamin minor*, the parts closest to them. The texts on the front set of binding leaves (fols. i^r–iv^v) are nearly all medical treatments. The back set (fols. v^r–viii^v) begins with texts on blood-letting, which was approved and regulated by the ordinances of the Carthusian general chapter,¹⁹ but after a dietary at the end of fol. vi^v (cf. Lydgate's *Dietary* preceding the *Macer*) there follow items on the virtues of leeks (including *pro conceptu* with "maidens wilde"), the virtues of betony, and odd medical receipts. Among these, Jean Molinet's epitaph for Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy (fol. vii^v), is an erratic, notwithstanding that the codex had a different complexion when *l'Epitaphe* was added to its binding leaves, and that beside the moral and didactic content of *Benjamin minor* and the pseudo-Cato, it was perhaps fitting to remember a Christian prince and his Order of the Golden Fleece. But the Chester manuscript is one of only five in British libraries that are known to contain *l'Epitaphe*, against thirty in Continental repositories, and even among the five, it is anomalous: the others, like most of those still on the Continent, are books by Burgundians or books about Burgundy, where *l'Epitaphe* finds a natural place.²⁰ For the Chester manuscript, English

¹⁸ James Hogg, "Medical Care as Reflected in the Cartae of the Carthusian General Chapter," *Analecta Cartusiana* 35, 11 *Spiritualität heute und gestern* (Salzburg), 3–46, at 14–16.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 25–26.

²⁰ Adrian Armstrong, "Avatars d'un griffonage à succès: l'Epitaphe du duc Philippe de Bourgogne de Jean Molinet," *Le Moyen Age* 113 (2007): 25–44, at 27–34, nos. 8 (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 283/2, fol. 11r), 9 (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 187/220, fols. 86v–87r), 14 (London, British Library

through and through, it is hard to find any link with Philip the Good other than the book's Carthusian origin: the Valois dukes of Burgundy were celebrated as patrons of the Carthusian order. Philip the Bold († 1404) had founded the *chartreuse* of Champmoll at Dijon, where the magnificence of his funeral saw him interred in Carthusian habit; the next duke, his son John the Fearless († 1419), was buried there; and his son, Philip the Good, after interim burial at Bruges, was in turn laid to rest there in 1474. The addition of Molinet's *Epitaphe* to Dodesham's book surely indicates that it still belonged to a pious household of Carthusian affinity; it may never have left the priory of Sheen, and it could have stayed there until the Dissolution.²¹ If so, the placing of *l'Epitaphe* among the medical additions (but after most of them) indicates that these also were written at Sheen,²² and that notwithstanding Carthusian precept, the *Macer* codex was used there as a medical handbook. The alternative is to read the medical texts, except those on blood-letting, as evidence that it had left the cloister before *l'Epitaphe* was added. The appearances can be saved either way, though a search for the hands of the Chester flyleaves among books or documents known to have issued from Sheen may yet prove decisive.

Harley 4476, fols. 332v–333r), and 15 (Manchester, John Rylands University Library French 144, p. 45). All are of the sixteenth century; none is likely to be earlier than Chester.

²¹ Duke Philip died on 15 June 1467 at Bruges, and was buried there; not until his reburial at Dijon in 1474 was he interred beside his father and grandfather. Hence the closing lines of *l'Epitaphe* presuppose composition after that date. Armstrong, "Avatars," 35–36, observing that *l'Epitaphe* appears so often as an insertion by new hands in finished manuscripts or on flyleaves, infers that it came into circulation very soon after Duke Philip's death, "copied with enthusiasm as a timely and useful reckoning of the duke's career, sometimes in historical compilations, sometimes in any book that was available" (translated from Armstrong's French).

²² *L'Epitaphe* is the sole entry in that hand. Below it, at the foot of the page, is a final contribution by the main hand of the binding leaves, six lines in Latin for treatment of an unspecified sickness, apparently fever. It follows the left margin for the epitaph, which is much wider than the main hand uses elsewhere, and so must have been entered after the epitaph was written. The use of the same margin is decisive: in principle, the Latin text could have been written at the foot of a page otherwise blank, for which the intended content was not to hand. Such lacunae are not at all unusual in medical and scientific compendia.

The later history of the Chester manuscript is still largely unknown. It came to the Cheshire Record Office from Chester Public Library, but of when or how the Library obtained it there is no record.²³ It could have been there for a long time: the first public library in Chester was founded in 1773, and among its “mainly erudite tomes on history, geography, law and philosophy” the *Macer* might have found fitting company, whether as a purchase, donation, or bequest;²⁴ the *Macer*'s lack of nineteenth-century signatures or bookplates is perhaps a sign that it did not stay long in private ownership. How it came to Chester at all is a matter for speculation, but directly or indirectly, the London book trade was involved. The last owner of Dodesham's book before it was broken up was a lawyer and antiquarian, Thomas Martin (1697–1771) of Palgrave in Suffolk. Martin's enormous library was catalogued and sold after his death, but in his last years, perhaps short of money, he had already parted with some of its contents. Among them was Dodesham's codex, or at least the two parts of it that are now Hunter 259 and 258; Martin's signature appears in both. These came to William Hunter or his agent through the London bookseller Thomas Payne, probably in 1770, and are items 7590 and 7591 in Payne's first catalogue for that year.²⁵ No item recognizable as the *Macer* appears in this or any other of Payne's catalogues, or in the catalogues of dealers who sold later from Martin's estate, which suggests that the *Macer* had been sold unadvertised and very soon after the codex was broken up; if Hunter had had a chance to buy it, presumably he would have done so. Commercial prudence would also favour a separate sale: a purchaser realizing that he had bought one manuscript for the price of three might not be appeased by the vendor's assurances of good faith. Whether Martin (as Ker suggested) or Payne broke up the manuscript could perhaps be deduced from the irregular eighteenth-century hand that copied part of the poem on blood-letting from Hunter 258 onto the Chester binding leaf that is now fol. v^r (see fig. 2), but I have had no

²³ I am indebted to Ms Lena Shiell of the Chester Reference Library for searching the Library's records of acquisition.

²⁴ “The History of Chester Library,” section 2.4 of the website shoutwiki.com/wiki/St_John_Street.

²⁵ This information is from Ker, *William Hunter* (n. 9 above), 8–9, 20. I have examined this and all of Payne's subsequent sale catalogues, and found nothing that might be the *Macer*.

opportunity to search for comparators; it is nothing like Martin's neat signatures on the fly leaves of the Hunter manuscripts, but those displays need be no guide to his other practice. Of the personal names inscribed in the Chester manuscript, only one has a Hunter connection, namely "J Hodgson" on the last binding leaf (fol. viii^r); the hand is of the same type as that of "Amy Hodgson" on p. 16 of Hunter 259, which looks to be of the seventeenth century.²⁶

THE FORM AND EXECUTION OF THE CHESTER MANUSCRIPT

The leaves of Dodesham's book are of good membrane, fifty-seven folios measuring mostly 181 × 251–58 mm. The foliation is 1⁶, 2–7⁸, 8³. The first quire lacks its first two folios; of the last quire, only the first three folios remain, as singletons. (The missing folios are now at the end of Hunter 259 and the beginning of Hunter 258 respectively.) An eighteenth-century pagination in ink, with Arabic figures well written in the outer top corners, runs from the first page of *Macer*, "53," to its last, "166." Medieval foliation, in the lower right corners recto, identifies the bifolium rather than the folio, stopping at the fourth folio of each quire. The signatures are by letter for the quire and by Roman number for the folio; thus p. 53 is "c iij," p. 55 is "c iiij," p. 65 is "d I," p. 67 is "d ij," etc. Catchwords, in the spacious lower margin, link each of the quires.²⁷ (The first quire of the original codex, now in Hunter 259, is not "a" but "+," from which the text is continuous to quire "a.")²⁸

The binding leaves, part of the original codex, are membrane bifolia, two at the front and two at the back. Whether or not these enclosed Dodesham's codex as soon as it was completed, they must have done so by the time the poem on blood-letting was added by a neat secretary hand of the later fifteenth century. This continues from the foot of the last leaf in Hunter 258 onto the recto and verso of the first of the back binding

²⁶ Young and Aitken, *Catalogue* (n. 9 above), 1:210, "early XVII. Century autograph."

²⁷ e I / p. 80 "The first vertu"; f I / p. 96 "Dippe" and flourish; g I / p. 112 "into þe ere" and flourish; h I / p. 128 "oftebathing"; i I / p. 144 "of þese ." and flourish; k I / p. 160 "thridde."

²⁸ Cf. N. R. Ker, *Mediaeval Manuscripts in British Libraries. II Abbotsford—Keele* (Oxford, 1977), viii.

leaves in Chester (fol. v^r–v^v), which show no trace of palimpsest, and must therefore have been blank when they were bound in. In comparison with Dodesham's folios, they are somewhat irregular: the front set is 180 × 254, the back set 180 × 251–57 mm. They are neither foliated nor paginated, but whereas in many manuscripts the entries on binding leaves are irregular, even haphazard, here they are properly laid out. Left margins are ruled in drypoint: on the rectos of fols. ii–iv, 17–22 mm, on their versos 21–24 mm; on the rectos of fols. v–vii, 25 mm, and on their versos 20–44 mm (fol. viii is not ruled).

The ruling for Dodesham's book is more elaborate and different in kind. The margins and text-frame, about 112 × 188 mm, are ruled in brown crayon; the text-frame is pricked and ruled in drypoint for (mostly) 32 lines per page. The vertical line-spacing (module) is about 6 mm, with a minim-height of (mostly) 2.5 to 3.0 mm. The layout is spacious, with outer margins ruled 7 mm from the text-frame, and 32 mm wide, in which are paraphs, variously red or blue, and titles for the adjacent text. Capitals are in blue, decorated with red fern stems extending vertically and sometimes outward into the margins, terminating in curvilinear sprays.

Except for the note on p. 64, possibly *irate* (see fig. 3 on p. 251 below), the *Macer* is well written throughout. The hand is an expert *anglicana* formata, infiltrated by Dodesham's characteristic repertoire of secretary letter-forms. The present observations are focused by the inventory on pp. 113–14 of Doyle's study, whose facsimiles are here cited by plate, folio or page, and line.²⁹ Forms in *Macer* are cited by manuscript page and line from the facsimiles below: p. 54, Plate 1; p. 64 (part), fig. 3; p. 113, Plate 2; and p. 165, Plate 3.

(i) As Doyle records, minuscule *a* is mostly the *anglicana* type, but the "triangular" and "quadrangular" forms of the single-compartment secretary type both appear, whose concentration on p. 54 is atypical in Dodesham's finished work. Forms approximating to "triangular" appear in 54/5, 11 *that*, 20 *subfumygacioun*. "Quadrangular" forms appear in 54/17 *stampe*, 20 *make*, 21 *hardnesse*, 22 *same*; 113/13 *plas=*, 15 (margin) *cancre*s, 26 *mulsa*, 28 *subfumygacioū*. In the relatively ill-written text of p. 64, only one of seventeen instances has the *anglicana* type, 3 *malady*.

²⁹ Doyle, "Stephen Dodesham" (n. 7 above).

(ii) The usual type of **A** is as in 54/6 *Arthemesis*, 19 and 24 *Also*, beside that in 54/16, 27 *Also*; 54/31 *A nother*. A secretary variant “with a horizontal and slightly curved top stroke” seems in *Macer* to be confined to 165/6, 11 *Also* (contrast 4 *Also*).

(iii) “**D** with a sharp left foot” is seen in 54/5 *Diana*, 29 *Drynke*; 64/4 *Drinke*; contrast 113/2 *Docke*.

(iv) **f** and long **s** are “invariably tapered and often slanting.” Examples of **f**: 54/7 *first*, 13 *furthe*, 20 *therof*; 113/11 *first*, 21 *forseide*, 27 *safferon*. Examples of **s**: 54/2 *Arthemesia*, 10 *sikness~*, 21 *hardnesse*; 113/14 *clense*, 21 *siknesse*, 22 *same*.

(v) **g** is anglicana throughout. Doyle records secretary **g** only from “the larger display script of a colophon.”

(vi) Short **r**, which may look to textura rather than secretary, is used throughout, except after a rightward lobe (when it is 2-like). So, e.g., 54/3 *moder*, 17 *grene*, 22 *rawe*; 113/3 *afterwarde*, 5 *right*, 29 *hir*; but 2-like in, e.g., 54/2 *forthy*, 13 *bringith*, 24 *drinke*; 113/4 *represe*, 16 *lepre*, 23 *abrode* (and anomalously so in 54/3 *herbes*, where **e** is not round, cf. 4 *herbes*). Long **r** is hardly to be found, even in the marginal headings, but cf. 64/4 *sacer*, in writing not of the best.

(vii) “[F]inal kidney-shaped (B-like) **s**” from secretary, e.g., 54/3 *is*, 8 *this*, 16 *floures*; p. 64, all nine of instances; 113/2 *rotes*, 14 *cancre*, 24 *bocches*.

(viii) “For display Dodesham sometimes uses a Bastard or, more exactly, enlarged Anglicana” in which “Final **s** is commonly 8-like ... varying with the Secretary form.” The 8-like form seems not be used in even the best-written parts of *Macer*. Another feature of the display script, however, is pervasive: “6-like (sigma) **s** varies with long **s** in the initial position ... and is sometimes found finally.” Examples in initial position (adjacent long **s** in parentheses): 54/9 *special* (10 *siknesses*), 15, 30 *so* (15, 30 *shalt*), 18 *she* (18 *shal*); 113/2 *soden* (2 *stronge*), 22 *same* (22 *same*). In final position, 6-like **s** is rare; among examples (not in the facsimiles) are 78/9 *bitinges* and 27 *longes* (in marginal titles, not badly written, wherein six B-like forms).

(ix) Dodesham’s regular form of **w** is an anglicana type that is characteristic in fifteenth-century Chancery hands.³⁰ So, e.g., in 54/1 *moder-*

³⁰ Which is not to say that it is confined to them. See further Michael Benskin,

worte, 18 wombe, 25 wol; 113/6 water, 15 woundes, 24 wol. A type without loop, of secretary origin, is sporadic: 54/23 wol; 113/4 wol, 20 wyne.

Dodesham's use of punctuation is in various ways distinctive, as are his forms of some signs. The present list again follows Doyle's inventory (pp. 113–14).

(i) “[T]he simple *punctus* is sometimes turned down slightly like a modern comma.” The examples in the present facsimiles are not of the best, but cf. 54/27; 113/1, 4, 18.

(ii) “[T]he simple *punctus* is sometimes . . . extended or replaced by a curved stroke rising to the right . . . as a *virgula* or like the upper stroke of the full *punctus elevatus*.” Such forms are pervasive, e.g., 54/12, 20; 64/4; 113/1, 18 (cf. Doyle, pl. 11, 113v/12). The top of the rising stroke is often turned down: so 54/23, 30; 113/27.

(iii) “[T]he full *punctus elevatus* which [Dodesham] also uses.” In *Macer* it is used rarely if at all.

(iv) “The alternative *virgula* [alternative to the *punctus elevatus*] sometimes has a slanting approach stroke at the top right or a shorter horizontal one on its left.” No example appears in Doyle's facsimiles, and it is uncertain whether the form is used in *Macer*. Here, sentences often conclude with the *punctus* followed by a *virgula*, e.g., 64/2, 4; 113/6, 11, 18, 22, 25. The first clear instance is on p. 57, and as the work progresses, it is increasingly common. Occasionally the *virgula* is used plain (e.g., 165/17, 18). Sometimes a period is concluded by a vertical hairline drawn down from a final letter (especially *r*), and followed by a *punctus*, as in 54/22 *it*. (The rationale for this sign after 54/14 *water* is unclear. Its incidence is very variable.)

(v) “[Dodesham] frequently employs the 9-like *positura* or *punctus versus* at the end of major passages” (so in *Macer*, e.g., 113/29) “and even more often a similar form completing a clockwise loop at its foot, which serves also when repeated as a line-filler. . . .” The latter, which is found on every third page or so of *Macer*, is perhaps better described as a 2-like form rotated anti-clockwise. Its foot may be looped, as in 64/6, but usually it is a broken stroke, a point instead of a loop, as in 113/9.

“Chancery Standard,” in *New Perspectives on English Historical Linguistics. Selected Papers from 12 ICEHL, Glasgow, 21–26 August 2002*. Vol. II: *Lexis and Transmission*, ed. Christian Kay, Carole Hough, and Irené Wotherspoon (Amsterdam, 2004), 1–40, esp. 11–14.

Doyle's illustrations show the loop as a hairpin, verging on closure: pl. 8, p. 50/11, pl. 10, 125r/9, 16, and pl. 11, 113v/5.

(vi) Serving also as line fillers are "tremolo strokes" (so *Macer*, 113/27) and "double virgules" (so *Macer*, 64/6).

(vii) "Most conspicuously, as noticed by Neil Ker in the Downside manuscript [Downside Abbey MS 26542, on which see Doyle's pp. 102–3], when the last word of a line of prose does not reach to the right-hand ruled edge, and he [*sc.* Dodesham] does not go on to hyphenate, he frequently fills the space with a short hyphen-like or rising stroke...." As commonly in *Macer*, e.g., 54/4, 8, 12, 30; 64/1, 4; cf. 113/3, 11.

Two features not in Doyle's inventory are also worth notice.

(viii) The hyphen is double, "=", sometimes with a connecting diagonal: 54/3, 10, 17, 18, 20, 28; 113/13, 18. Cf. Doyle, pl. 9, 28r/11, 14; pl. 10, 124v/6, 13, 17, and 125r/6; pl. 11, 113v/6, 11, 12, and 114r/3, 4, 12, 13, 14.

(ix) After *e*, the *punctus* is commonly made without a pen-lift, a broken stroke that is an extension of the letter: e.g., 54/7 *herbe*, 9 *name* (with following fused *virgula*), 15 *matrice*, 19 *inne*, 113/13 *salte*, 19 *dritte*, 20 *wyne*. Occasionally the *punctus* is extended from other letters, e.g., 113/26 *mulsa*. (Cf. Doyle, pl. 8/7 *fynde*, 8 *house*; pl. 9, 27v/8 *slaien*, 28r/5, 6 *man*, 10 *shepe*.)³¹ The practice is unusual, though it is not exclusively Dodesham's: it is shared, for example, by Nicholas Bellew, the main scribe of Bodleian Library e Musaeo 232 and of the Marquess of Bath's MS Longleat 29, a Dublin scrivener whose *anglicana formata* is not otherwise notably like Dodesham's.³²

³¹ The facsimiles in *The Imitation of Christ*, ed. Biggs (n. 7 above) show, besides some near misses, (a) 49/2 *morwe*, 3 *longe*, 4 *tyme*, 5 *synne*; 53/4 *wrope*; (d) 60/6 *outwarde*. Parkes's facsimile in *English Cursive Bookhands* (n. 7 above) shows (col. a) 3, 8 *mynde*, 16 *maria*, 16 *Ca^m* (b) 8 *man're*, 12 *erthe*, 14 *shappe* (?).

³² See *Richard Rolle: prose and verse*, ed. S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, EETS OS 293 (Oxford, 1988), xvii–xxxiv (on this feature, xx). For an account of Nicholas Bellew, see Teresa O'Byrne, "Dublin's Hoccleve: James Yonge, Scribe, Author, and Bureaucrat, and the Literary World of Late Medieval Dublin" (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2012), 368–401.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF DODESHAM'S TEXT TO THE OTHER KNOWN COPIES OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH *MACER*

The indispensable frame of reference for the following account is Gösta Frisk's critical edition of the Middle English *Macer*, published in 1949;³³ based on Stockholm Royal Library X.91 ("X"), it records the substantive variants of the seven other complete copies that Frisk knew. Excluded from his collation was London, British Library Sloane 393, "quite definitely a 15th century MS, in parts very well written," as "unfortunately incomplete" (27); further, "Some of the plants are omitted . . . the descriptions of others are abbreviated or simply different . . . while several plants, which are not given in any of the MSS described above, nor in Ch [the Latin source], are interspersed throughout the text" (27 n. 1).

No copy of the *Macer* is dated by other than its handwriting and language, which at best afford only a rough guide. Frisk thought his base manuscript, "X," was written about 1400, "sooner before than after that year," but that is too early by far; the hand, secretary with some anglicana letter-forms, is of a type common in the 1460s and 1470s. Frisk's date for X is also his date for London, British Library Sloane 2269 ("S1"); the hand, a neat anglicana currens with secretary **a**, is of an earlier type than the hand of X, and but for its peculiar secretary **g** would not be out of place in the 1440s. Against Madan and Craster, Frisk thought Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 29 ("H") to be of "the first part" rather than of the late fifteenth century. The remaining five copies he accepted as works of the late fifteenth century: Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 95 ("D"), Bodleian Library Rawlinson C.81 ("R"), Cambridge University Library Ee.1.15 ("E"), London, British Library Sloane 2527 ("S2"), and British Library Additional 37786 ("A").³⁴ The Ann Arbor *Middle English Dictionary*, whose palaeographical datings are generally late, reports Stockholm as "?ab[out] 1450" and Add. 37786 as "a[bout] 1450"; for the others it gives "a[bout] 1500," apparently a conversion of Frisk's dating

³³ Gösta Frisk, ed., *A Middle English Translation of Macer Floridus De Viribus Herbarum* (Uppsala, 1949).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 19–26.

rather than a reappraisal of the manuscripts.³⁵ The dates given more recently by George R. Keiser do not differ much from Frisk's, except that his earliest are "15 cent[ury]" against Frisk's "about 1400," and Hatton 29 is assigned to "ca 1450" against "first part of the 15th century."³⁶

Keiser added six manuscripts to those that Frisk knew, none of them early. Only one contains the full text, Glasgow University Library Hunter 497 (V.7.24), which Keiser dates "15 cent[ury]"; the hand looks to be of the 1460s or 1470s.³⁷ Five contain only fragments of *Macer*: Oxford, Bodleian Library Selden Supra 73 ("ca 1475") and Rawlinson A. 393 ("ca. 1529"), London, British Library Sloane 1571 ("15 cent[ury]"), Sloane 2187 ("ca 1500"), and Sloane 3866 ("15 cent[ury]"). Not in Keiser's list is the manuscript sold by Sotheby's on 3 December 2008,³⁸ which, with the Chester manuscript, makes a total of eleven complete copies.³⁹

³⁵ Margaret S. Ogden, Charles E. Palmer, and Richard L. McKelvey, *A Bibliography of Middle English Texts* (Ann Arbor, 1954): on general principles, p. 16; on *Macer*, p. 58.

³⁶ George R. Reiser (*sic*, misprinted for "Keiser"), in vol. 10 of the *Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050–1500*, XXV. *Works of Science and Information* (New Haven, 1998), 3823 (item 235).

³⁷ The text of Hunter 497 is printed by Javier Calle-Martin and Antonio Miranda-Garcia, as *The Middle English Version of DE VIRIBUS HERBARUM (GUL MS Hunter 497, fols. 1v–92r). Edition and Philological Study* (Bern, 2012). The work leaves much to be desired, including collation, page and line references in the glossary, and an index. Chapter numbers, integral to the work, are relegated from the margins of the manuscript to footnotes, and even in numerals the editors print the scribe's *v* as if it were *u*, though in the running text *v* is commoner by far. Their implicit claim (23) to be the discoverers of this manuscript is ill-founded: it is no. 14 in Keiser's list; the six manuscripts that they do acknowledge as his additions include Sloane 393, which Frisk (27) had already reported, and they omit the "one complete text" that Keiser did add, namely Hunter 497.

³⁸ For a description and sample facsimiles, see <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/catalogue/2008/western-oriental-manuscripts-108241/lot.30>.

³⁹ The *Macer* manuscript at Yale University Medical Library ("Accession no. 22626, Manuscript 40 vault") contains a Latin work attributed to Macer, but it does not contain the Middle English version: the text that *LALME* reports with garbled title as "Macer *De Floridibus*" (I.166b and III.322: LP 642, Norfolk) is an anonymous medical herbal beginning "Here begynnen goode medecynes for dyuerse eueles. I-prouid and I-made aftyr diuers lechys In dyuers tyme I-vsyd. ¶For akying

For modern editors as well as medieval copyists, the extent of the Middle English *Macer* is somewhat negotiable. Dodesham's *Macer* includes all three books and the proem, and like some but not all of the complete copies, it appends "a few othre diuerse herbes with her vertues," here advertised in the preface (fol. c iij, p. 53):

¶ Here foluith the konnyng and sage clerke Macer | trefyng and openly showing the noble vertues. | worthy & commendable *propirtees* of many & diuerse | herbes. and is diuided in to iij. parties. or iij. bokes | In the first boke ben comprehendid xlvi. herbes. of | the whiche Mugwort | or moderwort is þe first | Southernewode. ij. | Wormode iij. | . . . Dragouns xliiij. | Camomyll xlv. | Wodebynde xlvi.

Beginning of the first part of *Macer Floridus De viribus herbarum*, p. 54:

Mugworte. or moderworte is clepid | *Arthemisia*. in latyn. forthy that she | is moder of all othre herbes. or þer= | fore. for the moder of herbes hath | youe hir/ that name *Diana*. sikirliche. the whiche | is clepid in greke tunge *Arthemesis*. . . .

All forty-six herbs are treated, ending (with *wodebyne*) on p. 124, where begins the second part of *Macer*:

¶ Here endith the first boke. or the first parte of | Macer. And now foluith the secunde parte | whiche contenith fully othre xx. diuerse her= | bes with her *propirtees* and vertues. of the which | Sorel or Souredok is I. | Iubarbe ij. | Purselane iij. | . . . More xviiij. | Hennebane xix. | Hocke xx. | . . .

All twenty herbs are treated, ending (with *hocke*) on p. 147, where begins the third book of *Macer*:

¶ Here endith the secunde boke of *Macer*. and now foluith here the thridde boke. or [p. 148] the thridde parte. whiche tretith of a fewe diuerse | spices. and specialy of xj. moost comoun in oure vse. | ¶ Of the whiche pepir is the first | Peletir ij. | Comyn iij. | Galyngale iiij. | Sedewale v. | Cloue

of þe hed . . ." (fol. 5r to fol. 70r line 14: *LALME*'s "f. 66r" is from a superseded foliation). The Latin *Macer*, an abbreviated version conflated with French and Latin extracts, begins on fol. 76r (*olim* 72r), "*Macer de virtutibus herbarum*. &c" *Arthemisia*. *habet in primis ad medicamentum*," and ends "Explicit liber Macri" at fol. 81v9 (*olim* 77v9); the last entry is for aloes. I am greatly indebted to Ms Flo Gillich of the Library's staff for her efforts in arranging to supply me with a facsimile of this manuscript.

gilofre vj. | Canell vij. | Coste viij. | Spikenarde ix. | Frank encense x. | Aloe xj. | ...

Explicit of *Macer*, and beginning of appended matter, p. 158:

¶Here endith the laste boke of macer / And now | foluen a fewe othre diuerse herbes with her vertues | whiche be not yfounde in the bokes of macer / and | of tho there ben xxv. in nombre brefly & shortly | writen. Of the whiche- | Sanycle is the firste | Baldemoyne ij. | Tanseye iij. | ... Lupinus xxiiij. | Ambrosia xxiiij. | Rosa marina xxv.

All twenty-five are treated, ending on p. 166, the last leaf of Dodesham's manuscript:

Also | who is streight wynded and may not wel brethe | make a fire therof. and bake a cake vnder the – | asshes and ete therof / and that wol helpe him. / ¶ *Virtutes herbarum* `sic` expliciunt *predictarum* [*flourish between full points*]

For Frisk the text began at “Mogworte,” the first herb that is described; the proem, not in his base manuscript but in several other copies, he excluded even from the reported variants. *Macer*'s third and final book concludes decisively (189): “Here ys ended þe þridde part of þe last of Macer book. | Blessid be *Ihu*, of whom alle goode þinges hauyn | þe bygynnyng and ende. Amen.” Nevertheless, Frisk admitted the continuation, explicitly not part of *Macer*: “Now folowip || a few herbes of whiche Macer tretyþ nat of, | atte leste þey ben nat founden in þe cours | of Macer book.” There follow accounts of twenty-seven such herbs, beginning at sanicle and ending with XXVII ambrosiana (200).⁴⁰ This supplement separates the Stockholm *Macer* from its three tables of contents, “Now I wole sette in ordre þe names of þe herbes as þey | ben sette in þe book” (200); a fourth follows, headed “Lo here be þe names of þe herbes þe whiche be nat founde in þe book of Macer,” concluding with “Explicit” (201–2). In this way the scribe unified his compilation, and Frisk, reasonably enough, followed suit. He might have noted, however, that in R the last chapter of the supplement is not for ambrosiana, but for rosa marina, whose one and a half pages far exceed the entries for each of the others. Dodesham includes it in virtually identical form (see Appendix

⁴⁰ The source for these has been identified as Henry of Huntingdon: see “*Anglicanus ortus*”: *A Verse Herbal of the Twelfth Century*, ed. and trans. Winston Black, *Studies and Texts* 180 (Toronto and Oxford, 2012), 57–58.

3); as an addendum to *Macer* it is known otherwise only from the Sotheby manuscript, which has minor differences of wording.⁴¹

Regardless of the treatise on *rosa marina*, exhaustive collation with Frisk's material shows the Chester manuscript, hereafter "C," to stand apart from all of his comparators except R. Where C diverges from Frisk's text ("F"), it does so usually (and often only) in company with R, and R's divergences from F, other than its unique expurgations of sexual vocabulary, are followed usually (and often only) by C. There are no counter affiliations, and each is by far the other's closest congener. The collation with Frisk's material will here be passed over as merely a preliminary stage in establishing C's proximate affiliations; since editing is not at issue, for present purposes there is little if anything to be gained from publishing so bulky a work.⁴² Rather, attention can be focused on that part of the copying history which relates immediately to the Chester manuscript, and for which the evidence will be cited in detail. The opportunity has been taken, however, to report the readings of three manuscripts not collated by Frisk, namely Sloane 393 ("S3") Sotheby's 2008 ("Sb"), and Hunter 497 ("Hu," redacted from the edition of Calle-Martin and Miranda-Garcia); with C and R, these appear to form a coherent metropolitan group.

THE SHARED COPYING HISTORY OF DODESHAM'S *MACER* AND THE VERSION
IN OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY RAWLINSON C.81

Bodleian Library Rawlinson C.81 (Frisk's "R," and so hereafter) consists of two formerly separate books. Only Part I is medieval, consisting of two membrane flyleaves followed by sixty-one leaves of paper. Part II (fols. 62–105) is entitled "Doritie Hudson hir Booke of resayttes For salfes and medessens September the 23 : 1629," and the binding, be-

⁴¹ This short treatise, which occurs independently as well as an attachment to *Macer*, is not the work by Henry Daniel, which until recently was confined to manuscript. See now the edition by Martti Mäkinen, "Henry Daniel's Rosemary in MS X.90 of the Royal Library, Stockholm," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 103 (2002): 305–27.

⁴² Frisk's text has 202 pages, each with some 15–20 lines of the base manuscript, with as many typeset lines recording variants from the other copies. The Chester manuscript's divergences look to average not less than fifteen per page.

tween boards covered in polished white vellum, looks to be of the same century; the title, “Praescriptiones Medici[na]l[es]” (partly torn) is written in black ink on the spine. Part I is a compendium of medical and physiological works, of which the longest is that of “the konnyng and sage clerk Macer” (fols. 18r–53r, with continuations to fol. 57r as in C).⁴³ These were copied by two closely collaborating hands of the late fifteenth century.⁴⁴ The verso of the first flyleaf is marked “de pershore,” an ownership mark of Pershore Abbey (in south Worcestershire) in a contemporary or early sixteenth-century hand. The book is a utilitarian production, its writing practised but in no way accomplished. It is devoid of ornament, though spaces (with guide letters) were left for enlarged capitals at the chapter heads. It is hardly a commercial production, but looks to be the work of those who intended to use it, and unfinished though it was, marginal annotations in diverse hands show that it was often consulted. The *Macer* and its appended herbal are nearly all by the one scribe, in a mixed secretary-anglicana freehand, competent, but fissile and uneven. His copy is prone to eyeskip, and has many cancellations.⁴⁵ The second hand, a rounded anglicana freehand, is again only of drafting quality; in *Macer* it is responsible for just three short stints, twice taking over in mid-sentence.⁴⁶

⁴³ Frisk states “fols. 18–57” (p. 21) and Keiser gives “ff. 18^a–57^a,” though as in other manuscripts the earlier conclusion of the text is explicit: fol. 53r, “Here endith the laste boke of Macer. And now foluen a fewe othre dyuerse herbes with her vertues wich be not yfounde | in the bokes of Macer,” i.e., sanicle, etc., as in F.

⁴⁴ Keiser’s date is “1475–1500,” and the *Middle English Dictionary* gives “a1500.” Frisk (21) thought “the language . . . points to the end of the 15th century,” confirming G. D. Macray in *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae Partis Quintae Fasciculus Secundus*, 26 (Oxford, 1878). In describing fol. 18r as “written in a later hand” than *Macer* (which he appears to have thought was the work of only one scribe), Frisk was mistaken: there can be no question that fol. 18r is by *Macer*’s main hand.

⁴⁵ This hand, which is the main hand of the Rawlinson manuscript, wrote in *Macer* from 18r1 to 33r1 (“degre”), from 33v31 (“menenacus commaundeth”) to 35r35 (end), from 35v16 (“þe sekenesse”) to 37r14 (“drunken with wyne”), from 37v4 (“scab eke þ^t brekith”) to 45r9 (“for Galien saith”), and from 45r29 (“[H]Ony-soucle is clepid”) to 57r7 (“& hit wol helpe hym,” the end of the extended *Macer*).

⁴⁶ From 33v1 (“The first vertu Synvey . . .”) to 33v31 (“schortely hou þ^tat), from 35v1 to 35v16 (“destrie”), from 37r14 (“wole hele the ache”) to 37v3 (“bityngyche and þe”), and from 45r9 (“he preued it bi”) to 45r28 (“haue on vertu”).

C and R have been exhaustively collated from facsimiles of the two manuscripts, except for the many captions in C that R either abbreviates or leaves out. It will appear that for the three books of *Macer* neither is a copy of the other, but that for the most part they were copied from the same exemplar. A summary of the evidence, with some account of their affiliations to copies of *Macer* not collated by Frisk, is deferred to Appendix 4; the conclusion is sufficiently well founded that only their differences are of immediate concern. In the following review, Frisk's edited text, which sometimes departs from his base manuscript, will be called "F"; references are by page and line, in the form "F63/13." (Frisk counts his line numbers not from his typeset, but from the folios of his base manuscript. Where it supplies section numbers and headings, these also are cited.) References to R are by folio and line, as in "R19v21." References to C are by page and line, so "C57/10." Repeated substitutions of vocabulary are here recorded in their spellings of first occurrence; orthographic variants are not recorded. Words whose spellings are not wholly legible are cited in small capitals. Interlinings are enclosed in ~.

i) Disagreement between C and R

Within a clause or phrase, and without affecting the content, the word-order in C or R or both is frequently not as in the presumed archetype, but correspondences of this kind need have nothing to do with stemmatic affiliation. Among them is the ordering of verb and subject in relation to adverbial *so*. Deliberately or unawares, a scribe may impose his habitual word-order, and so pervert the syntax of his exemplar; later, deliberately or unawares, a copyist of the perverted text may restore the earlier syntax. Dodesham (C) appears to have copied carefully, but with this construction he was occasionally wrongfooted and corrected his mistake by inserting the omitted subject between the lines:

- C57/10** "and ~thou~ shalt so wipe" ~ R19v17 "& þou so shalt awayde"
(F61/13 "and so salt þou wipe").
C57/15 "and so ~þou~shalt purge" ~ R19v20 "& so shalt þou purge"
(F62/17–18 "and so shalt þou | purge").

Compare, from the same page,

- C57/6** "and so shalt thou purge" ~ R19v13 "& so schalt þou purge"
(F61/10 "and so shalt þou purge")

C57/23 “and so shalt thou destroie” ~ R19v26 “& so þou shalt destroy” (F62/22–23 “and so | shalt þou destroye”).

There are many such minor transpositions, among which C72/8 “drunke ofte” ~ R26v16 “oft ydrunk” (F80/14 “drunke ofte”), which neither singly nor collectively establish a copying history.

In the ordering of textual content, however, signs of independence emerge. For example, in listing the properties of white pepper, for the first property C and R agree against F; for the second, each differs from the others; for the third, C and F agree against R:

F119/5 “Vis prima. Pis herbe etyn helpiþ for to deffie,” but C103/16–17, R34r34–35 “The first vertu. This herbe eten | or ydrunke . wol make the eter for pisse wel” (R omits “eter”).

F119/5–7 “II. For to pysse. Pis herbe etyn or dronkyn wole make þe eter for | to pisse well” (which is “the first vertu” of C and R), against C103/18–19 “The ij. This herbe eten helpith forto defye,” and both against R34r35–34v1–2 “The ij this herbe eten | wol destroye þe childrens cowhe.”

F119/7 “III. Pis herbe etyn wol destroye children cough,” as C103/19–20, but against R34v1 “The iij this herbe eten [wol *struck through*] | helpith for to defye” (as “Vis prima” in F).

A striking feature is R’s persistent alteration of certain sexual vocabulary, against all other manuscripts and perhaps in deference to monastic sensibilities. For the seven instances of “ballokes” in running text, R finds other wording, as for the eleven instances of “kunte”;⁴⁷ in forty of

⁴⁷ **C68/21–22** “destroie the swellynge of the | ballokes” (F75/28) ~ R22r35–22v1 “destroy the | of the [*sic*] mannys priuey membre”; **C97/19** “ballokes” (F112/18) ~ R32v5 “priuey membres of man”; **C108/10** (F125/20) ~ R36r11 “bowellis”; **C109/26** (F127/23) ~ R36v11 “priuey membris,” and added superscript, seemingly in the same hand, “*id est* balokkes”; **C110/30** (F128/14) ~ R37r1 “priuey membre”; **C136/7** (F162/22) ~ R45v25–26 “priuey membre | masculin”; **C157/2** (F187/5) ~ R52v13 “mannys priuey membre.” Of “yerde” for the male organ, R is less intolerant: at 23v10 it substitutes “mannys priuey membre” for “mannys yerde” of C85/21 (F98/10), but preserves “yerde” at 25r18 (C79/10, F89/10a2), at 25r20 (C79/12, F89/10a1), and at 30v29 (C92/6, F105/12).

C55/31 (F60/12) “kunte” ~ R19r15–16 “wommans priuey | membre,” and so **C153/32** (F183/21) ~ R51v5 “hir priuey membrur”; **C61/6** (F66/4) ~ R20r2 “clekede” (the required sense is obvious, but the word seems not to have been recorded; a possible etymology is *cleke* in the sense “grasp, clutch,” cf. *MED* s.v. *cleche* n., and *clechen* v. “grab, clasp”—so naming the vagina as in vulgar English *snatch*—

the forty-one occurrences of “wommens floures” and its variants, R omits or erases “wommens,”⁴⁸ and in two other places, R excludes “womman or “wommen,” once, seemingly, in false anticipation.⁴⁹ (Out

with derivational suffix *~hed*: *MED* s.v. *~hed*(*e* suff., OE **~hæde*); **C83/11** (F94/31) ~ R24v23 “mouthe of þe matrice”; **C85/21** “of the kunte & of a mannys yerde” (F98/10) ~ R23v9–10 “of the [syde *erased*] wommans | & mannys priuey membre”; **C89/9** (F101/9) ~ R29v28 “matrice mouþe”; **C131/14** (F155/15) ~ R44r18 “femynyn priuey membris”; **C110/12** “afore the kunte” (F128/2), here meaning “before sexual intercourse” (*ante quam fiat coitus* in the Latin original; see Frisk’s note to 21b1 on pp. 216–17) ~ R36v25 “vndir þe mouthe | of þe matrice” (understanding “afore the kunte” as anatomical); **C147/12** “the kunte” (F175/24) ~ R49r31 “hirre priuey membir,” and so **C153/32** (F183/21) ~ R51v5; **C83/30–31** “vnder-putte to kundes makip | hem nesshe. And the Iuys” (F95/15) ~ R23r3 omits.

⁴⁸ **C54/15–16** “wommens floures” ~ R18v9 “the floures” (caption, not in F58/10); **C56/2–3** (F60/15) ~ R19r18 *WOMEN’S* erased, and so **C57/6** (F61/11) ~ R19v18; **C66/32** (F73/18) ~ R21v31 *WOMEN’S* struck through, **C69/31** (F77/23) ~ R22v32 *WOMEN’S* erased and “the” written above; **C83/11** (F94/32) ~ R24v24 “þe floures,” and so **C84/7** (F95/21) ~ R23r9, **C85/13** ~ R23v4, **C85/30** (F96/16) ~ R23v17, **C88/31** (F101/13b1) ~ R29v19; **C99/19** (F114/17b1) ~ R33r13 “þe” only; **C111/26** (F130/4) ~ R37r21 (Hand B) “the floures”, and so **C113/8** (F132/7) ~ R37v18, **C119/8** (F139/9) ~ R39v29, **C119/26** (F140/25–26) ~ R40r7, **C125/18** (F147/10) ~ R42r20, **C127/11** (F149/26–27) ~ R42v28, **C127/17** (F149/28b1) ~ R42v32, **C135/19** (F161/32a1) ~ R45v11, **C153/29** (F183/19) ~ R51v3, **C154/19** (F184/2–3) ~ R51v19. **C122/7** “wommen floures” (F143/28) ~ R40v32 “the floures,” and so **C123/22** (F145/33) ~ R41r35, **C131/9** (F155/12) ~ R44r15, **C145/6** (F172/35b2) ~ R48v17, **C153/3–4** (F182/31–38b1) ~ R51r20; **C133/21** (F158/9–10) “It purgith wommen floures” ~ R44v36 “The ij. In þe same wyse þe flowres.” **C54/12** “wommen of her floures” (F58/8) ~ R18v9–10 erases *WOMEN OF HER*; **C54/16** (F58/11) ~ R18v12 erases *WOMEN OF*; **C74/21** (F83/7) ~ R27v8 “the floures.” **C142/1** “a womman of hir floures” (F169/27) ~ R47v17 “þe floures”; **C118/17–18** “delyuere a womman | sone of her floures” (F138/20) ~ R39v11 “deliuer soone þe floures.” **C57/11–12** “wom=|mans floures” (F61/14) ~ R19v18 *WOMAN’S* erased; **C76/32** (F86/3) ~ R28r30 “þe floures,” and so **C79/2** (F89/25–26) ~ R25r11, **C95/5** (F109/23) ~ R31v24, **C96/29** (F111/32–33) ~ R32r28, **C115/12** (F134/27) ~ R38v6, **C128/30–31** (F151/10–11) ~ R43r32 “floures”; elements separated at **C109/1–2** “a wommans | floures shulde faile hir” (F126/4, as C) ~ R36r28 “þe floures [shuld *struck through*] shuld fayle a woman.” Against all of which, R54v25 (~ **C161/23**, F194/13) preserves “wommens floures.”

⁴⁹ **C90/13** “of wommen” (F103/5) ~ R30r21 omits, seemingly in false anticipation; **C153/30** “if the womman make therof a subfumygacioun” (F183/19–20 “... if þe woman make her | þer of ...”) ~ R51v3–4 “if þer be of | it a [subsuiy submy *struck through*] subfumygacioun.”

of character is R's substitution, unique among the complete copies of *Macer*, of "the floures" [37r24] for F130/8 [C111/30] "the feuers," but it may only be eyeskip from three lines above.⁵⁰) Thus far does a Benedictine's prudery outbid "the austerity of Carthusian discipline"—which might, after all, have stretched a point for *The Siege of Thebes* (cf. Doyle, "Stephen Dodesham," 101). These alterations indicate that C was not copied from R, unless Dodesham be supposed to have restored, and without faltering, the explicit wording of the archetype wherever R had evaded or suppressed it.

ii) *Passages in C but not in R*

All of these belong to the text established by Frisk ("F") except for the introduction to the table of contents for the third part (see C148/3–4). Numbers and headings of sections, where cited, are from F. Added are the readings of Sloane 369 ("S3"), and the two complete manuscripts unknown to Frisk, namely Sotheby's ("Sb") and Hunter 497 ("Hu)," line references to the edition of Calle-Martin and Miranda-Garcia, (n. 38 above). Substantial agreements of these manuscripts with both C and R are noted in Appendix 4 below.

C61/2–5 (cf. R20r1) nettle, *For the laxatif*, "Sethe nettels in oyle . and drinke the dekoc|cioun . and that wol make the laxe . / Take nettel sede | and rolle it in thy mouthe clos . and it wol allaye þe bol|=lynge of that parte of the mouthe that is called vua"; as at F66/3b1–3 (but "laxatif," "bolnynges," "clepid"), to which add S3 92r9–13 (but "swellynge"), Sb 6r11–15 (but "laxatiff," "bolnyng"), Hu 218–21 (but "laxatyf").

C72/20–21 (cf. R26v25) smeerwort XV, *For the yoxe*, "Wherfore | somme whan thei may not haue the rounde"; as at F80/24–81/25 (but "Somme men"), to which add S3 98v15, Sb 12v3–4, Hu 482–83.

C74/22 (cf. R27v8) savayn III, "and do the deed childe to be bore" (condensed from F83/7–8 "and do þe | dede childe in his modur wombe to be bore"); as C are S3 100r7, Sb 14r9 (but omits "do"), and Hu 534 (but omits "do").

C83/20 (cf. R24v30) lily X (*recte* IX), *For þe face*,⁵¹ "and of Iuys the fifte parte" (F94/7 "shulde be IV partys and of þe iuus þe fifte part"). R24v27–30 is

⁵⁰ Not considered by Frisk are Sloane 369 123v18, Sotheby's 37v27, and Hunter 497 (ed. Calle-Martin and Antonio Miranda-Garcia, line 1474), which all have FEVERS.

⁵¹ Frisk's numbering omits "VIII." His "X" is properly "IX," as in the MSS.

alone among Frisk's comparators in ending at "iiij partys," as also does S3 105v19.

C83/30 (cf. R23r3) lily XII (*recte* XI), "vnder-putte to kuntess makip | hem nesseshe . And this Iuys"; as F95/15; so Sb 19v16, S3 106r2–3 (but "a womans prive membir . . . hit"), Hu 774–76 (but omits "hem").

C93/15–16 (cf. R31r22) betony XIII (in C "xij"), "for it restreineth the teres of the | eyen"; as F107/17 (but "destroieþ"); S3 112r omits the clause; as C are Sb 26r20–23 ("xij") and Hu 1018 ("xiiij" "wol restreyne þe remyng⁵² of þe eyen").

C115/2–4 (cf. R38r28) hemlock VIII, *For noious hetes*, "Wherto | shulde I reherse iche by itself . The hemloke | grounde and broke . & leyde to . is gode to euery noyous hete" (F134/20–21, "Wher-to [shal I reherse] eche by him-self? Þe hemlok grounden and leid [to þise is holsum and good] for eche noyous hete"); as C are S3 125v21–24 (but "by the self"), Sb 39r5–7 (but "shall I," and "for euery noyous and grete heete"), Hu 1553–55 (but "shal I," "small broke," and "ryght good").

C116/9 (cf. R38v28) puliol VI, *For þe stomak*, "that be watery"; as at F135/18, to which add S3 126v11, Sb 39v18, Hu 1583.

C116/29 (cf. R39r8) puliol XII, "or the dissesse"; as at F136/4 (but "or disese"), to which add S3 127r5 ("the"), Sb 40r7 ("þe"), Hu 1601 ("þe").

C119/12 (cf. R39v32) centory VIII, *For venym*; from C "As it is seide that this Centory drunke" R omits "that this Centory"; as C are F139/12 (but "It is seide that"), S3 128v13–14, Sb 42r2 ("This Centori . as it is saide"), Hu 1662–63 "as yt ys seyde þ' þys Centory."

C123/11–12 (cf. R41r27) woodbine, *prologue*, "and so it is | cleped"; as at F145/25–26, to which add S3 131r15 (but omits "so"), Sb 44v16, and Hu 1763.

C125/23–24 (cf. R42r24); sorell VI: "The vj. Sorel Iuys anoynted . makith | a body glad chered"; as at F147/15–16, S3 132r24–26 ("The vj. vertu"), Sb 46r2–3, Hu 1835–36.

C126/18–22 (cf. R42v12) purslane III–IV, "The iij . | Ete this herbe as wortes / and it wol putte away | the immoderat hete . The iiij . this herbe eten or | drunke wol staunche the flixe of the blood and of the wombe"; as F148/7–9 (but "eyþer | etyn"), to which add S3 134r3–6 (but "thyrd"), Sb 46r27–46v1, Hu 1858–59 (but "ful fluxe of þe wombe").

C126/27–28 (cf. R42v12) purslane VII, *For laxatif*, "and she makith þe wombe laxe . if she be eten"; as at F149/14–15 (but F "laxatif" not "laxe"); as C are S3 133r12–13, Sb 46v5–6, Hu 1864–65

⁵² The editors of Hu emend to "rennyng," but cf. *MED rem(e* n. (1) "cream," and *remen* v. (2) "foam, froth."

C135/11–12 (cf. R45v5) honeysuckle VI, *For anterici*, “the siknesse that is clepid Anterik | and staunche the”; as F160/26–27 (but F “þe sike þat þeþ”); as C is Sb 51r9–10 (but numbered “v”); S3 lacks this chapter (137v ends with the end of peony, the last chapter numbered in the text; 138r starts with the title for groundsel, whence follow eleven blank lines before Celondyne); Hu 2078–80.

C156/32 (cf. R52v11) aloes III, *For woundes*, “and in drinke it wol hele vp sauely . / The iiij.” (F187/40aIII, but “in dreying”); so Sb 66v20 (but “hele it vp”) and Hu 2630–31 as C. Not in S3.

iii) *Passages in R but not in C*

R20r4–7 (cf. C 61/9, F66/6 n.) nettle, *added after “to swete”*: “Rubbe the tyttis & the | bely [of *subpuncted*] wel w^t nettles of a goet & þou shalt haue mylk | of hir what time þou wolt though she haue be long drie | but þe furst dropis of þe `milk` yhad by this is not goed.” In none of Frisk’s comparators, to which add S3 (92r15), Sb (6r18), Hu (224).

R20v14–23 (cf. C62/3, F69/15), between garlic and plantain, unnoticed by Frisk (72/31) is R’s addition between garlic and plantain: “Yf ye haue the pestelens spottes . Stampe garlik smal & than put mustard | þerto & temper it w^t new ale of þe beste [& drink *struck through*] & drink | a goed quantite þerof at a drawȝth than goe to bed into a feire | peyre of shetes & be wel keuerd w^t as many clothis as ye may | bere þ^t ye may swete wel & vndur youre arme holis ley .ij. | lenyn clothis & let non eire cum in to the bed neyther out of þe | bed & w^t youre owyn suetyng al the spottes wol abyde in the | shetes & in the clothis vnder þe arme holes . & then ley yow in | fresh shetes euery nyȝth til ye be hole.” Not in Sb (7v10).

R32r28 “The viij. Also it purget þe floures if it be eten rawe.”

R34v17–21 cf. C104/9, F120/23 n.) white pepper XI: at end, R adds “For a doog þ^t hath þe mesulry | a true proued medysoun . take first & whas þe mesulry in chambur | lye þ^t is pisse than anynte þ^t same place w^t þe Iuys of hem | lok than grind smal hemlok & medled w^t bottur & so a | noynte the hound til he be hoel & þis wil hele hym for euer.” Repeated at R38r27–31 (see below). In none of Frisk’s comparators, to which add S3 (118v20), Sb (33r1), and Hu (1285).

R37v19–22 (cf. C113/9, F132/8 n.) *after* dock X: R adds “The xj | The Iuse of þe docke wol destroye þe tetyr⁵³ if yt be ofte a | noynted þerw^t. And also so wol do þe askis of þe hasse | tre if it be ofte rubbid þerw^t.” In none of Frisk’s comparators, to which add S3 124v10–11, Sb 37v17, and Hu 1509.

⁵³ Frisk “tetyr,” but MS *tetyr*: cf. *OED* s.v. *tetter* sb. (OE *teter*), “1. A general term for any pustular herpetiform eruption of the skin, as eczema, herpes, impetigo, ringworm, etc.”

R38r27–31 (cf. C115/1–2, F134/19) hemlock, *end of VII*: “to þe hote potagre & euery noyose hete,” expanding F “to þis.” In none of Frisk’s comparators, to which add S3, Sb, and Hu. But otherwise C “And the self herbe by hitself is ful good to this” is closer to R (“And þe silf herbe by hir self is ful goede to this”) than to F (“and þe selue herbe [is good by hir al-]one to þis”), as are S3 125v20–21, (but “by here selfe”), Sb 39r3–4 (“by hir silf”), Hu 1552–53 (“by hyr self,” “þys dyssese”). In R there follows another version of R34v17–21, as in no other MS: “yf a dog haue | þe mesulrye first whasse hym in chambur lie þ’ is in | pisse & þan stampe hemlok smale & medlid ·it· w’ botir | & þan anoynte hym þerw’ & he shal be hole for euer.”

R39v18–19 (cf. C118/27–28, F139/29) centory, *Vis prima*: “she wole clense wel woundes | þ’ ben newe.” Frisk notes R as the sole deviant from “Þe lesse centory wole hugely wel close newe wondes.” But C118/27–28 “She wol clense wel newe | woundes” is closer to R than to F, and as C are S3 128r19–20, Sb 41v16–17 “she | woll clense well newe woundes”), and Hu 1649–50.

iv) Disruption in the copying of C

A certain defect in R’s text calls for attention, because it explains a peculiar disruption in C; and since C is not copied from R, and R is not copied from C, the defect must have been in their common exemplar. The first quire in C ends with a page (p. 64, fig. 3) that is blank save for its first six lines, which end “that is writen in þe begynnyng | of the next quayer after foluyng.” From this it follows that the second quire was written before the first: why, otherwise, would the first be adapted to the second?

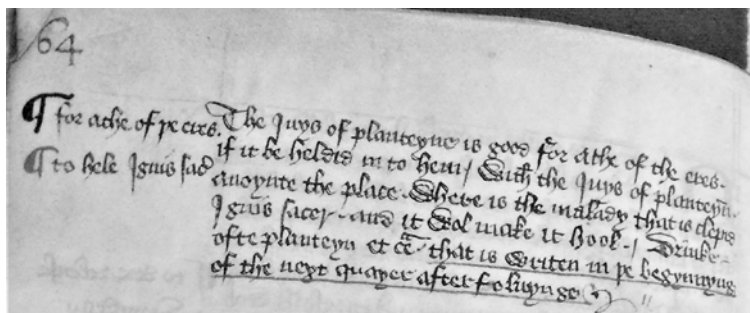


Fig. 3. Chester, Cheshire Record Office D/4398/1, p. 64, part
(by permission of Cheshire Archives and Local Studies)

In R, but in no other manuscript among Frisk’s comparators, the text skips from near the middle of the chapter on wormwood to the last few

lines of the next chapter, which is about nettle.⁵⁴ The missing text, which coincides with the break between fols. 19v and 20r in R, falls well within the first quire of C (58/6–61/1). That *something* was missing would be apparent to anyone who compared R's text with its table of contents (which, in R as in Dodesham's copy is at the beginning, not at the end as in F): nettle is advertised as the fourth herb, but only the last few lines of the chapter appear, and there is no title for it. R, as will appear, became aware of some defect in his copy, but failed to restore the full text, and perhaps was unable to do so. Dodesham, committed to a work of high quality, could not well reproduce a text in that state.

Since the chapters for the various herbs are of very diverse lengths, it could only be guessed what space would be needed for the rest of wormwood and nettle, and Dodesham's guess, it appears, was mistaken by twenty-eight of his own manuscript lines. This defect, if C were copied from R, would then account for the discontinuity between the first and second quires of C. But since there is ample evidence that C cannot have been copied from R, the defect, if C inherited it, must have been in the common exemplar. It needs, however, to be shown that the defect in R was inherited, and not the result of later damage: the text now missing from R, if as in C, would have filled both sides of a single leaf between fols. 19 and 20, and such a leaf may have been lost. So far the matter remains in doubt, because the leaves in this part of R, as seemingly throughout its *Macer*, are singletons gathered into irregular quires, cross-stitched along their inner edges, slathered with glue, and so fastened to the spine; it is an unusual form of binding, mainly seventeenth-century (as is the binding of R) and favoured seemingly for repair when the backs of unbound bifolia had worn through. Without dismembering the manuscript, collation is now impossible, but unless there are stubs to be detected, it is unlikely to resolve matters.

Defects in R's chapter numbering, however, confirm that the missing text was not in R's exemplar. R's chapter numbers, like its marginal headings, are by the main hand and in the same ink as his text; they were added in the margins, and as an independent copying stint after the text

⁵⁴ Pages 62–66 of the edition, corresponding to [fol.] 2a32–[fol.] 3b3 in X, i.e., from R “Stampe wermode . . . For the eres þ^t ben stoppide seth” to “it with mulsa & it wol make þe to pisse . Frote wel a baren bestes clekede *with* nettel leues. . . .” All of the known manuscripts are intact physically and textually at R's omission.

was completed.⁵⁵ The chapter on wormwood begins on the third line of fol. 19v, and is numbered “*ijj*,” in accordance with the table of contents at the beginning of *Macer* (fol. 18r). It continues to the end of 19v, and there it breaks off. The next leaf, 20r, begins with the last ten lines of the chapter on nettle, for which, of course, no chapter number appears. Eleven lines down, the chapter on garlic begins. It is numbered “*iiij*,” but it ought to have been “*v*” as in the table of contents (and in F200/23 and C61/14); “*iiij*” is the number for nettle. The numbers for the following chapters remain one in arrears up to and including “*ix*,” which is ache (27r6). The next chapter, however, is numbered not “*x*,” but “*xj*” (27v4), and correctly so for the herb it treats, namely savine. By skipping from “*ix*” to “*xj*,” the numbers are brought back into line, and from “*xj*” to the end of the book, “*xlvj*” woodbine, they agree with the table of contents.⁵⁶ From this it follows that R is, after all, physically intact: if the text now missing had been copied in R and then physically detached from the manuscript, “*iiij*” would have disappeared with the account of nettle, and garlic would have had its proper number, “*v*.” The misnumbering, which must now be attributed to an exemplar, would arise naturally if the defective copy’s chapters were numbered only after (as in R) the whole text was finished, and if they were counted from the enlarged capitals (or the spaces for them) at the head of each chapter.

It appears that in R’s exemplar the misnumbering continued to the end of *Macer*’s first book, and that the corrections in R, from “*xj*” onwards, are by the main hand: several of his numbers have been increased by one after their first writing. Where the final character was already “*j*,” his corrections produce the indecorous sequence “*jj*.” (The alternative, “*ji*,” could hardly be countenanced.) Thus “.xxxjj.” coriander (36r6) and

⁵⁵ The chapter numbers are written in bolder and more angular form than in the text (note especially the kinked form of *j*, approximating to a feeble *z*), but the hairline strokes over *i* and *j* are distinctive and the same throughout. Hand B entered no chapter numbers or marginal headings. The beginning of only one chapter falls within his copy (37r34, dock), and for this “xxxvij” was added by the main hand.

⁵⁶ The table in R is as in C, which in substance is that of the archetype (F200/18–201/16). The differences involve only synonyms: *Planteyne* “*vj*” (F Weybrede), *Ache* or *Apium* “*x*” (F Smalache), *Nepte* “*xij*” (F Calamynte), *Pylyolle* “*xl*” (F Broþerwort). To F *Smerewort* CR add *or wodemarche* (“*ix*”), and in “xxvij” have only *Synevey* for F *Senuey mustard*. (CR forms spelled as in R).

“.xxxijj” arache (36r36), both with the tail of the first “j” partly erased; “.xxxiiijj” mint (36v8); and “.xxxvijj” cockle (37v24, with second “j” written over the originally enclosing dot). The hairline strokes over sequences of “i” and “j” are normally parallel, whether in chapter numberings or in the text, but in all of these cases, the hairline over the last letter diverges from that or those preceding; the duct of the original writing is not maintained.⁵⁷ In “.xxxvj.” cerfoyle (37r12), “j” is a blotted insertion, with the “j” added on top of the originally concluding dot, and deviant hairline. For chapter “xxxix,” hemlock, decorum prevailed and admits no doubt of the alteration: “.xxxviiij” was struck through, and “.xxxix.” written above (38r1). Two chapter numbers were scraped out and rewritten: “.xl.” puliol (38v1) follows an erased “xxxix” on the same line; “.xlj” parsley (39r34) is written below an erasure closer to the first line of the chapter (39r32), and which seems to begin “xxx.” There are no such corrections in *Macer*’s second and third books, or in the supplement, and there are no other instances of “jj.”

Allow, then, that R’s exemplar skipped from the middle of the chapter on wormwood to nearly the end of the chapter on nettle. Only a copyist alert to the substance of his text, or who checked his copy against the table of contents, need have noticed that anything was amiss. True, the outcome of the treatment for the advertised ailment benefits unlikely parts—“For the eres þat ben stoppide sethe | it with mulsa & it wol make þe to pisse”—but the text is linguistically well formed, and follows the structural pattern of countless other medical receipts. Moreover, it keeps very miscellaneous company: in R it follows (with increasing distance) treatments for the eyes, hemlock poisoning, the milt (spleen), the liver, jaundice, a recipe for insect repellent, and treatments for the chest, stomach, and menstrual flow, all these in twenty-one lines. After it, in the space of sixteen lines, come treatment for a barren beast, recipes to induce sweating and (not in other manuscripts) lactation in a goat, and for treating flux of the head, snake-bite, and worms in the stomach. The only thematic continuity, before or after the disjunction, is the use (often with several others) of the herb that is subject of the chapter, and when the

⁵⁷ In “xijj” (nepte 28r20) “jj” seems to be an error realized on first writing, for the three hairline strokes are parallel and have the same duct.

herb is cited only as “it,” even that continuity can be hard to discern.⁵⁸ Little wonder, therefore, if a copyist should fail to realize that there was a lacuna in his text, and so perpetuate the result of a lost leaf or of scribal bungling by a precursor. Dodesham did realize the defect and for that part of the text he found another exemplar, but only a blank leaf and a declaration of continuity bear witness to the conflation. In a fair copy, these would surely disappear, and in the putative absence of his original version, it may be wondered whether this part of the textual history could ever be recovered.

In some cases, by contrast, the fact of missing text is self-evident. In one version of *Macer*, British Library Sloane 393 (“S3” in the collations below), the entry for groundsel consists only of the title, “Groundswely,” on the first line of fol. 138r; ten-and-a-half blank lines were left for the missing text, but too little by a good forty lines for the full version in *Macer*. Otherwise the manuscript is finished and of professional appearance, less elaborately illuminated than Dodesham’s, but still (and unlike R) well written and fully rubricated, with text-frame ruled carefully throughout at twenty-six lines to the page, and one blank line (unless a page break) at the end of each chapter; the unified table of contents (fol. 87r–v) has groundsel in its proper place, numbered “lvij,” but presumably the exemplar had no text for it. For whatever reason, blanks left for intended entries are not unusual in compilations or in texts which, like *Macer*, have that appearance, and if nothing else are evidence of scribal engagement with content.

Dodesham’s use of a second exemplar looks to have been confined to those parts of wormwood and nettle that are missing in R. For the text before and after, he shares most of R’s divergences from Frisk’s text and comparators, and most of his differences from R can be attributed to R’s scribes. Because his texts of wormwood and nettle are continuous and complete, and since there is no break in the writing or layout of either chapter, he must have realized that his exemplar was defective before his pen reached the point where it failed. The text that is not in R comes after the centre fold within a regular gathering of eight, running from the verso of fol. “c v” (p. 58) to the recto of fol. “c vij” (p. 61). Had Dodesham

⁵⁸ The marginal heading is “For þe eres” (19v36), as in F62/32 and C58/5, but it was added after the text was finished, and there is no contradictory text on the same page.

copied any further, he would have had to scrap not one leaf but five, unless the four leaves in the first half of the gathering were to be bound as singletons. But they are not: the quire signatures and pagination confirm that the outermost bifolium in *Macer* (fol. “c viiiij” and pp. 63–64) is conjugate with what is now the penultimate leaf of Hunter 259 (fol. “c j” and pp. 49–50). The last two leaves of Hunter, and the seventh and eighth of Chester, became singletons only when the manuscript was broken up; the two innermost bifolia are intact.

A further defect in the exemplar for C and R appears in the numbering of the sections for coul. “For syringa and for soris” (F110/22) is properly number V, but R32r17 continues from “The iiiij. this same plastre ... Artetica” without a break to “The same plastre wol | hele þe festre þ^t is cleped Syringa ... if it be leide vpon hem.” Next follow “The. v. | the same Catoun saieth ...,” “The vj. this same Caton also saieth ...,” and “The vij. Crisyppus sayeth ...”; each of them is one in arrears of F’s numbering. Then, at the end of “vij,” R brings the numbers back into line, by adding a section not in any other manuscript, “The viij. Also it purget þe floures if it be eten rawe” (32r28); R’s number “ix” is then as F111/33–16b2. C96/14 has the same error at the end of number “iiiij,” where “The same plastre” continues from “Arthetica,” but before he reached number “vj” Dodesham had realized the mistake: at the end of “iiiij” he inserted a caret with “v” superscript, and on reaching “The vj.” (96/17) had no need to correct the number or deviate from his usual spacing. His predecessor can perhaps be forgiven; the beginnings of sections “iiiij” and “v” are much the same, as are those of “iij,” “v,” and “vj.” There is no trace of such an error in S3 (113v25), Sb (110r10), or Hu (1087).

WHERE THE CHESTER AND RAWLINSON MANUSCRIPTS WERE COPIED

The English recognized to be Dodesham’s bears little if any trace of a supposed early life in Somerset, and it is not likely that he learned it there: rather, it is a colourless regional usage familiar from manuscripts having links, especially monastic links, with south Middlesex and north Surrey. Though the assemblage of its dialectal features is compatible with origins in that area, and is variously incongruous elsewhere, by Dodesham’s time such English was far less a local dialect than a

Schriftsprache of the London area.⁵⁹ That area is almost certainly where Dodesham copied his *Macer*: if its companion piece in the Hunter 259 part of the original manuscript is rightly dated to even as early as 1440, then he was already a monk of Sheen. In respect of the thirty-one dialectal items examined by Brendan Biggs, *Macer* lacks *BUSY* adj. and *OWN* adj., but the others are well attested.⁶⁰ For these, the *Macer* differs but slightly from that of the text that followed it in the original codex, the *Benjamin Minor* in Hunter 258 (U.4.16). For *ARE*, *ben* is by far the preferred form in *Macer*, whereas *Benjamin* has *are* about as often; *Macer* lacks *Benjamin*'s occasional *mekel-* *MUCH* and *when* *WHEN* (in both, *much* and *whan* are the norm); not in *Benjamin* are the *Macer*'s *tofore* and *afore* *BEFORE*, *outher ... or* *EITHER ... OR*, and occasional *~liche* for the adverbial suffix. Such differences are unremarkable: *Macer* adds nothing to Dodesham's range of variants as Biggs reports them from thirteen different manuscripts. From diverse exemplars Dodesham picked up occasional exotics, like *mekel-* in *Benjamin*, but most of his variation, as between *wil* and *wol* for *WILL* vb., need be no more than shifting preference, conditioned by his exemplars, within an accustomed and—in Doyle's words—"broadly metropolitan" usage. Different in kind is the language of the Rawlinson manuscript, which is local and plausibly of Pershore, but there is no evidence that it was copied as well as owned there. Pershore was Benedictine, not Carthusian, but in London a connection with Dodesham's order, albeit late, is not far to seek: for an unspecified period before 7 March 1532, the abbot of Pershore had leased and occupied property in the churchyard of the London Charterhouse, lying just over a half-mile north of St. Paul's. The terms of the abbot's lease are unknown, and it may or may not have been current when (as it seems) monks from Pershore copied their *Macer*, but it is a sufficient reminder that they could have copied it in London (see Appendix 2). Regardless of the abbot's landlord, it is not even necessary to posit collaboration between the orders: monastic libraries, as the late

⁵⁹ For some further account, and a review of the configuration for this area in *LALME*, see "Language and Textual History of the Syon Pardon Treatise," in Rand (forthcoming, n. 5 above).

⁶⁰ Brendan Biggs, "The Language of the Scribes of the First English Translation of the *Imitatio Christi*," in *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 26 (1995): 79–111, at 88–91.

Richard Sharpe emphasized in his fourth Lyell Lecture, sold books besides producing and acquiring them, and London was no small market.⁶¹ The close textual agreement of the Rawlinson and Dodesham's copies with the Sotheby's *Macer*, which was owned in London during the later sixteenth century, points in the same direction: moreover, all three conclude *Macer* with the same treatise on rosemary, in an expansion not known from other manuscripts (see Appendix 3 below).

THE CONTENTS OF THE BINDING LEAVES OF THE CHESTER MANUSCRIPT

These are unnumbered, but here treated as “fols. i–iv” (front set) and “fols. v–viii” (back set). References are by folio and line. ∙ ∙ enclose insertions interlined.

Fol. i recto and verso are devoid of text, save for the owners' name and pressmarks previously noted.

Fols. ii^r–iv^v are closely written in a non-calligraphic secretary hand of the late fifteenth century, 46–53 lines per page, and contain medical recipes, including a treatise on the plague. The last entry in this hand, which follows *l'Epitaphe* on fol. vii^v, cannot be earlier than 1474. Parts of the text are dirty or rubbed, and illegible even with ultra-violet light.

ii^r1–3 “For to make Clarrey or Pymment Take ... [*ca. 40–45 letter-spaces rubbed and mostly illegible*] | and tempre hit w^t good wyne & þe þride parte of ... [*ca. 30–35 letter-spaces rubbed and mostly illegible*] ... hit thorgh a | clothe / Also hit may be made of good ale”; 4–6 “*Recipe Cinamomi uncie iiij ...*”; 7–14 “*Contra pestilenciam Si in principio mortalitatis bibat ...*”; 15–22 “*Preseruacio a pestilencia Primo oportet in frigidare domos ...*”

ii^r23–ii^v49 A treatise on the plague, in four parts, unattributed but in other manuscripts ascribed to John of (variously) Burgundy, Bordeaux, or Mandeville:

Pro pestilencia sequitur Tractus qui diuiditur in 4^{or} partes .I^{ma}. pars narrat qualiter | homo custodiat se ipsum tempore pestilencie vt non incidat in illam infirmitatem 2^{da} pars | narrat quomodo illa infirmitas potest euenire .3^a. narrat que medicine pestilencie | sunt contraria. 4^{or} narrat quomodo

⁶¹ 9 May 2019. “Turnover in libraries,” now available on-line at podcasts.ox.ac.uk/turnover-libraries-lyell-lectures-2019-4.

homo debet in illa custodiri | In prima parte narrat quod homines incidunt in illam infirmitatem . . . [ii^r38] Secunda pars narrat qualiter Ista infirmitas venit & que est illius causa . . . [ii^v1] Tercia pars narrat remedium contra pestilenciam & infra quod tempus illud potest fieri | si homo senciat motum nocuum anxionem vel diseisiammentum in sanguine vel aliquo locorum predictorum . . . [ii^v33] Quarta pars narrat de cibis dietandi Tunc in illo tempore dummodo homo est in ista | infirmitate euenit ei febris etica . . . [ii^v45] Ideo quicumque timet | istam infirmitatem custodiat seipsum vt predicatur & regularetur post ipsius tractatus documentum / et si sic faciat diuina fauente gracia de hac infirmitate medelam | consequetur Quia nulla est infirmitas in rerum natura quin naturaliter a sapientibus | aliqua naturalis medela ad patientis refugium extat porrigenda Amen

See Lister M. Matheson, “*Médecin sans Frontières?* The European Dissemination of John of Burgundy’s Plague Treatise,” *American Notes and Queries: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews* 18 (2005): 19–30; and the same author’s “John of Burgundy: Treatises on Plague,” in *Sex, Aging, & Death in a Medieval Medical Compendium, Trinity College Cambridge MS R.14.52, Its Texts, Language, and Scribe*, ed. M. Teresa Tavormina (Tempe, AZ, 2 vols., 2006), 2:569–602.

ii^v50–53 “Puluis | pestilencii” in margin. “*Recipe* Rue pimpernell an^a .3 .ij. centori fumiteri Puliall . . . Et si infectus fuit gracia dei infra xx dies liberabitur.”

iii^r1–5 “Potus pro | eodem” in margin. “*Recipe* wormode Pimpernell goldeflourres cum foliis & origanum an^a terantur in mortario. . . .”

6–12

Gracia dei *Recipe* of Turmentyn of Roson of poudre of Mastike an^a w^t I of virgyne wexe 3 | .iiij. of Beteynge werueyn & Pympernell an^a oon handfull and stampe weH thes herbes | and whan they ben well brused in A Morter And sethe them in a potill of white wyne to | the halfendeH / After take them out & wringe them thorough a fair clothe / And do that Iuse | ayen in to the vessel vpon a softe fier And soon after do in the Rosyñ / And after þ^t Turmentyn | and the thride tyme the Mastik And milte the wexe in a panne by it selue and whan it | is multe. cast it in womans mylk þ^t nurisseth a man childe & þan medel all to-gider

13–16

For skabe or skal Tak the rote of the blake doke & stampe yt weH & take May buttur | and olde swynesse grece and frye them well to-gider / and then strayne þem thorough A | Clothe & whan it is strayned cast in small

poudre of brymston a good *quantite* and sture þem | to-gider til it be colde/
than put ⁊ it in boxis & anoynt þerw^t

17–19

To hele a wounde in the hede Take Bytaynge & stampe it w^t olde
swynesse grece | & ley it therto / Or elles Take verueyne & stampe it w^t salt
or w^t olde grece & it | wol drawe out the broken peces . and hele vp the
wounde

20–23

A gode drink for a wounded or sore Man / Take Bugull and pimpernell and
sanicle and | bray theym well to-gider & straigne out the Iuse and tempre
hit w^t olde ale and | yeue hit the sik to drink and that sha^{ll} make clene the
wounde and purge hem wel | and hele

Cf. eVK2 5183.00, London, British Library Sloane 2270 (London, 1530),
fols. 14–26, (but “temper” for “straigne”).

24–26

For to Make trete sanatif / Take virgin wexe and oile of Olief hony
Swynessegrece | perosyn frankensence & lyndesede / And loke well þat þe
perosyn of þe frankensence wey | iij sithes so mekil as all thothre

26–29

An othere maner of trete *tractif* and sanatif / Take | gode perosyn of Frank-
encens and gumme Arabike galbanum & Freisshe swynesse grece | may
buttur & Oile of Oliue and loke that thou haue more of the perosyn than
of all other | gummes and sethe hem to-gider and ther shall be had a gode
entrete

30–32 “For to sle a kanker *Recipe puluerum fuliginis que sola ex-
pertissime occidit cancrum*”; 33–34 “*Ad sanguinem oculorum extrahen-
dum*”; 35–36 “*Contra pediculos*”; 37–38 “*Ad carnem mortuam que non
sentitur*”; 39 “*Ad Morsuras canum*”; 40–42 “*Ad inflacionem cuiuscum-
que membri*”; 43–44 “*Contra idroposim de vtraque causa*”; 45–47 “*Si
vis ducere apostema de loco ad loco [sic] ad locum.*”

iii^v1–5 “*Emplastrum optimum probatum & vocatum Emplastrum
Emanuel*”; 6–7 [added by the main hand in the same very small writing
that completes the foregoing] “*Emplastrum ad omne apostema &
tumorem*”; 8–10 “*Emplastrum vocatum Barthelemewe Recipe mellis ad
quantitatem voluntatis ...*”; 11–12 “*Emplastrum super frontem &
timpora positum faciens dormire*”; 13 “*Quando homo non potest
mingere*”; 14 “*Ad eos qui Sanguinem mingunt*”; 15–16 “*Contra coleri-
cam passionem & omnem torcionem ventris*”; 16–31 “*Contra colericam*

ex quacumque materia”; 32–33 “Contra vermes in ventre”; 34–37 “Contra exitum Ani vmbelici vel matricis”; 38–40 “Contra fluxum sanguinis”; 41–42 “Contra pustulas quas infans habet in manibus & pedibus vltra modum”; 43–47 “Contra tumorem tibiaram.”

iv^r1–5 “Vnguentum preciosum contra Paralysim”; 6–12 “Vnguentum podagram Ciragram artetica [so *MS*] Sciaticam contracciones vt indignaciones neruorum ab esclapio inuentum”; 13–15 “Vnguentum Lanfranti [sic, for Lanfranci] ad omne vulnus”; 16–19 “Vnguentum album optimum sic fit. Accipe ceram & solue ad ignem ...”; 20 “Herba Roberti trita & super vulnus posita & ligata consolidat & preseruat a cancro & fistula & a carne mortua ...”; 21–22 “Emplastra ad plagas sanandas”; 23–24 “Ad extrahendum ferram vel spinam”; 24–25 “Ad stringendum fluxum sanguinis de naribus”; 26–27 “Si aliquid intrauerit in aurem”; 28 “Ad interficiendum vermen in dente”; 29–30 “Ad dolorem vel tumorem pedum”; 31–32 “Contra combustionem”; 33 “Contra antracem”; 34–35 “Puluis laxatiuus et confortans”; 35–36 “Electuarium ad pectus”; 36–39 “Electuarium dulce optime purgat coleram & flegmatem ...”; 40–41 “Puluis contra indigestionem & ventositatem”; 41–43 “Puluis dureticus”;⁶² 43–48 “Puluis ad frangendum lapidem & expellendum”; 49–50 “laxatiua mundificans intestina a fetibus & a flatuate⁶³ grosso...”

iv^v1–6 “Contra tunendam frenesim in febre acuta”; 7–12 “Contra paralysim quamcumque siue ad mortificationem quamcumque cuiuscumque membri si sit in viro” ; 13–15 “Aliud pro paralesi”; 16–17 “Contra tremorem ex paralesi”; 18–20 “Si quis paraliticus amiserit loquelam”; 21–22 “Quicumque habet Spasmodum dicat ista tria verba”; 23–30 “Contra omnia vlcera vbicumque fuerint in corpore in tibijs siue in Alijs locis”; 30–32 “Contra dolorem minturarum [for mincturarum] & podagram”; 33–35 “Pro Sciatica & omni dolore Artetico”; 36–37 “Contra guttam”; 38–46 “Contra fleuma salsum pruriginem capitis Ictericam Morpheam & omnia genera Lepre & contra glandulas ...” (*explicit*) “Interim tum colluat os sepe ex melle et aluminne dieta sit talis A caseo & a coitu & a crimonijs [for cremoniis] abstineat per totum Annum.”

⁶² For *diureticus*, “inducing urine” (the dictionaries do not recognize *dureticus*).

⁶³ *MS fluate*. The word is not recorded in the dictionaries, but the sense, “intestinal gas,” is clear. Presumably it is founded on adjectival *flatuosus*.

v^r–v^v (the first of the back binding leaves). Middle English verse on blood-letting, written in a neater version of the same hand that wrote the front binding leaves. At the beginning, in the right margin, a late eighteenth-century hand has supplied ten lines of the missing introduction, copied (not very accurately) from what was the last page of Dodesham's original codex before it was broken up (see fig. 2 on p. 227 above). The page is now part of Glasgow University Library Hunter 258, from which the first ten lines are here taken (cf. fig. 1 on p. 226 above).

[**H**Ere ye may lerne wisdom ful good
 In which places ye sha~~ll~~ lete blode
 Both in man womman & childe
 4 For euelles þ' ar bothe wikked & wilde.
 Veynes þer been xxx and two
 That for sundre euelles most be vndo
 Sixteñ þer beñ in þe hede full right
 8 And sixten byneth I you þere plight
 And *in* what place þey shalbe founde
 I shall you tell in lityl stounde]
 Besidys the Ere there ben two
 12 That for sundre Euelles most be vndo
 To kepe his hede from euyll *turnyng*
 And from scabbe w'out leasyng
 Two at þe temples þere most blede
 16 For stoppyng & akyng of þe hede
 And on in the myddys of þe forhede
 For lepure and salt flem þ' mote blede
 Aboue the nosse þer is oon
 20 Whiche for þe frensy most be vndoon
 And also for the eghen þ' beñ sore
 And for þe pose god it is euermore
 Two ther ben at the eghys ende
 24 Yf þ' þey be blered þem tamende
 And for thee⁶⁴ webe þ' cometh þorugh smokyng
 Of all thes þ' I telle þe it is no leassyng
 At the hole of þe throte þer ben two
 28 That for lepure & streite brest most be vndo
 And in þe lippes iiij. þer ben
 Good to blede forsothe I tele the

⁶⁴ Miscopied as THERE, and final *e* altered from *r*.

32 Two byneth aboue also
 Forsoth I tele the þer bene two
 For sornesse of þe mouth to blede
 whan hit is slayne I you rede
 36 Two vndyr þe tonge w'outen lye
 Must blede for þe Squynacye
 and whan þe tonge is a-kyng
 Thorough eny maner of swellyng
 Now I haue tolde to you of Syxtene
 40 That longeth for þe hede as I wene
 And of as many now will I saye
 That ben elysware in mannys body in faye
 In euery harme ther ben .v.
 44 Full good to blede for man & wiue
 Cephalica is on of theym I-wis
 The hede vayne cleped he is
 The body aboue & the hede
 48 hit clensith wel from euery quede | [fol. v']
 And in the bought of tharme also
 An nother vayn þer is þ^t most be vndo
 Basilica 'forsoth' her name is
 52 And lowest she sitteth ther I-wys
 For soth she clensith the lif a Right
 And al the membres⁶⁵ I tolde hit þe aflight
 The myddil vayne bytween them two
 56 The Corall she is cleped also
 That vayne clensith w'out doubte
 Aboue byneth w'in & w^t-out
 Fro⁶⁶ Basilica as I before tolde
 60 A Braunche stigheth vp full bolde
 To the Thombe goth þ^t braunche
 The Cardiacle hit wol staunche
 The othre braunche full right it goyth
 64 To the lital fyngre w'outen othe
 Salua stella his her name
 She is a fayne of Noble fame
 Ther is no vayne þ^t clensith so clene

⁶⁵ MS *menbres*, with third minim inserted suprascript aftern.

⁶⁶ Miscopied as FOR (?), and *r* altered from *o*.

- 68 Ne so openyng the lyuer & the splene
 About the knokelys of þe fete
 wyth two vaynes þou myght mete
 wⁱn sitteth domestica
 72 w^out sitteth saluatica
 domestica hit clenseth well
 The bladder wⁱn euery dele
 Saluatica w^out doubte
 76 She clensith right weþ for the goutte
 A woman shall in þe hammes⁶⁷ blede
 For stoppyng of her Floures at nede
 A man shall blede þer also
 80 The Emeraudes to for-do
 The vaynes yf thou them vse I saye
 The feuyr Quartayn þou shalt voyde a-way
 All þe vaynes þat I haue you of tolde
 84 Clensith man & woman yong & olde
 And yf þou vse this vaynes at ned
 Of theuelles befor namned dar ye not dred
 So that god heuyn kyng
 88 Be thyn at nede helpyng

eVK2 2397.00. *NewIMEV* 3848 records the poem from thirty other manuscripts, noting that “Texts subsumed under this number vary markedly”;⁶⁸ *DIMEV* 5395 (cf. 211) lists twenty-five manuscripts (discarding two of *IMEV*’s references as bibliographical ghosts), and adds two more as a variant version (6847). The full text is reckoned as ninety lines; the ten lines of Hunter 258 are recorded as a fragment. The text was printed in *Reliquiæ antiquæ* (1841) as *Ars fleobotimandi secundum Cambridge et Oxon* from the Loscombe manuscript;⁶⁹ the present version begins at

⁶⁷ OE *ham* “back of the knee”: see *MED* s.v. *hamme* n. (1), as a site for blood-letting in “a1400 *Lanfranc*” and “?a1500 *Veynes þer be*” (this text, but from the Selden MS).

⁶⁸ *A New Index of Middle English Verse*, ed. Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards (London, 2005). *Digital Index of Middle English Verse*, ed. Linne R. Mooney, Daniel W. Mosser, and Elizabeth Solopova, with David Hill Radcliffe, <http://www.cddc.vt.edu/host/imev/Index.html>.

⁶⁹ *Reliquiæ antiquæ. Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts Illustrating Chiefly Early English Literature and the English Language*, ed. Thomas Wright and James

Quibus prodest Flebotomia *Multum prodest iuuenibus pilosis & musculosis qui replent se carnibus & cibis multum sanguinem generantibus et in ocio uiuentibus . . . et si illa non inueniatur fiat de Cephalica qualiter de quacumque parte fiat a | toto corpore fit euacuacio*

28–37

Quibus nocet Flebotomia. *Repleti & multum extenuati parum sunt minuendi per flebotomiam & purgacionem qui habent de spiritu . . . vt in colericis qui de facili vomunt & soliti sunt fastidium habere & plura alia*

38–42 On days perilous for blood-letting:

Thees been the perilous dayes of blood letyng in þe yere in nombre xxxiiij whiche þe | Philosophers maisters in þ^t Sciens forbedeñ. In the whiche dayes yf thou take any [*sc. bloodletting*] | þou shalt neuer comme ayen in sanete And who so wedde any wyf hastily they shal | departe or elles þey shall lyue in much Sorowe And who so begyne any gret þing | in hande for to do for sothe hit sha^{ll} not well preue

(Cf. eVK2 7279.00, London, British Library Sloane 540A, fols. 23v–24r, as also for fol. vi^v11–18 below).

vi^v1–24 (margin) in the same hand as the preceding, days perilous for blood-letting (layout and punctuation editorial):

In Ianyuer: The Firste, Seconde, The iiij, v, x, xvj, xix. In feurer: The xvj, xvij, xvij. In March: The xv, xvj, xix. In Aprill: The xvj, þe last. In May: The vij, xv, xx. In Iuyn: The iiij, þe vij. In Iuy^h: The xv, þe xix. In August [*sic*]: The xix, þe xx. In September: The fyrst, þe sixteñ. In October: The iiij, þe vj. In nouembre: The xv, þe xx. In december: The iiij, vj, xv.

1–10 Mondays of ill fortune, possibly the text reported as VK 897.00,⁷⁰ from Helmingham Hall MS Ll II fol. 4r–v:

Thees been the euel Mondayes in þe yere That yf a childe be | goten in any of tho three he shall be brente or haue a sodayn deth or | elles some other wordly myschief. and yf hit be a woman she sha^{ll} | be lecherous or elles she shal haue a shamfu^h ende /. And yf any | maⁿ begynne to make newe houses wⁱn .vij. yere hit sha^{ll} be destrued | And who so ete any goose fleche he shall be ded wⁱn .xl. dayes after | or elles he shall lye vij. yere after in gret siknes | **The First Monday of feurer | The last Monday of May | The last Monday of Septembre**

⁷⁰ Linda Ehram Voigts and Patricia Deery Kurtz, *Scientific and Medical Writings in Old and Middle English: An Electronic Reference* (CD-ROM), The Society for Early English & Norse Electronic Texts (Ann Arbor, 2000).

11–18

Saynt Bede sayeth þ^t thre dayes þ^{er}ben in the yere þ^tbeñ *perilous* | for man or womaⁿ to blede and by hym in allwise forbedeⁿ for any | body to blede for any thyng þ^t may be fa^{ll} For yf þ^{ey} blede wⁱn | vij. or ellys xl. dayes at the ferthest þ^{ey} shall dye þ^t is to saye The⁷¹ | last day of [*blank space for about eight letters*] The first day of August & þ^e first of | *Septembre* Also othre thre dayes þ^{er} beñ in the yere of þ^e same *peril* | That is for to saye The viij day of þ^e kalend' of *Aprill* [*sic*] The first | of the kalend' of August and The first of þ^e kalend of decembre

(The text looks to be that reported as VK 4417.00, from British Library, Sloane 540A, fol. 24r–v; cf. the present manuscript, fol. vi^t38–42 above).

19–26

After the doctrine of **ypocras & Galyen** Thes ben the good | dayes to blede vp In **Marche** the xvij day vpoⁿ the right | Arme for þ^e feuere for þ^e Tisik & for þ^e sight **Aprill** þ^e iij | day for vanite of þ^e hede The v & xj dayes vpon the lifte | Arme ben good for þ^e sight / **May** the iiij & iij dayes | in þ^e last ende to blede vpoⁿ bothe Armes for all maner | feuers for þ^t yere and he shal not lese his sight for this haue | be proued many tymes

27–28 [In margin, “Ipocracio dieta.”] “**Septembre** the xvij day þ^t is þ^e day of Saynt Lambart | whiche is good to voide blode for þ^e dropsy Frenesie Tisik & Etyk.”

28–48 The following text is written in two columns, with the month names as marginal headings. The present layout is editorial: the original cannot well be preserved.

Ianyuer Drynk whit wyne fastyng and forbere blode letyng **feuerer** Et no potage þ^t lekis or hokkes ben in þan þ^{ey} ben venemous vse ney^{per} colde fleyssh nor Fiss^h blede on þ^e wrist ouer the thombe vayne **Marche** Ete swete fruyt & vse no bathe **Aprille** Ete lyte & freche mete **May** Rise erly ete & drynk erly vse hote metes but ney^{per} hede nor fete of bestes Be dieted mesurably vse betony sauge & letuz and drink euery day fasting warme water blede yf nede be but not þ^e vij day [*No entry for June*] **Iuill** Neither blede ner dele w^t women for the vaynes gader þ^eire humours **August** Neither ete hokkes nor cowle in potage ne blede not in þis moneth **Septembre** Ete ripe fruyt & blede as a-boue **Octobre** Drinke muste & blede not þ^e vij day **Nouembre** Comme in no bathe for þan is þ^e blode gadering & auent þ^e somewhat but liti^{ll} on þ^e hede vayne. w^t garsing or

⁷¹ Three words in the gutter, bracketed against this and the next line, erased (?) and illegible.

ventosyng hit is good than ben aȝ þe humores in þuttre partyes [*“the outer parts,” i.e. the extremities*] of man **decembre** Ete hote metes & forbere wortes blede yf þou wol but not vpoñ any of þe þre euel dayes

In may drink iij thursdayes a sponfull of Iuce of betayne And the iij weke a sponfull of mylfoile & þ^t shall saue þe al þe yere but from dethe

(Cf. eVK2 2800.00 London, British Library Royal 17 C.xxv, fols. 45r–46r; cf. eVK2 2969.00 Oxford, Bodleian Library Add. C.246, fols. 43v–44v [sixteenth century])

vii^r1–34 Middle English verse on the medical properties of leeks, with section titles in Latin to the right of the text. Thirty-four lines in rhyming couplets.

	Matre of gresses wher þou sekesse	
	Saieth ypocras is to vse lekes	
	In lekes craftis many & felle	Secundum Ipocras^{iiij}
4	Sike men w ^t them for to hele	
	The Ius of þem to drink is good	
	For them þ ^t casten & speten blood	<i>pro vomitu sanguinis</i>
	Lekes etyng gares maidens wilde	
8	Thorugh mannys helpe to go w ^t childe	<i>pro conceptu</i>
	Bitte of Addre or of oþer best	
	That venym berith both moste & beest	
	Ius of lekes menged w ^t wyne	<i>pro veneno vel morsu vipere</i>
12	Helpith & slaketh þerof þe pyne	
	Hony & lekes in plasters made	
	Openeth a wounde both wide & brade	<i>pro vlceribus emplastrum</i>
	Iuse of lekes w ^t womans milke	
16	drink for þe is no silk	
	Euyll of legges many oon	
	The same drink helpeth w ^t outen won	<i>pro tibijs</i>
	Iuse of lekes w ^t gotes galle	
20	The Two partys Ius the thride parte galle	
	Medled samme and loued all	<i>pro naribus et</i>
	For werk of Eres help shaȝ	
	In nose or eres wheþer of two	
24	For grete hede werk wiȝ hit sloo	<i>capite</i>
	Ius of lekes & wine same	
	Angur of loue <i>turnis</i> to game	<i>pro amorantibus</i>
	Broken bonis wil hit knitte	
28	And sores þ ^t greuen hit wil hit Flitte	<i>pro Ossibus fractis</i>

- Lekys & salt same Don
 helps a wounde to closse sone *pro Clausura vulnerum*
 Dronken men of wyne or of ale
 32 Raw lekes þey ett shale
 They will hym confort in his brayne *pro Ebrijs*
 And make hym sobre sone ayeñ

The first word is miscopied: *Matre* is for *MACER*. *NewIMEV* 2026.5, but *DIMEV* (0.2026.5) regards the text as an extracted version of 4171 (“former 2026.5”), for which two manuscripts are listed; eVK2 3431.00 adds Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 345/620, fols. 33v–34r; Chester makes a fourth. The full version is recorded from nineteen manuscripts.

35–37 “From aȝ syknesse make poudre of pelettre & drynk vj peny wheight | w^t .xl. peny weyght of Mulsa. And Make þe mulsa of vj. par-tyes watyer [*last letters uncertain*] | & þe vij hony.”

38–51 Medical applications of betony:

A man þ^t hath þe stone yeue him þe Iuse of **Betaynge** to drink & he | shal be hole yf he vse it / **Betaigne** is good for hym þ^t casteth blod at | þe mouthe .**B.** soden w^t hony is good for þe dropesy / A plaster of **B** is | good for þe smert in the igh / The Iuse of **B** is good to drink for þe bloody | menesoñ & for the couthe [*sic, for COUGH*] & for þe stomake / The leues of **B** grounden is | good for swellyng of yghen / Who so drink þe Iuse of **B** it is good for yghen | þat beñ whosy⁷² & watering of euel humourus / Take þe Iuse of **B** v peny | weight & drinke hit w^t water. hit is good for warkyng of þe wombe. Also | medle hit w^t hony & drink hit for þe Couth & hit maketh neissþ wombe | Also ete **B** and no venym shaȝ greue who so ete **B** fastyng shaȝ neiþer | doubte venym nor paluesey. þ^t day it is borne on a man he ne shall haue þe | paluesey / A nedder leide w^tin a Garlond of **B.** shal not passe þe cercle | who so hath any greuouus Fantasie & wexacioun in dremes hyng **B.** about | his neke & hit wol away

Latin headings by the same hand, in the inner margin opposite the English: “*virtutes betonice | Pro petra | pro vo[m]itu | sanguinis | pro pruriti oculi | pro Tussim– [termination unclear] | pro tumultu | & aliis infirmitatibus oculi | pro ventre | pro veneno | & paralisi dis=|truendi.*” VK 624.00 reports the text from London, British Library Sloane 3556 (London, 1530), fol. 2v.

⁷² OE *wosig* “exuding moisture”; cf. *OED* s.v. *oozy* a. III.4.

vii^v1–36: In calligraphic secretary and by a different hand from the other entries, Jean Molinet's *Epitaphe* for Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy from 10 September 1419 to 15 June 1467. An anglicana freehand, very small, has inserted a heading: "Hij versus sculpti sunt super Tumbam Auratam iacentem super sepulturam [*space for eleven or twelve letters rubbed and illegible, presumably philippi boni*] ducis Burgundie." For a review of the known manuscripts and a detailed commentary on the text, see Adrian Armstrong, "Avatars d'un griffonage à succès: l'Epitaphe du duc Philippe de Bourgogne de Jean Molinet," *Le Moyen Age* 113 (2007): 25–44. The Chester manuscript brings the tally to thirty-five, of which thirty are in Continental libraries; it is unclear whether any of the four that Armstrong records from English libraries is of English origin. Duke Philip died on 15 June 1467, and after interim burial at Bruges, was in 1474 interred at Dijon.⁷³

The text is laid out with some care, but with no suggestion of a tombstone as its frame (cf. Armstrong, "Avatars," 37). Each line of verse begins on a new manuscript line, which in fifteenth-century copies is unusual: the verse-type, Alexandrine couplets, was relatively new, and liable to be mangled by scribes unfamiliar with the form, some of whom some even began by rendering it as prose (Armstrong, "Avatars," 41). The text below is diplomatic, with capitals and punctuation as in the manuscript. In elided forms, the apostrophes are editorial.

Iohan fust ne de Philippe qui de Roy Iohan fuist filz .
 Et de Iohan moy philippe qui mort tient en ces fiz .
 Mon pier moy leissa Flaundes . Bourgoigne & artoys
 4 Succeder y deuoie par toutz bonnes loys
 I'ay creu ma seigneurie de Brabant de Lanbourgh
 Nameur henault holland zeland & Leucembourc
 Moult m'ont contrarie Alemans & Angloys
 8 Deboute Ie les ay per armes & per Droys
 D'ung mesmes temps Anglois Francois me diffierent
 Et l'empereur ainsi riens du mien ne gaignerent
 Mez par Charles sept^m i'eus guerre en grant desroy
 12 Il me requit de paix dont il demourra Roy

⁷³ For a biography, see Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundy* (London, 1970; new edition with introduction by Graeme Small, Woodbridge, 2002).

Sept batailles soustins dez quelz i'eus victore
 Dont vne n'en pardy a dieu en soit la glore
 Contre moy se sont meus lez flamens & liegiois
 16 Mez ie lez ay remis & vaincus maintefoiz
 Par Barrois & lorrains regnier guerre me meust
 De Cecille le Roy mais mon prisoner fut
 Louys le fitz de Charles fugitif & marry
 20 Fuist par moy couronne quant v. ans leus nurry
 Edward Duc D'york deca vint en ma terre
 Par mon port & faueur il est Roy D'angleterre
 Pour deffendre l'eglise que est de dieu maison
 24 Ie mis sus la noble ordre que on dit la Toueson
 Et pour le cristianite maintenir en vigueure
 I'enuoie mes gallees iusque en le mer Maieure
 En mes vieulx iours i'auoie [c]onclut⁷⁴ & entrepris
 28 D'y aller en *personne* se mort ne m'eust surpris
 Le concille De Balle pape Eugenie priua
 Telle faueur lui feiz *que* Pape Demorra
 En l'an .lxvij. aueque xiiij centz
 32 Paia dr[o]it⁷⁵ de nature a lxxvj ans
 Aueque mon pier aieul ie suys yci reclus
 Ainsi qu'a mon viuant ie l'auoie conclus
 Le bon Ihc soit garde de touz mez faiz & dys
 36 Pries vous qui liuses⁷⁶ qu'il lui doint paradys

(Johan was born of Philippe, who was son of King Johan,
 and of Johan, I, Philippe, whom death holds in its web.
 My father bequeathed to me Flanders, Burgundy, and Artois;
 to succeed there I was bound by all legal right.
 I increased my authority over Brabant, over Lanburgh,
 Namur, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Luxembourg.
 Germans and English much opposed me:
 I dismissed them through force of arms and good right.
 At the same time the English, the French, challenged me,
 and the emperor likewise: they got nothing of mine.
 But from Charles the Seventh I had out and out war:
 he sued for peace with me, by which means he remained king.

⁷⁴ Letter lost in worm-hole.

⁷⁵ Letter lost in worm-hole.

⁷⁶ *liuses* not possible (but cf. Armstrong): read *lises*.

Seven battles I sustained, in which I had victory:
 I lost not one of them, to God be the glory.
 Against me revolted the Flemings and Liegeois,
 but I repulsed them and vanquished them many times.
 Regnier made war on me through the Barrois and Lorraines:
 The wicked king of Sicily [*sc.* Regnier] was my prisoner.
 Louis the son of Charles, fugitive and distressed,
 was crowned by me when I had maintained him for five years.
 Edward duke of York came here into my land;
 by my disposition and favour he is king of England.
 To defend the church, which is the house of God,
 I established the Noble Order of the Golden Fleece,
 and to keep Christianity in strength
 I send my galleys as far as the Great Sea;
 in my later years I had determined and undertaken
 to go there in person, should death not supervene.
 The Council of Basel deprived Pope Eugenie:
 I showed him such favour that pope he remained.
 In the year 67 with 14 centuries [*i.e.*, 1467]
 I paid the dues of nature at [the age of] 76 years.
 With my father and grandfather I am here enclosed,
 just as in my lifetime I had determined.
 The good Jesus be guardian of my deeds and words;
 you, who are reading, pray that he grant him paradise.)

The epitaph is the sole entry in this hand. Below it, at the foot of the page, is a final contribution by the main hand of the binding leaves, six lines in Latin for treatment of an unspecified sickness, apparently fever. It follows the left margin for the epitaph, which is much wider than the main hand uses elsewhere, and so must have been entered after the epitaph was written. The use of the same margin is decisive: in principle, the Latin text could have been written at the foot of a page otherwise blank, for which the intended content was not immediately available; such discontinuities are not unusual in medical and scientific compendia.

37–42 In the main hand of the binding leaves, treatment for an unspecified ailment, apparently quartan fever:

Prima die *Recipe* iij pilas rasis [OF PITCH?] *Secunda* die bonam quantitatem t... [*stained, seven or so letters illegible, then n^{ce}*] *Tryacle* *Tercia* die puluerem preseruatum [*rubbed, three or four letters illegible*] *Quarto* die

quantitatem rute | cum ficubus et vti cum cibarijs tuis vino/acro⁷⁷ // que
omnia predicta vino/acro | exceptu recipias cotidie stomacho ieiuno per
quatuor horas ante tuam | commestionem durante toto tempore pestilencie/
Et te gracia diuina | reseruabit incolumen

viii^r1–4: In a fifteenth-century textura hand, a proverbial quatrain known from several other manuscripts. *NewIMEV* 1139.

He is wise that is ware ere he be woo
he is wise that hath I-noughe & kan sey hoo quod nameles
he is wise that seyth noon euel of Frende nor Foo
he is wise that spekith wele ande doth [al] soo

(wele 4 altered from were. al 4 lost in worm-hole.) The first line is repeated by an anglicana freehand below.

The leaf is otherwise blank, save for (i) the inscriptions “Hobson” (twice), “James,” and “J Hodgson,” and (ii) in a late fifteenth-century anglicana freehand, perhaps that of the heading (but not the text) of *l’E-pitaphe* on fol. vii^v, “Dayly duryng the sekeneſ þat regneth vse to drynke the Iuse of Sawge & Tansey wormod Marygoldes [*one word rubbed, illegible*] | fastyng”

Fol. viii^v is blank.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH TEXTS ON THE BINDING LEAVES

Except for the quatrain on fol. viii^r, the Middle English texts of the binding-leaves are all by the same hand (hereafter “Hand 2”). The texts are here called *Clar.* (prose receipt “For to make a Clarrey” on fol. ii^r), *Gra.* (prose receipts on fol. iii^r, beginning “Gracia dei”), *Fleb.* (verse on bloodletting, fol. v^r–v^v), *Prog.* (prose on bloodletting and prognostications, fol. vi^r–v^v), *Lks.* (verse on properties of leeks, fol. vii^r), *Bet.* (prose receipt and properties of betony, fol. vii^r). Apart from *Fleb.* (88 lines), these texts are short, interspersed in the Latin, and of uneven dialectal ancestry (see below). Overall, however, their language is much of a piece, and the shared forms are presumably Hand 2’s own. The assemblage is plausibly metropolitan, as is that of the *Macer*, though they are not notably alike. In part that is to be expected, for their handwriting suggests that Hand 2 was younger than Dodesham by a generation or

⁷⁷ *vinoacro* written as one word, and divided by pen stroke, both occurrences.

more, and such disparity of age is perhaps reflected by their forms for THEM and THEIR: Dodesham has *hem* and *her* throughout, whereas Hand 2, though admitting *hem* (*Gra.* ×2) prefers *the(y)m* and *þem*, and has *þeir*” for the one instance of THEIR. That, however, is the only clear example, and their forms for IT run counter: both write *it*, but whereas Dodesham uses no other, Hand 2 more often writes *hit*, by his time recessive.⁷⁸ Likewise Hand 2’s preferred *wol(l)* for WILL vb. was losing ground, though perhaps not yet old-fashioned. It appears in all his texts except *Lks.*, and was presumably his own, whereas *wil(l)* looks to be text-conditioned, with *Lks.* accounting for four of its five occurrences. *Macer* has only *wol*, and in nearly three hundred instances, but the comparison, as for all others, is vitiated by Hand 2’s lack of sustained text from a single exemplar: between texts, Dodesham’s own usage varies, some having *wol* co-variant with *wil*, some having only *wil* or *wyl*.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, two agreements are worth noting. First, Hand 2’s *thorugh* and *þorugh* for THROUGH match the *Macer*’s regular *thorugh*.⁸⁰ Middle English THROUGH takes many different shapes, and its variant spellings are legion,⁸¹ but although the *thorugh*-type is well attested in the London area, so are several others, and the agreement is striking. So also is the shared *othre* OTHER, unusual generally in late Middle English, and ill-

⁷⁸ *hit Gra., Fleb., Prog., Lks., Bet.; it Gra., Fleb., Bet., yt Gra.* Only *Gra.* prefers *it* (*it* × 8, *hit* × 3, *yt* × 1). In view of Dodesham’s supposed Somerset origins, his exclusion of *hit* is unexpected (cf. *LALME* III.441–50, LPs 5130–80, 9390, and 9420). Though forms with *h~* were recessive in the London area already during his youth, they were still well established: see the glossary to *A Book of London English 1384–1425*, ed. R. W. Chambers and Majorie Daunt (Oxford, 1931), 348, s.v. *yt*; and cf. *LALME* I.310, dm 24.

⁷⁹ Biggs, “Language of the Scribes,” 88–89. A seemingly widespread assumption that ca. 1430 *wol(e)* was displaced altogether by *wil(e)* in London English, arises from careless reading of M. L. Samuels, “Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology,” *English Studies* 44 (1963): 81–94, at 88–91; see “Some New Perspectives on the Origins of Standard Written English,” 78–79. In both London and the king’s writing offices, *wol(l)*, like some others among Samuels’s Type III forms, persisted well into the sixteenth century.

⁸⁰ In *Macer*, Dodesham writes *thorugh* ×19, *Thorugh* ×1, *thurgh* ×1. Hand 2 has *thorugh* (*Gra.* ×2), *þorugh* (*Fleb.* ×1), *Thorough* (*Fleb.* ×1), and *Thorough* (*Lks.* ×1).

⁸¹ Cf. *LALME* IV.96c–101c, which, exclusive of initial capitals and compounds, records over 460 variants. For the London area, see *Atlas* II, map 54(6), p. 230.

attested in writings from the London area.⁸² In *Macer* it is far and away Dodesham's preferred type (*othre*); Hand 2 writes it only three times, against the "er" type five times (*Gra.*, *Lks.*, *Fleb.*), but in three different texts (*Gra.*, *Fleb.*, *Prog.*, with abbreviation of the final "e"); it may well be his own. The preferred spelling of late ME ~ER is not predictable from one word to another. Retention or replacement of OE ~re, as in ADDER (OE *næddre*), GATHER (OE *gadrīan*), and TOGETHER (OE *togædre*), may depend as much on the preferred syllable structure of inflexional forms in ME (e.g., *adderys*, *gadered*, *togederes*, against *addres*, *gadred*, *togedres*) as on the OE form of the base;⁸³ in OTHER the base had OE ~er not ~re, but inflected forms were regularly syncopated (OE *opres*, *opru*, etc.). *Macer* prefers syncope in TOGETHER (×42, beside ~res ×5, ~ir ×2, ~ris ×1); Hand 2 has only *to-gider*, but it is confined to one text (*Gra.* ×5). For ADDER Hand 2 has *addre* (*Lks.* ×1, cf. *Bet. nedder* ×1), as does *Macer* (*addre* ×2, beside *addir* ×3; cf. *addres* ×16, but *adderstunge* ×1). In GATHER, *Macer* has ~re (*gadre* ×2, cf. ppl. *gadred* ×2, *gadrid* ×1, and vbl. sb. *gadderinge* ×1), whereas Hand 2 has only *gader*, in the one text (pres. pl. *Prog.* ×1, cf. *gadering* pres. part. *Prog.* ×1).

Dialectally, the verse treatise on leeks (*Lks.*) is the most obviously deviant of Hand 2's texts. Certain rhymes indicate composition in northerly English, of which the present copy retains a few traces. Rhymes not convertible between dialects preserve *brade* BROAD 14, with northern [a:] as the reflex of OE *ā* (*made* ppl. MADE 13), and *silk* pron. SUCH 16 (*milke* sb. MILK 15).⁸⁴ Infinitive *sloo* 24 represents northern *slā*

⁸² Cf. *LALME* IV.230b–232a, though it treats only the northern area of survey. Syncopated forms are absent from the glossary to *A Book of London English 1384–1425*, ed. Chambers and Daunt. A fairly extensive survey of later records from fifteenth-century London shows *othre* (with abbreviated final "e") only in Letter Book K of the Corporation of London, in entries of 1455 and 1456 (fol. 283v, copy of Signet letter, 27 Sept. 34 Hen. VI; fol. 286v, copy of the petition of the Craft of Founders, 27 Feb. 34 Hen. VI).

⁸³ *LALME*'s record of TOGETHER (IV.268a–270c) shows forms with {vowel +r} much commoner use than the ~re type. For uninflected ADDER, {vowel+r} is again the commoner type, but *LALME*'s record (IV.118a–b) is confined to the southern area of survey, and is not extensive. There is no comparable record for GATHER.

⁸⁴ In addition to the northern occurrences, *LALME* (IV.17b) records *silk* as a variant in one Gloucestershire source, LP 7790. This derives from Oxford, Bod-

(SLAY) in the sense STOP, PUT AN END TO, an accommodation to *two* TWO here translated from northern *twa* (“In nose or eres wheþer of two | For grete hede werk will hit sloo,” 23–24): contrast midland or southerly *sle(e)*, *sle(e)n*.⁸⁵ Compatible with northerly or midland origin, but hardly with southern, is the 2sg. present indicative with *~s* not *~st*, in *sekesse* SEEK rhyming with *lekes* LEEKS sb. pl. (1–2). The one northerly feature not in rhyme is *gar* (CAUSE TO) MAKE (“Lekes etyng gares maidens wilde” 7), with 3sg. inflexion in *~s*; northern or midland is the notionally 3sg. (though grammatically plural) present indicative *~s* in “Ius of lekes & wine same . . . turnis” (25–26) and “Lekys & salt . . . helpes” (29–30), cf. “Hony & lekes . . . Openeth” (13–14); beside these is non-northern *~th* in the grammatically 3sg. *Saieth* (2), *berith* (10), *helpith* & *slaketh* (12), *helpeth* (18). Likewise non-northern are *Addre* ADDER (9), and *ayeñ* AGAIN (rhyming on *brayne* BRAIN, 33–34, and no doubt converted from *agayne*).

In *Gra.*, *mekil* MUCH (×1) looks to be carried over from an exemplar (cf. *Prog. much* ×1), as does Dodesham’s occasional *mekel-* in the *Benjamin minor* of Hunter 258, the text that followed his *Macer*. In *Macer* he has *muhe* only (×55), which with *moche* is elsewhere his preferred spelling; Biggs reports Dodesham’s *mekel* only from the *Benjamin minor*.⁸⁶ The form is certainly provincial, but its conjunction with Hand 2’s *mekil* in what was originally the same manuscript may be mere chance. Outside the northern counties, *LALME* reports the heaviest concentration of the type in Lincolnshire and Norfolk, but records it from many other areas as well, including some where the conventional wisdom had not expected it (so Devon and Cornwall, *mekyl*, *mekyll*).

In *Prog.*, *wordly* WORLDLY ×1, if not a mistake, in company with *ner* (in *neither* . . . *ner* ×1), *vp* UPON ×1, and *ch* in *fleche* FLESH ×1 and *freche*

leian Library Digby 86, which is of the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and hence much earlier than most of the *Atlas* material; there is no evidence for southerly *silk* in the fifteenth-century sources. Likewise northern is *sylk(e)*, which implies the same spoken form as *silk* (IV.18a); its most southerly record in *LALME* is as a minor variant in mid-Lincolnshire (LP 207).

⁸⁵ In the medical context, SLAY from OE *slēan* (SLAY, STRIKE) is unremarkable: see *OED*, s.v. *slay* v¹, III.12 “put an end to (something bad),” and III.14, “resolve.”

⁸⁶ Biggs, “Language of the Scribes,” 88–89.

FRESH ×1, may reflect Norfolk.⁸⁷ In *Bet.*, *warkyng* vbl. sb. WORKING ×1 could be of like origin, along with *nedder* ADDER (×1), *hyng* HANG ipv. ×1, and *th* for OE *~h* in *couth* ×1 and *couthe* ×1 COUGH. Unusual are *Bet. igh* ×1 and *yghen* ×2 EYE(S). *LALME* has no record of *igh*; closest are *ize* and *yze*, attested mainly in the East Midlands (IV.164a). Among the outliers is LP 4646 in south-east Norfolk, which beside *yze* has *word* and *nedder*; LP 4633, its nearest neighbour south-west along the Suffolk border, has *word* and *warke*, and *ch* for OE *sc* in *~SHIP* (but *flesche*, not *fleche*). The nearest attestation of *ner* (but uncoordinated) is at LP 4662, nearest neighbour to the west of LP 4646; this also has *~chyp* and *word*, and *fleyssch* (cf. *Prog. fleyssh* ×1). For plural *yghen*, *LALME*'s closest forms are *izen* and *yzen*, widely attested between Thames and Humber, and *ighen* LP 536, in south-east Leicestershire (IV.165a–b), but absent from most of East Anglia, as well as from London, Surrey and Middlesex. Back-formation from sg. to pl. would extend their range somewhat, allowing *yzen* in LP 4646, beside the attested pl. *eyzen*, but the only record of the type for Norfolk is *izen* in LP 630, isolated in the far west of the county, and without record of any sg. form. From such meagre material as can be extracted from *Prog.* and *Bet.*, firm dialectal placing is hardly to be sought, but so far as it goes, the evidence points to south-east Norfolk; the case is worth stating not for its own sake, but in view of such links between Norfolk and Sheen as may emerge from other sources.⁸⁸

Finally, it is worth noting *Fleb. eghys* EYES ×1 (beside *eghen* ×1): *LALME* records medial *ʒ* combined with the plural suffix *~s* in only five LPs (*eizes* ×2, *eyzeʒ* ×2, *yzes* ×1), and *gh* not at all (IV.164a–165c). *OED* notes the pl. in *~s* as first appearing in “a 1375 *eizes*” but gives no source. *MED*'s only citation for the *~zes* / *~ghes* type is *yzes* from “a 1475”;⁸⁹ Dodesham's *Macer* has the unremarkable *eyen* ×68, and *eyes* ×1.

⁸⁷ Note, however, *nethir* . . . *ner* in LP 6470, letter of the prior of Syon (Middlesex); in *LALME* the second element is suppressed (so “*nethir+*”), as generally for the southern area of survey.

⁸⁸ Cf. “Language and Textual History of the Syon Pardon Treatise,” in Rand (forthcoming, n. 5 above)

⁸⁹ This appears only in the on-line version of *MED*, among the “Associated quotations” for *eie* n. 3(a). The source is London, British Library Harley 4011 (“J. Russell, *Bk. Nurture*”), whence *LALME*'s LP 8371, placed in east central Suffolk, which reports only *eyne*. There is nothing else to link Hand 2's F with this area.

APPENDIX I
STEPHEN DODESHAM'S ORDINATIONS

Stephen Dodesham's ordinations as deacon and then priest are recorded in the register of Robert Gilbert, bishop of London, 1436–48. In both he is described as a monk of Sheen, which lay in the diocese not of London but of Winchester; Sheen was nevertheless much closer to London than to Winchester, and where geography favoured it, bishops often licensed ordinations outside their own dioceses. Bishop Gilbert's Register, formerly London, Guildhall Library 9531, is now at the London Metropolitan Archives, with reference DL/A/A/005/MS09531/006; I am grateful to Mr. Mark Arnold of that institution for his help in supplying facsimiles of the relevant folios. Dodesham's ordination as deacon is recorded on fol. 153r (*olim* C xxxij^r). The preamble is on fol. 152v (*olim* C xxxj^v):

Ordines celebrati per Reuerendum in *criso* patrem dominum Robertum dei *gracia* london' *Episcopum* antedictum in ecclesia parochiali sancte Brigide in Fletestrete london' die Sabbati quatuor temporum videlicet xxxij^o [*sic, for* xxij^o] die mensis Februarij Anno domini supradicto. Et dicti Reuerendi patris anno primo.

The year aforesaid (“Anno domini supradicto”) is from the date of the ordination list on fol. 152r: “die Sabbati quatuor temporum videlicet xxij^{do} die mensis Decembris Anno domini Millessimo cccc^{mo} xxxvj^{to} Et consecratione dicti Reuerendi patris Anno primo”: the year was taken to end on 24 March, and the February of Dodesham's ordination is hence within 1437 by present reckoning. Last of the fifteen ordinands among the “Diaconi Religiosi” is “Frater Stephanus Dodisham Monachus ordinis Cartusiensis de Shene Wynton' diocesis per licenciam domini.” His priestly ordination followed on 30 March 1437 (fol. 154r, *olim* Cxxxij^r). The preamble on the same folio records,

Ordines celebrati london' in bassa Capella infra palacium Reuerendi patris domini Roberti dei *gracia* london' *Episcopi* per venerabilem in *criso* patrem dominum Ricardum dei *gracia* Rossensis *Episcopum* vice et auctoritate eiusdem Reuerendi patris london' *Episcopi* sancto Sabbato in vigilia Pasche videlicet penultimo die Mensis Marcij Anno domini Millessimo ccccc^{mo} xxxvij^o. Et consecratione dicti Reuerendi patris anno primo

i.e., 30 March 1437. Richard Clerk, bishop of Ross in the province of Cashel, Ireland (1434–48), was suffragan in London, 1434–41.⁹⁰ Under “Presbiteri Religiosi,” the sole entry is “*Frater Stephanus Dodesham ordinis Cartusiensis domus de Shene*”; a list of twelve “Presbiteri seculares” then follows.

Presumably Dodesham had already been ordained as an acolyte and then as a subdeacon, which was the normal prerequisite. No such ordinations for Dodesham have been reported from the London episcopal registers, but they could have been conducted in another diocese. Winchester is the obvious possibility; unfortunately, a register for the relevant period (1426–36) seems not to have survived. Supposed connections with Dodesham of Cannington and of All Cannings call for examination of the registers for Salisbury and for Bath and Wells.

APPENDIX 2

PERSHORE ABBEY'S LEASEHOLD IN LONDON

The lease referring to the abbot of Pershore was noticed, but misread, by E. Margaret Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (London, 1930), 180, citing the patent roll of 34 Henry VIII, pt. iii, membrane 15. The document reference is Kew, Public Record Office C66/712; the membranes have since been renumbered, Thompson's “15” being now “17 (15).” The text on the patent roll is the Chancery copy of a royal grant to Sir Arthur Darcy, dated 24 August [34 Hen. VIII, i.e., 1542]; the full text takes up all of mm. 17 (15), 16 (16) and 15 (17), and the first 33 lines of m. 14 (18). The subjects of this grant are confiscated monastic properties, all but one (which the crown had already re-granted) being identified by summaries of the last monastic leases. That of the Charterhouse property, the first of nine indentures of lease so rehearsed, was to Sir John Neville, [third] Lord Latimer. In this, but only in parenthesis, the property is described as being formerly (*quondam*) in the tenure of the abbot of Pershore. Thompson misread the abbot's tenure as lasting for sixty years, whereas the sixty years are the term of the lease to Lati-

⁹⁰ *A New History of Ireland*, ed. T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne: vol. IX, *Maps, Genealogies, Lists. A Companion to Irish History, Part II* (Oxford, 1984), 307.

mer: the length of the abbot's tenancy is unknown. Latimer's lease, dated 7 March 23 [Henry VIII, i.e., 1531], is as follows:

Cum Iohannes nuper prior domus Salutacionis matris dei ordinis Carthusiensis iuxta london' et eiusdem loci Conuentus per quamdam Indenturam sub sigillo suo Conuentuali confectam gerentem datam septimo die Marcij Anno regni nostri vicesimo tercio tradiderunt concesserunt et ad firmam dimiserunt Iohanni Nevyl' Militi domino latymer Mansionem et tenementum scituata in orientali fine Cemeterij Carthusiensis vna cum omnibus gardinis et stabulis eidem pertinentibus scituatis iacentibus et existentibus inter le Cellis adiacentes Claustro dicto Carthusiensi ex vna parte Ac domum et gardinum cuiusdam Radulfi Warreni aldermanni ex altera parte / Que quidam Mansio et tenementum cum gardinis et stabulis eidem pertinentibus quondam erant in tenura et occupacione nuper Abbat'is de Parshore / Habenda et tenenda dicta Mansionem tenementum gardinum et stabula dicto domino latymer et assignatis suis a Festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli tunc vltimo preterito vsque ad finem et terminum sexaginta Annorum extunc proxime sequentium et plenarie complendorum / Reddendis inde annuatim dicto Priori et successoribus suis rubeam rosam ad festum sancti Iohannis Baptiste si peteretur.

That ends the summary of the Charterhouse lease; the text continues with the first of seven indentures of lease granted by the former monastery of St. Mary Graces ("Cumque etiam Henricus nuper abbas nuper Monasterij de Gracis iuxta Turrum nostram londonie et eius loci Conuentus ..."). In a letter of 1536(?) to the Lord Privy Seal, Latimer refers to his getting of the lease for 100 marks: see London, British Library Cotton Vespasian F.xiii, no. 183 fol. 131, printed by Agnes and Elizabeth Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest* (Cambridge, 2010), 188–89; the letter is dated from Wyke (Wick) beside Pershore, Latimer's home with his third wife, Henry VIII's widow Catherine Parr. On Latimer's residence there and his close connections with Worcestershire, see *History of Parliament 1509–1558* 3:8–9;⁹¹ for his will, dated 12 Sept. and 6 Oct. 1542, with probate 11 March 1543, see PRO Prob. 11/29/303 (published in modernized spelling at <http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/>).

⁹¹ Ed. S. T. Bindoff, 3 vols. (London, 1982); also at www.online.org/volume/1509-1558/member/neville-sir-john-i-1493-1543).

APPENDIX 3

A TREATISE CONCLUDING *MACER* IN THE CHESTER, RAWLINSON, AND
SOTHEBY'S MANUSCRIPTS: THE PROPERTIES OF ROSEMARY

For an account of this and related treatises, variously autonomous texts or additions to other compilations, see George R. Keiser, "A Middle English Rosemary Treatise in Verse and Prose," *ANQ* [*American Notes and Queries*] 18 (2005): 7–17, and the same author's "Rosemary: not just for remembrance," in *Health and Healing from the Medieval Garden*, ed. Peter Dendle and Alain Touwaide (Woodbridge, 2008), 180–204. In the first paper Keiser prints extracts from a prose version appended to *The vertues of herbes*, in four manuscripts. Among these is London, British Library Sloane 393, whose text of *Macer* (fols. 87r–145r) is closely related to those of Chester (C), Rawlinson (R), and Sotheby's (Sb); its treatise on rosemary, however, is a separate work (fols. 21r–22v), not notably like that which concludes *Macer* in these manuscripts, although it is obviously a version of the same text. In the second paper, Keiser records anonymous Middle English prose versions from thirty-one manuscripts, including R (56r22–57r8), to which are now added C (164/32–166/26) and Sb (61r18–62r16). Keiser prints the text of British Library Sloane 5 as representative (201–3); again, few of the correspondences with C, R, and Sb, are very close.

The text printed below is from C. The manuscript lineation is preserved, but the titles of the recipes, entered in the outer margins, are printed to the left of the running text for recto as well as for verso folios. Line numbers, by manuscript page, are supplied. Punctuation, here imperfectly represented by points and hairlines, follows the manuscript. Hyphens are editorial; manuscript hyphenation at line ends is preserved as =. *Litterae notabiliores* are printed in bold. Abbreviations are expanded, and printed in italics. ~ enclose words interlined. Substantive variants in R and Sb are listed in the apparatus.

Line by line their texts are the same, and within each line C and R seldom differ; Sb's many divergences are mainly of word order and choice or omission of proclitics, which in respect of content are trivial. The textual relations with other copies, apart from Sloane 5, have yet to be examined. Correspondences with Keiser's texts, some only loose, are noted after the list of variant readings for R and Sb.

¶ xxv ./	R Osa marina . [1] Take the floures of Rose mary . and bynde hem in a lynnen clothe	164/32
¶for al maner euels .	and sethe hem in water to the haluendele. and drinke that water . and it is ful good for al maner eueles. [2] Also turne the floure in to pouder . and bynde it to thin arme.	165/1
¶to be mery & glad	and that shal make the mery and glad. [3] Also ete the floures erly with rye brede. and there shal arise on thy	4
¶for swellyng	body noon wicked suellyng. [4] Also if thou putte the floures in a cheste with clothes . there shu	
¶for mothes .	no mothes noye thy clothes ne thy bokes. [5] Sethe also the floures with gotes mylke. and lete it stonde a – night vnder the eyre and yeue it him to drinke that ha	8
¶for þe tisyk/.	the tisyk . and he shal be hool . [6] Also who that is oute of his mynde. take the floures and the leues .	12
¶for hym þ ^t haþ loste his mynde.	and sethe hem in a gret <i>quantite</i> of water . and lete the man be bathid there in. and he shal be al hool anon. [7] Sethe also the leues in clene wyne and wasshe thy face. berde & browes . therwith. and	16
¶forto kepe þin heer	thou shalt lese noon heer / and thou shalt haue a faire face and euere clere [8] Putte the leues also – vnder thyn heed and thou shalt be delyuered	
¶for euel dremes .	of a ^{ll} wicked dremes. [9] Stampe also the leues and putte hem in a kancre / and that shal sle it .	20
and þe cancre.	in shorte tyme. [10] Also putte the leues in wyne vessels	
¶to kepe wyne fro souryng	and that wyne shal be kepte fro souryng and a ^{ll} othir wickednesse. [11] Also if thou be febil thorough ouermuch swetyng. do sethe the leues in water /. and wasshe therwith thin heed . and so thou shalt	24

R omits titles at 165/4, 165/11, 165/20 (reduced “for þ^e kancre”), 165/23–24, 165/31–32, and all six following 166/1. Sb lacks them altogether; a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century hand adds “for y^e tisyk” beside the head of no. 5.

164/31 marina] maryn *Sb* 32 mary] maryñ *Sb* 165/ 2 ful] *Sb omits*
 3 floure] floures *Sb* 5 on] vppon *Sb* 8 thy clothes] the clothes *Sb* Sethe
 also] also seth *Sb* 10 him] abodi *Sb* 14 man] pacient *Sb* al] *Sb omits*
 15 Sethe also the leues] Also seth leues *Sb* 20 ofa^{ll}] from al *Sb* 22 in shorte
 tyme. Also putte] foreuer more Put also *Sb* 23 fro souryng] from all sourenes

<i>Sb</i> 24 othir]	<i>Sb omits</i> be]	<i>Sb omits</i> 26 therwith thin heed. and so thou]	
thin heed ther-with and þ ^u <i>Sb</i>			
¶to haue an appetite .	be holpe.] [12] Ouermore if thou haue noon appetite to mete. sethe the leues in water with wyne. and make ke soppes of brede there in and ete hem / and so shalt		28
¶for the flixe in þe wombe.	thou recouere thyn appetite.] [13] Yf thou haue the flixe in thy wombe. bynde the leues soden in eyssel to-gidre. and ley it on thy wombe. and thou shalt		32
¶for swollen legges.	be al hool.] [14] Also if thy legges be to-swolle of þe goute. take þe leues soden in water . and ley it vpon thy legges . and first in white coten. / [15] The leues - also soden in stronge eisel. & yputte vpon the		166/1 4
¶for sorwe of þe stomak .	stomak / that shal deliuere it from al maner sorwe.] [16] Yf thou haue þe kowhe. drinke than the		
¶for þe kowhe.	water of the leues soden in wyne. and thou shalt be hool.] [17] Brenne the rynde. and make therof		8
¶for þe pose.]	a smoke. and if thou haue the pose. that wol deliuere the.] [18] Make coles of the tree. and putte hem in a linnen clothe. and frote wel thy tethe -		
¶for wormes & oþre disseses of þe tethe	therwith. and that wol sle the wormes there in. [19] Also it wol kepe the tethe from othre disseses & siknesse.] [20] Also make to the a bathe therof . and þat wol make the longe yongely . [21] Yf thou putte þis herbe vnder the dore of the house. thou shalt drede		12 16
¶to defende addre and scorpioun	noon addir] ne scorpioun to come into þat cloos. [22] Also make a vessel therof lasse or more. and putte þere in licour ale or wyne. and drinke therof. and þou shalt drede no siknesse beyng vpon the. [23] Fur-		20

27 holpe. Ouermore] deluered fro the Coughe / And *Sb* 28 with wyne] *Sb omits* 29–30 so shalt thou] thou shalt *Sb* 31 flixe in thy wombe] flixe also neshy wombe *Sb* 166/1 al] *R omits* 2 al] *Sb omits* to-swolle] swolle *Sb* 3 in] w^t *R* 4 yputte] put *Sb* 6 Yf thou] Also if ony man *Sb* drinke than] lete hym drynke *Sb* 7 thou shalt] he shall *Sb* 8 Brenne] Also brenne *Sb* 9 a smoke] smoke *Sb* 9–10 de=lyuere the. Make] helpe the ther-of. Also make *Sb* 11 wel] *Sb omits* 13 othre disseses &] all *Sb* 14 Also make to the a bathe] Make also a bathe *Sb* 15 make the longe yongely] kepe þe yongly *Sb* Yf] Also if *Sb* putte] *R omits* þis] the *Sb* 16 the house] thy house *Sb* 17 noon addir] noon addre addir *R* ne] neither *Sb* cloos] house *Sb* 17–18 Also make] make also *Sb* 18–19 þere-in licour ale or wyne] ale or wyne ther-in *Sb* 20 beyng

vpon the] beying hit vpon the *R* : beying on the *Sb* 20–21 Fur=thermore if thou]
Yf þ^u firthermore *Sb*

¶[to haue gode it wol encesce and growe plentueously.] [24] Also
wynde and who is streight wynded and may not wel brethe
brethe.] make a fire therof . and bake a cake vnder the -
asshes and ete therof | and that wol helpe him.]

24

¶[Virtutes herbarum sic expliciunt predictarum ./.]

22 encesce and] *Sb omits* 22–23 Also who] more ouer who so euer
Sb 23 is streight wynded] ys strith wyndid *R* be streite wynded *Sb* 24 a fire
therof] þerof afyre *R* 24–25 vnder the asshes] vnder þe asshes þerof *R* 25
helpe him] helpe and make hym hoole *Sb*

Correspondence of sections with those of Keiser's texts

Numbers for the extracts in Keiser's first paper are followed by “/,” those for the text in his second paper (Sloane 5, complete) have “/” preceding:

1~1/1, 2~3/3, 3~7/8, 4~/22, 5~22/25, 6~17/18, 7~2/2, 8~8/9, 9~9/10, 10~12/12,
11~13/14, 12~14/16, 13~/17, 14~16/, 15~19/21, 16 *wanting*, 17~5/5, 18~4/
19~/4, 20~/24, 21~/11, 22~/13, 23~/15, 24~/Latin 23.

APPENDIX 4

THE AFFILIATION OF THE CHESTER (C) AND RAWLINSON (R) MANUSCRIPTS
TO COPIES OF *MACER* NOT COLLATED BY FRISK

The following citations are not exhaustive but seem sufficient to establish that C and R form a textually coherent metropolitan cluster with three manuscripts not collated by Frisk: S3 (London, British Library Sloane 393, whose whose omissions and abridgements led Frisk, p. 27 n.1, to set it aside), *Sb* (the manuscript sold by Sotheby's on 3 December 2008), and *Hu* (Glasgow University Library Hunter 497, cited by line number from the edition by Calle-Martín and Miranda-García; see n. 38 above). For ease of reference to Frisk's text (F, cited by page and manuscript line), chapters are identified by herb name, and sections by their numbers and headings where given. Citations for C R are from C.

(i) *Text in C and R but not in other manuscripts as reported by Frisk*

F73/8 (great) plantain, end of *For þe quarteyn*, “afterburthen”: **C66/19** ~ R21v20 add “of the secundyne”;⁹² as CR are S3 95r4, Sb 8v20, Hu 331. In Sb “of þe secundine” is misunderstood and underlined as if it were the title for the next receipt (F “For ach of feet”); in the concluding list of “The vertues of þis herbe playnteyn” (8v27–9r18), it is “for þe afterburden of þ^e secundine” (9r16).

F73/10 (lesser) plantain, *For þe ach of feet*, “þe foot ache of going”: **C66/21** ~ R21v22 “the ache of [R of the] fete goynge”; as R are Sb 8v22, Hu 333; S3 95r6–7 expands slightly, “þ^e hete or ache of þ^e feet goynge.”

F75/22, rue, *For venym* (at end): **C68/14** ~ R22r31 add “and walow hirself there inne”; as CR are S3 96r13–14 (“& walowe | her self þer-in”), Sb 10r7 (“and walow hir silf ther in”), Hu 377 (“& walowe hyr self þer yn”).

F146/18, end of the colophon to the first part of *Macer*, “and after seueþ þe secunde part”: **C124/14** ~ R41v19–21 “and now foluith the secunde parte” (Frisk records “folowith” in R only: the others have “bygynnyth” or “seueþ”); as CR are Sb 45r23 (“And now foloweth”), Hu 1788 (“& now folewyth here”); S3 lacks the colophon and prologue, continuing directly from the end of woodbine to the first herb of the second part, sorrel 131v20. After “secunde part,” CR add “whiche contenith fully othre xx. diuerse herbes with her propirtees and vertues” and C continues “of þe which Sorel or Souredok is I” (integrating the text with the table of contents; R breaks off, and begins the table). Sb 45r24–25 and Hu 1791–92 both have the addition in CR: Sb 45v1 continues “Off the whiche the First is Sorell” (to which it proceeds directly; the table of contents is on fol. 1r–v, with numbering continuous for the whole of *Macer*); Hu continues “wyche fully conteyneth oþer twenty dyverse herbes w^t her uertuys & propriytes. Of þe whyche. Sorell w^t hys nyne vertves þe formvst ys þe fyrst” (corresponding in part to C “of þe which | Sorel or Souredok is I,” lacking in R).

(ii) *Text omitted by C and R, against Frisk’s other manuscripts*

F94/6, lily X (*recte* IX), *For þe face*, “of þe vynegre and hony [II] partys. Anopir book seiþ þat” (cf. C83/18–20, R24v27–30); lacking also in S3 105v18–19, Sb 19v6–7, Hu 767.

F159/27–31, peony VII, second paragraph, “Galien had meruaile here-of and he dide a-way þe rote | from þe childes nekke, and anon þe childe fel doune

⁹² *OED* s.v. *secundine*, 1. “The placenta and other adjuncts of a foetus extruded from the womb after the expulsion of the foetus in parturition.”

azen. | And whan þe rote was hanged a-yein, anon þe childe | began hoole azen, and herby Galien kende þe vertue of þis | rote and of þis herbe” (cf. C134/8 ~ R45r13); lacking also in S3 137v9, Sb 50v3, Hu 2052.

(iii) *Agreement of C and R against Frisk’s comparators*

F58/11–12, mugwort, “Take þe same herbe rawe, stampe it and drinke yt with wyn, | and so 3he wole do þe same”: **C54/22–24** ~ R18v17–19 place this between *For the moder* and *For to pisse* (F58/16), beginning “Also take,” with “it” for “3he,” and R “wolde” for “wole”; as C are Sb 2r20–22, S3 88r18–20, Hu 66–68.

F71/24–25, plantain, *For þe cough*, “in hem þat beren þis herbe rotes hanged a-boute her nekes, þei | shal neuer cogen if þei bere hem ay”: **C65/20–22** ~ R21r/31–33, “thei that be=|ren this rotes . and hange it aboute her neckes | shul neuere cowhe . yf thei bere hem alwey”; as CR are S3 94r24–94v1 (but “p^o rotes . . . hange hem”), Sb 8r25–27 (but “þ^o herbe rote,” “bere it ay”); Hu 308–10 is as F (but “& hange” and “alway”).

F113/22–23, onions IV, *For bytinges of houndes*, “Some oþer sethen oynones in hony and wyn, and so ley hem to and at þe | III:de dayes ende remoue þe plastre”: **C99/2–4** ~ R33r2–3 “Somme othre saien . oynouns . wyne . | and hony . and so ley hem to . and atte thre – | daies ende remeue [R remembre] the plastre” (R omitting the second “and”); as C are S3 115v1–7 (“The thyrd”), Sb 29v19–21 (“seyne”), Hu 1155–7 (but “oþer men,” “so atte”). CR S3 Sb number this section the third; Hu 1153 has it as “iiij”; Sb 29v12 has “This Asclapius seith” as “The first vertu”; F has “Vis II” preceding “Þis Asclepius”; S3 has “This Asclepius sayth” between the first and second virtues (115r22).

Replacing **F138/10–13** after “metes”: **C118/7–9** ~ R39v4–5, persil II, *For venemous bestes*, “forto | kepe away venemous bestes specially whan they | ben in slepe”; as CR are S3 127v25–128r1, Sb 41r16–17 (but “aslepe”), Hu 1634–5 (but “aslepe”).

F140/28, camedrios V, “To alle þe causes þat ben seide a-fore wole þis herbe helpe 3if she be pouned”: **C119/29–30** ~ R40r10 “To aH these forseide causes | This herbe helpith yf she be pouned”; as CR are S3 129r8–9 (but “be stampyd”), Sb 42v2–3 (but “causes foresaide” and “be stamped”), Hu 1676–7 (but “causes for seyde,” and omits HERB).

F141/7, camedrios VIII, *For colde*, “for it wole put it oute | and induce heete”: **C120/6–7** ~ R 40r/17–18 “for that wol put | oute the colde . and induce hete into þe body ayen” (R omitting “ayen”); as C are Sb 42v10–11 (but “it woll”), Hu 1683–4, S3 129r18–20 (“thy body,” and adds at end “a-none a-gayne as hit is sayde”).

F141/11, dragance *Vis prima*, “and who-so oynte him a-boute”: **C 120/10–11** “The man | anoynted with”; R40r21 “the man þ^t is anoynted w^t”; S3 129r23–24 “þe | man a-noynted w^t”; Sb 42v21 “þ^e man þ^t is anoynted w^t,” Hu 1686–87 “The man anoynted w^t.”

F141/21 dragance VI, *For þe eyen* (at end): **C120/24** ~ R 40r30 omits “The rotes rosted and eten doth goode to þe yen,” but adds it to end of VII (F142/23), C120/27, R 40r32–3 “eke yrosted” (R “yrostid”) and “muche good vnto”; as CR are S3 129v14–15 (“rosted”), Sb 43r8–9 (“also yrosted,” “doith goode”), Hu 1698–99 (“y-rosted”). Note also the agreement of CR Sb H in the *y*-prefix of the ppl., which these scribes do not use regularly.

F142/26a1, dragance XII (*recte* XI), “To alle þise dragance is good rosted and eten and also wole | do þe decoccion of dragance dronken”: **C121/5–7** ~ R40v4–5 “The | xj. To the same whan thei ben rosted . or | dekocte thei ben ful gode”; as CR S3 129v24–5, Sb 43r17–18 (omitting “ful”), Hu 1706–8 (but “The xj uertu” and omitting “ful”)

F143/19–20 camomile, *prologue*, “But eche spice of þise III havyn by-seet þis flour | with leues of diuerse coloures”: **C121/26–28** ~ R 40v21–23 “but iche | of these thre hath leues of diuerse coloures aboute the yelowe in the middel” (omitting “spice” and “by-seet þis flour with,” with 3sg. “hath” not pl. “havyn,” and adding “aboute the yelowe in the middel”); S3 130r18–20 “But eche of these iij. hath levys of | dyueris colours a-bowte þ^e yelowe in þ^e myddy#”; Sb 43v17–18 “but eche of these iij. haue leues of diuers colours . aboute the yelowe inthe middell” (“haue” pl.); Hu 1723–24 “but yche of þuse iij haue leues of dyuerse coloure a-boute þe yelow yn þe mydel.”

F143/20–21, continuing from the above, “þe whiche ben white or blake or purple colour”: **C121/28–30** “the whiche | ben white. blake. and purpul”; R40v23–4 “þe wiche ben whyzte. | blake. and purpil”; S3 130r20–22 “the whyche bene whyte blacke and purpi#”; Sb 43v19 “the whiche be white blak and purpull leues”; Hu 1724–25 þe wyche ben whyte . blake & purpul.”

F143/21–22 “Properly she is seid anthemis, hose flour leues, | stondyng a-boute þe zelowe, ben purple colour”: **C121/29–31** “He that hath aboute | his yelowe floure purpul leues is called *propurly* | antemus”; R40v24–5 “he þ^t hath aboute his zeloue floure | purpil levis is callid *propirly* antemus”; S3 130r21–22 “he þat hath a-bowte his yelowe flowre purpi# levys . is callyd *propyryly* antemus”; Sb 43v19–20 “is called *propurly* Antemus” (eyeskip from “blak and purpull” to “purpull leues”; Hu 1725–26 “He þ^t hath a-boute hys yelow floure *purpel* leues ys called *propyryly* antemus.”

F158/21, peony VII, *For þe fallyng evill*, “doþ him muche goode as seith | Galien. Galien seith and tellith þat vp-on a tyme he | sey a child þat had þe fallyng evell of a-bouzte VIII zere | of age. Þis childe was wont for to bere

abowte his | nekke a pyonye roote. Vp-on a tyme þis rote fel a-way. A||non þe childe fel in-to þe erþ. Þe rote was bounden aþein to his necke, and a-non riȝt þe childe was hole aþein”: **C134/2–8** ~ R45r/8–13 “wol take it away away [dit-tography not in R] & cure him. | For Galien saith he *preued* it by a childe of | viij. yere of age. for while this rote was aboute | the childes nek he fyl not. than he toke it | away. and anoon [R noone] he fiȝ into the euel. and | than he henge it ayen aboute his nek. and þus | sone he was hole ayen” (text of R in hand B from *preued* to end); as CR Sb 50r24–50v3 (but “fill neuer,” “þ^t evell,” “hanged”), S3 137v2–9 (but “þ^e evyȝ a-gayne,” and “hongyd hit a-boute” omitting AGAIN), and Hu 2047–52 (but adding “þ^t had þe fallyng evel” after “chylde necke” 2049).

F159/31–33, peony VII, *For þe fallyng evill*, “Diascorides seith þat þis roote is gode | for alle hem þat hauyn þe fallyng evyll, ȝif she be | ofte dronken or hanged aboute þe nek of þe pacient”: **C134/8–11** ~ R45r13–15, peony VII, “Diascorides saith þe | same of the hangynge aboute the nek. And | also he saith it wol [R wolde] do the same. if it be ofte | drunke”; so S3 137v9–12 (but “I-drunke”), Sb 50v3–5 (but “seith. soith,” “also he sith þ”), Hu 2052–54 (but “so” for “also,” “y-drunke”).

F160/21–22, honeysuckle III, *For styngyng of been or waspes*, “it cureþ hem þat a waspe | hauyþ stunge or a spither hauyþ byten”: **C135/3–4** ~ R45r37–45v1 “the stingyng | of a waspe. and of a spither. and of a nattir coppe”; so Sb 51r2–3 (but omitting first “and”), Hu 2073–74; this chapter is not in S3.

F161/5–11, honeysuckle XI, *For top ache*, the last section of the chapter on honeysuckle: **C137/5–12** ~ R 46r12–17 move this to the end of the following chapter (groundsel), as “þe xij. vertu”; as CR Hu 2125–31; this chapter is not in S3; Sb restores the order of F, near end of groundsel (51v24–28), “Here | haue somme bookis medecyns for the tothe Ache. þ^t y haue wrete | inthende of the next Chapitre before this [i.e., honeysuckle] | And y weene so forth. that it shold be wroton here | but it is mys-sette for defaute of writers.” Internally the text of CR differs in several points from that of F. The main divergences are as follows:

(i) F (5–7) “þat who delue aboute . . . and take here vp and do a-wey þe erthe from her with-outen yren”; C (5–6) “who so delueth al aboute . . . and take away the erthe al aboute his rote | withoute eny iren”; R (12–13) “who so delueth al a-boute . . . | & take away þe erthe al a-boute his rote w^t-oute eny iren”; Sb 52r1–2 “who-so deluyth al aboute . . . and take | awaye therth. al aboute his rote. w^t-out ony Iron”; Hu 2125–27 “who so deluyth al aboute. . . & takyt away þe erthe al aboute hys root w^t-outen eny yren.”

(ii) F “erst, so þat þis herbe leue”; C (10–11) “before. and | yf it so be that this bere leef”; R (16) “before & if it so be þ^t þis beere leef”; Sb 52r5–6 “erst. | and

if so be . that this herbe beere leues"; Hu 2129–30 "before tyme. And yf so be yt þ^t pys herbe lyue & growe as she dyde."

(iii) F (9–11) "erst; þis Plinius seiþ þat þe toop þat | is in þis wise touched þries with þis herbe shal no more ake"; C (12) "erst. that tothe shal nomore ake"; R (17) "erst þ^t tothe shal no more ake"; Sb52r7 "before. þe toth shall no more ake"; Hu 2130–31 "before þ^t tothe shal no more ake."

F170/20–21, vervain VII *For venym*, VIII *For þe feuere*: in R, unnoticed by Frisk, these sections are transposed (48r7–10, 10–11), as in C143/4–9, 9–10; as CR Sb 55r8–13 (wording differs slightly), Hu 2078–82, 2082–83. S3 differs from all these: its first listed property for vervain, in a re-ordered and much reduced text (138v6–139r9), is analogous to Frisk's VII; the fourth listed virtue, "for the fevyre terciã" (138v12–15) is analogous to Frisk's VIII.

F176/6–7 "Thus is ended þe secunde part of Macer book | and now begynnep þe þrid part, þe whiche tre|tyþ of spices": **C147/31–148/4** "¶ Here endith the secunde boke of Macer . | and now foluith here the thridde boke or | the thridde parte . whiche tretith of a fewe diuerse | spices . and specialy of xj. moost comoun in oure vse ¶ Of the whiche Pepir | is the first" (whence table of contents begins "Peletir ij." ~ R49v8–10 ("ij boke," "partie"), ending at "vse," with pepper first in table of contents; Hu 2402–5 accords with CR ("And now begynnith þe thrydde boke þe wyche tetryth of dyuerse spyces . And specialy of enleuene moost used comounly yn nombre of þe wyche . Pepyre with hys uertues ix ys þe fyrst"); not in S3, which lacks the third part of *Macer* (the second part begins on 131v after woodbine, without prohem). Sb 57v9 reorganizes the text, to keep continuity between the parts dealing with herbs as opposed to spices: "Here endith the secunde boke of Macer and now foloweth a fewe othir Diuers herbis . whiche be not founde in þe boke of macer And of thoo beeñ heere wreten xxv⁷ in nombre shortly Of the whiche Sanycle is þe first"; this, though with slightly different wording at its end, corresponds to C158/4–9 ~ R53r9–14 "**H**ere endith the laste boke of macere And now | foluen a few othre diuerse herbes with her vertues | whiche be not yfounde in the bokes of macer. and | of tho there ben xxv. in nombre brefly & shortly written. | Of the whiche – Sanycle is the firste" (table follows); after the shifted account of these "diverse herbs" (which ends with the treatise on rosemary), the part dealing with spices begins at 62r17: "Here endith the laste boke that treteth of herbis. And next foloweth a litell tretis made of spices . and specialli of xj. whiche be most comeñ in oure vse amongges vs here / Of the whiche Piper is the Firste. Now haue y treted be-fore of a fewe comeñ herbes here woll I telle the vertues of certen spices þ^t be know al-most to alle folke . and the whiche spices lechecrafte haþ made to be knowen And first of **Pepir** the whiche the kecheñ hath made more knowen þan any othir medecyne"; the contents are as listed in

C148/3–14, with the addition of ginger between pellety and cumin; the last in both is aloes (Sb 66v7–67v2 with addition on the virtues of this herb 67v3–20, then “Explicit Macer”).

F177/37a1–2, pepper VIII, *For cancre*s: “as men þat hauen | proued bothe þis and oþer telle me, þan is a poudre of þis peper”: **C149/9–11** ~ R50r3–5 “as men saien that | haue proued bothe this & oþre. Take than | pouder of this pepir”; so Sb 62v24–26, Hu 2440–41.

F181/14, setwall V, “whan he || drinketh”: **C152/14–15** ~ R51r5 “after | that he haþ drunke mucche wyne”; Sb 64r28–64v1 as F; Hu 2515 “whanne he d[r]ynkyt mucche wyne.”

F189/4–6, at end of aloe, “Now folowip || a fewe herbes of whiche Macer trefyþ nat of, | atte leste þey ben nat founden in þe cours of | Macer book”: **C158/4–9** ~ R53r10–14 “And now | foluen a fewe oþre diuerse herbes with her vertues | whiche be not yfounde in the bokes of macer. and | of tho there ben xxv. in nombre brefly & shortly writen. | Of the whiche - | Sanycle is the firste”; Sb 57v10–15 moves this part of the text, but follows the wording of CR (see above, F176/6–7); Hu 2660–63 as CR (but beginning “Now folewen” and reading “foure and twenty” for “xxv”; it omits the twenty-fifth herb, “rosa marina”).

F195/27–30, ditanny, *Vis eius*, “Virgilie | hauyþ wryte þat Eneas some-tyme was wonded with | an arwe. Whan he myzt in no wyse haue her out, he | rof in þe wounde ditayne, and hit brouzt oute þe arwe”: **C162/8–11** ~ R55r10–13 “Virgile saith whan Eneas was shote | with an Arowe. he coude not haue it oute with dra=|wyng. and than he putte the wounde fuþ of dy=|teyne. and that drowe the arowe heed oute”; as CR are Sb 59v18–21 (but “it” for “the arowe heed”), Hu 2779–82.

F197/21–22, millemorbia IV, *For venyme*, “Wherto shal I telle alle þis herbe? Hit haþ vertues | with-oute nombre”: **C163/3** ~ R55v4 “And furthermore it hath innumerable vertues”; Sb 60r17 (at end of “The iiij”) “It hath vnnumerable vertues”; Hu 2802 “The uertu It hath ynnumerable uertues”; not in S3.

F199/19–20, gith, “þe whiche wole make brede hugely better sauered þan | it shulde be if þey were owt þer-of, and git is gode and precius for many oþer effectis and causes”: **C164/ 7–8** ~ R56v3–4 “that makith brede bitter - | It is ful gode for many grete causes”; so Sb 60v23–24 (but “many and diuers causes”, and omits “ful”), Hu 2830–31 (but omitting “ful” and “grete”).

F199/21, azara, prologue, “Azara may be seide a tre in comparyson of oþer | smale herbes, and an herbe in comparison of a tre”: **C164/9** ~ R56r4 “Asara is bitwene an herbe and a tree”; so Sb 60v25, Hu 2832.

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