ANGLO-SAXON PROGNOSTICS
A Study of the Genre with a Text Edition

PROEFSCHRIFT

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God hine awerege þe þis awende oþþe gewanie
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You don’t need a weather man to know which way the wind blows.

Originally, this thesis was to be a text edition of the Old English prognostics and an introduction to these texts that foretell the future. It soon became apparent that a study of prognostics from Anglo-Saxon England was impossible without also considering the Latin textual evidence, because the Old English texts are without exception translations from the Latin and represent only a small fraction of the texts available to the Anglo-Saxons. To ignore the contribution of the Latin prognostics would limit the validity of my findings. More research was necessary than planned. The envisaged introduction evolved into an exhaustive study of the place of prognostics within a cultural, contextual and historical framework. Since there is no such thing as an index of medieval prognostics, the 110 Latin prognostics which I have used as comparative material for the sixty-one Old English texts took some time to collect. My natural inclination to collect material in lists and tables and my desire to know everything there is to know about a topic have not been particularly helpful.

Prognostics might seem to be an exciting topic to investigate, but it is no more exciting than any other text corpus. It is a fact, however, that foreknowledge of the future is a subject that will usually generate a good response at conferences and parties. The practical value of prognostics seems immense. Friends of mine tend to keep the lunar phase or weekday on which their child is born a secret, fearful of having bred a criminal or even a child that will turn out to be literate. Several times I calculated my chances to stay alive after falling ill; I usually survived. Whatever the future holds, it may not be worth knowing until it happens, that is, if you can fall back on 171 texts with which to predict the future.

The value of prognostics in real life is something which can be determined only on an individual basis. Those who are mindful of the dangers of the mimetic fallacy will be inclined to limit the usefulness of prognostics, claiming that the world as portrayed by prognostics is irreconcilable with the world in which they live. Unfortunately, the doors of perception filter reality in much the same way as texts do, which would imply that even if reality itself is not an illusion, our perception of reality is. The validity of the mimetic fallacy itself, therefore, cannot even be established. A more sensible approach is that of Screwtape, who is reported by C. S. Lewis to have written:

Only the learned read old books and we have now so dealt with the learned that they are of all men the least likely to acquire wisdom by doing so. We have done this by inculcating The Historical Point of View. The Historical Point of View, put briefly, means that when a learned man is presented with any statement in an ancient author, the one question he never asks is whether it is true. He asks who influenced the ancient writer, and how far the statement is consistent with what he said in other books, and what phase in the writer’s development, or in the general history of thought, it illustrates, and how it affected later writers, and how often it has been misunderstood, (specially by the learned man’s own colleagues) and what the general course of criticism on it has been for the last ten years, and what is the ‘present state of the question’. To regard the ancient writer as a possible source of knowledge – to anticipate that what he said could possibly modify your thoughts or you behaviour – this would be rejected as unutterably simple-minded.¹

¹Bob Dylan, ‘Subterranean Homesick Blues’.
²C. S. Lewis, The Screwtape Letters, ch. 27.
It is eerie that so simple a truth can be so systematically ignored in philological studies. Like the learned in the above passage, I have been concerned with prognostics in the light of influences, phases, histories of thought, misunderstandings, evaluations, and so on, whereas I could have tried to discover the practical worth of prognostics. In this thesis I will not therefore divulge whether prognostics are of value in foretelling the future. Suffice it to say that when I once asked when presenting a paper whether there were any women in the audience who claimed to have been born on 31 December, 1 or 2 January, there were actually some ‘mid swa micclum gedwyld befangene’ (‘possessed with such great error’, as Ælfric would say) that they responded in the affirmative. Anybody with a knowledge of birth prognostics will realise that this is impossible. Prognostics probably should be positioned somewhere between the illusion of the mimetic fallacy and the radical stance of the historical point of view.

I am grateful for having had the opportunity to write this thesis with the financial aid of the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), who funded my efforts as a Ph.D. candidate from September 1998 to August 2002. NWO and Pallas, the research institute of the Faculty of Arts and Letters of Leiden University, generously provided additional funding from September 2002 to February 2003.

In preparing the text edition I have made use of microfilms, photographs and facsimiles. For a collation with the manuscripts, I visited libraries in Cambridge, London, and Oxford in December 2002. These visits would not have been possible without the help of Gill Cannell, Parker Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; Joanna Ball, Wren Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; Jayne Ringrose, University Library, Cambridge; Joe Maldonado and Justin Clegg, British Library, London; Richard Palmer, Lambeth Palace Library, London; Bruce Barker-Benfield, Bodleian Library, Oxford; and Catherine Hilliard, the library of St. John’s College, Oxford. I would like to thank the trustees and librarians of the libraries, and the presidents and fellows of the colleges for granting me access to their manuscript collections.

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STUDY
INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The subject of my thesis is the Anglo-Saxon prognostics. Prognostics are texts which foretell the future using natural phenomena, dreams, and divinatory instruments such as the alphabet or dice.\(^1\) The everlasting relevance of prognostics lies in the fascination people display towards knowing their own future. Foreknowledge of the future places that which has yet to happen on the same level of certainty and interpretability as the present and the past, thereby lending comfort to and providing justification for events in the future. Human inquisitiveness ensured that, at various times in history, prognostics were considered important enough to be committed to clay tablets and papyri, vellum and paper.

The Anglo-Saxon prognostics represent but a brief phase in the long history of prognostication, which spans a period of over four thousand years, and which extends into the present. Even though methods of prognostication hail from a number of different cultures, from Assyrian to Egyptian, Greek to Roman, prognostication can be regarded as a continuum through time and space, because each culture built upon, and expanded, the prognostic knowledge of the previous one. Thus, a dream of being blind may be encountered in Assyrian, Greek and Anglo-Saxon dreambooks, and an early twentieth-century Dictionary of Dreams:

Assyrian: ‘If the eyes of a man do not see: for an important person (this means: more) importance, for a poor person: (more) poverty, (also) and an important person will be removed [i.e. die].’\(^2\)
Greek: ‘If you dream of being blind, this signifies a matter of hindrance’.\(^3\)
Anglo-Saxon: ‘If anyone sees himself blind, it signifies hindrance’.\(^4\)

Dictionary of Dreams: ‘To dream of being blind, denotes a sudden change from affluence to almost abject poverty’.\(^5\)

At the same time, a dream about electricity will have been inconceivable to an Anglo-Saxon audience,\(^6\) but not exceptional to us,\(^7\) while a dream about kissing a dead person is not included in the modern dreambook, but features in many (pre-)medieval dreambooks:

Assyrian: ‘If a man kisses a dead person: he will stand up (in court) against his adversary’.\(^8\)
Greek: ‘If you dream of receiving a kiss from a dead person, this means life’.\(^9\)
Anglo-Saxon: ‘To kiss a dead person, means living a [long] life’.\(^10\)

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1\(^{\text{A working definition is provided at the end of section 1.2.}}\)
2\(^{\text{Oppenheim (1956: 258).}}\)
3\(^{\text{Oberhelman (1981: I.81).}}\)
4\(^{\text{‘Cecum qui se uiderit inpeditione m. significat’ (text 7/4). Quotations from the prognostics edited in this thesis are presented as they are in the text edition.}}\)
5\(^{\text{Miller (1909: 97, s.v. Blind).}}\)
6\(^{\text{At no point in this thesis is the term ‘audience’ to be equated with listeners (as opposed to readers of a text).}}\)
7\(^{\text{‘To dream of electricity, denotes there will be sudden changes about you, which will not afford you either advancement or pleasure’ (Miller 1909: 215, s.v. Electricity).}}\)
9\(^{\text{Oberhelman (1981: I.81).}}\)
10\(^{\text{‘$M$ortuum osculari. uitam uiuendi. significat’ (text 7/4). Cf. texts 7/1, 7/2, 7/3, 7/5.}}\)
In this thesis, the Anglo-Saxon prognostics, representing only a fraction of the medieval prognostic material available, will be subjected to study. My aim is twofold: to provide a text edition of all prognostics under discussion and a study of the genre and its place in Anglo-Saxon culture. The text edition encompasses all prognostics in the corpus, based on an inspection of the manuscripts containing these prognostics. The study addresses issues such as the manuscript context of the prognostics, the intended use and place of prognostics in the literature of superstition.

1.2 DEFINITION
Anglo-Saxon prognostics were first published, translated, and studied on an appreciable scale by the Rev. Thomas Oswald Cockayne, Max Förster and Heinrich Henel, from the second half of the nineteenth to the first half of the twentieth century. Remarkably, these scholars did not give a definition of the genre, nor do present-day studies of prognostics. At most, the genre is described in terms of status: Förster saw prognostics as a exponent of ‘Volkskunde’ (‘folklore’), whereas Henel identified them as ‘Mönchsaberglaube’ (‘monkish superstition’). The index to Neil Ker’s Catalogue, significantly, reads: ‘Prognostics. See Folklore’. ‘Folklore’, judging by Ker’s classification, comprises a heterogeneous group of writings ranging from charms to (the majority of) prognostic genres. Förster, Henel, and Ker were not ignorant of what prognostics are, but still they preferred to describe the genre in terms of status. These scholars were preoccupied with the position of prognostics in low or high culture, rather than with establishing their textual structure or their intended purpose.

This one-sided approach is by no means restricted to any particular period. Ælfric had first-hand experience of prognostics, and though he used the Old English verb ‘cepan’ (‘to observe, to regulate by’) in connection with prognostication, there is no comprehensive reference to prognostics in Anglo-

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11In this entire thesis, I use the word ‘genre’ to refer both to prognostics as a whole, viz. the genre of prognostics, and to individual types of prognostic texts, i.e. alphabetical dreambooks are a prognostic genre rather than a subgenre of prognostics. The notion of subgenres is meaningless because it would imply a precedence which does not necessarily exist. For instance, if brontologies are a subgenre of prognostics, then temporal brontologies are a subsubgenre of prognostics, hour brontologies a subsubsubgenre, and canonical hour brontologies a subsubsubsubgenre. The hierarchy implicit in this list is not based upon a hierarchy present in the texts or manuscripts containing these prognostics, but upon my method of categorising the texts. Alternatively, brontologies, temporal brontologies, hour brontologies and canonical hour brontologies are subgenres of prognostics in equal measure, but that would presuppose that prognostics are the main genre. However, prognostics themselves are but one of many (sub?)genres of written texts, and their exact place in the subness of writings is not at all clear.

12I have based the final revisions of the text edition on the manuscripts from the Cambridge, London, and Oxford libraries. Manuscripts from other libraries have not been inspected. Preliminary work was carried out with the help of microfilms and microfiches, facsimiles, photographs and photocopies.

13Cockayne (1861, 1864-66), Förster (1903, 1908a-c, 1910, 1911, 1912a-c, 1916, 1921, 1925-26, 1929, 1936, 1944), Henel (1934-35). See also section 1.4.1.


15Ker (1957: 545).

16Ker (1957: 523). In Quinn and Quinn (1990) and in Cameron’s list of Old English texts for the Old English Corpus and the Dictionary of Old English (Cameron 1973, Healy and Venezky 1980, 2000), prognostics and charms are gathered under the header ‘folklore’ as well. Greenfield and Robinson’s Bibliography (1980: 355-56) reads ‘folklore and prognostics’, giving equal status to both categories. Scragg (2001: 275) wrote that prognostics are ‘texts that straddle the boundary between medicine and folklore’.

17See section 6.2.1.

18Toller (1908-21: 122, s.v. cepan Ia, II), Cameron et al. (1980-: fiche C 1.2, s.v. cepan B.1.c), see also section 6.2.2.2.
Saxon times.¹⁹ At the other end of the time-line, Roy Liuzza, in the most recent study of Anglo-Saxon prognostics, noted that to regard prognostics in view of their status may lead to misrepresentations of the genre.²⁰ Yet Liuzza does not transcend the level of description to offer a definition.²¹ Other recent scholarship in which prognostics play a major role similarly omits a denotation of the genre.²²

The only recent denotation I have come across is from Treharne and Pulsiano’s introduction to their outstanding Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature, which relates that ‘prognostications attempt to pre-empt particular bad fates or unfortunate outcomes, by warning, among other things, of the probable occurrence of events on specific days or in specific periods’.²³ This definition can be improved upon in three ways. First, prognostication does not necessarily deal with ‘bad fates or unfortunate outcomes’. Therefore, prognostics do not so much warn as inform their users. Second, there can be no question of a ‘probable occurrence of events’, because prognostication does not allow for probability: it offers certainty. Third, it is true that most prognostic genres are structured by time sequences,²⁴ but there are also genres which are non-temporal, e.g. the alphabetical dreambooks mentioned above. An example which illustrates my first two objections is a prognostic on the miraculous birthdays:

There are three days and three nights in twelve months on which no girl is born, and the body of a boy that is born on these days will not decompose or rot before Judgement Day. Now one of these days is at the end of December, and the other two at the beginning of the month January, and there are few who have heard of or know this secret.²⁵

This somewhat peculiar text shows that not all prognostics predict an adverse event. It is a good thing that the body of a boy born on these days stays intact until Judgement Day at least. In addition, the text discloses a fact which not many people are aware of, not a ‘probable occurrence of events’. This fact is presented as a certainty; to question whether the outcome of the prediction pertains to reality will not diminish the conviction which is apparent in the text. The idea of relating prognostic knowledge to reality is not new, as the following text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days illustrates:

The doctors of old wrote in Latin books that there are always two days in each month on which it is very hurtful to drink any [medicinal] potion or to let blood, because there is a time on each of these days that if one opens a vein on this time, it will cause death or protracted pain. A doctor knew this and bled his horse on such a time, and it lay dead immediately.²⁶
This quotation clearly shows that there is no reason to doubt the dangers of Egyptian Days, because here knowledge is backed by reported medical experiment and experience. In fact, any second thoughts on the risks involved vanish in view of the evidence presented in the text. To regard prognostication as revealing a ‘probable occurrence of events’ is, therefore, inappropriate. Before I offer my own definition of prognostics, let us turn to a lexicographical source.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the term ‘prognostic’ in a non-medical sense as follows:

1. that which foreshows or gives warning of something to come, or from which the future may be foreknown; a pre-indication, token, omen.
2. a prediction or judgement of the future drawn from such an indication; a forecast, prophecy, anticipation.\(^{27}\)

These definitions may suffice for lexicographical purposes, but they cover too much ground with reference to the text corpus at hand. The type of prognostics under discussion is to be distinguished from other prognostics (in the sense of the *OED*), such as biblical prophecies or animal omens, because these belong to wholly different methods of prediction. With the help of a representative Old English prognostic, I will list the three constituents of a proper definition of the genre. The prognostic genre known as the agenda lunary purports to list various tasks which can be carried out at particular phases of the moon.\(^{28}\) One of the predictions is:

On the sixth phase of the moon, put [fresh] hay in your bed. Then you will have none of the customary pain in it, but you will be glad thereof. It is also a good moon to build a church, or to begin the construction of a ship.\(^{29}\)

First, prognostics are codified. These texts can be traced from Assyrian clay tablets and Egyptian papyri to modern publications,\(^{10}\) including in their long history early medieval, Western-European branches, such as the Anglo-Saxon texts of which the agenda lunary is but one representative. Codification is one means by which our prognostics distinguish themselves from animal omens, which were not usually committed to vellum. There is no foundation for a belief in oral transmission of prognostics in Anglo-Saxon England, despite a recent claim to the contrary.\(^{31}\) Second, the forecast must have a direct relevance for the life or life-time of an individual, or its immediate context. Refreshing the hay on one’s bed with its subsequent beneficial effects, is an example of the personal approach of prognostics. The prediction does not carry over into the afterlife, nor does it apply to unidentifiable groups of people, which effectively rules out biblical prophecies and predictions based on the appearance of comets, for instance. Third, the majority of prognostics deals with observation of signs, such as dreams, or times, such as the phases of the moon in the agenda lunary. A few instances of non-observational prognostics can be found, but these are limited to mantic divination, usually by dice or letters of the alphabet.\(^{32}\) I am not aware of prognostics relating to other forms of divination or to

\(^{27}\)Simpson and Weiner (1992: s.v. *prognostic* n1).

\(^{28}\)Genre descriptions of all prognostics under discussion can be found in section 3.2.1.

\(^{29}\)On *vi. nihtne monan dó þonæ hig on þin bed. ðonne hafast þu þæron nenige wulnic sar. ac þu þer byst gefeonde he is eac god circan on to timbrane. 7 eac scipes timber on to anginnanne.* (text 9.2.1/2).

\(^{10}\)Alphabetical dreambooks, for instance, have enjoyed continuous attention over a period of about four thousand years.

\(^{31}\)Wilcox (2001: 51) opined that prognostics were an oral genre.

\(^{32}\)The *sortes sanctorum* and the alphabet prognostic are representative of this kind of divinatory prognostication.
magic.33

With these three criteria in hand, I define the genre of prognostics as ‘a codified means of predicting events in the life-time of an individual or identifiable group of individuals, using observation of signs and times, or mantic divination’.

1.3 THE NATURE OF PROGNOSTICS
Let us return to the example of the agenda lunary. This text exhibits a link between the phase of the moon and something which can be undertaken with good results. All prognostics operate in this manner, i.e. they rely on a trigger and point to something signified. The link which exists between sign and signified can be regarded in terms of synchronicity or causality. In the example above, the sixth phase of the moon does not cause a refreshed bed to be particularly beneficial. Rather, the sixth phase of the moon and the benefits of a refreshed bed coincide synchronically, and this coincidence (in the etymological sense of ‘happening together’) is the link between sign and signified. Such a relationship does not apply to the Dog Days, a period of roughly fifty days ending on 5 September during which the Dog-star is visible and in which bloodletting proves fatal. The Dog-star causes bloodletting to be fatal, either through its direct influence, or through secondary causes, such as a rise in temperature and subsequent lowered hygiene. Both the link through synchronicity and through causality between sign and signified have subjected prognostics to misinterpretation and ridicule in modern scholarship, which does not acknowledge any links between prognostic signs and actual events.34

Prognostics predict the immediate future in a variety of ways, and they are found in a number of different manuscript contexts. A corpus of prognostics does not exist as such: it is a group of writings which exists as a coherent unit in our minds only. Nevertheless, these predictive texts can be brought together loosely under the heading ‘prognostic’ because they share the features outlined above. Despite their unspecific nature (they are not tailored to only one particular user), prognostics are specialists’ tools which can give insight into the prospective life of an individual.

Prognostics predict the future in a number of ways. This is best understood when we examine the structure of prognostic entries. It consists of (1) the thing to be observed; (2) the (sometimes implicit) subject of the query; and (3) the outcome of the query. An entry from a sunshine prognostic, for instance, runs as follows: ‘If the sun shines brightly on the seventh day [of Christmas], the Lord will send many fruits on the trees this coming year’.35 The structure of this entry is: (1) basis for observation is sunshine on the twelve days of Christmas; (2) subject is events in the coming year; (3) outcome is plenty of fruit on the trees. Alphabetical dreambooks query the outcome of a dream based on the contents of the dream: ‘If it seems to him that he sees a dragon, it is [a] good [sign]’.36 Again, the structure can be analysed as: (1) basis for observation is a dream; (2) subject is content of the dream; (3) outcome is a propitious sign. For each individual prognostic, then, the basis for observation and the subject are the same throughout the text, whereas the outcome differs per entry.

Within the prognostic corpus, there is a number of ways in which the future can be predicted. The examples I have adduced so far mainly concern descriptive prognostics: texts that simply describe what

33On the distinction between the formal categories of observation, divination and magic, see sections 6.2.2.1, 6.2.2.2.
35Gif þy vii dæge sunne scineð beorhte drihten asent mycle wæstmas on treowum on þam geare’ (text 14/1).
36Gif him þince þær he dracen geseo: god þær bilp.’ (text 7/1).
will happen in the future. Proscriptive prognostics are quite another type: texts which foretell the course of events if one does not follow the advice provided. This type is represented by the Dog Days; the various genres of Egyptian Days, on which bloodletting or the consumption of gooseflesh is lethal; and the unlucky days, on which a task newly begun will never be completed. I know of only one prescriptive genre, that of the regimen, a list of dietary and hygienic rules based on the seasons or the months. The number of proscriptive genres is not as extensive as that of descriptive ones, but the number of proscriptive texts by token constitutes a very considerable part of the prognostic corpus under discussion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>descriptive</th>
<th>proscriptive</th>
<th>prescriptive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>by type</td>
<td>81.3%</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by token</td>
<td>56.7%</td>
<td>42.7%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1: descriptive, pro- and prescriptive prognostics

This table illustrates the large share of proscriptive prognostics, even though there are not that many proscriptive genres to begin with. The main reason for this phenomenon is that proscriptive genres often feature in calendars and computi, contexts which are rather common in late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

A second way of categorising prognostic genres is by inspecting either the content, or the method by which the structure of a genre is realised. Förster was the first to group prognostics in this way. At first, he recognised eleven genres: the ‘Bauernpraktiken’ (i.e. year prognoses), wind prognostics, sunshine prognostics, bronotologies, unlucky days, three Egyptian Days, three miraculous birthdays, birth by weekday, illness lunaries, dream lunaries, and alphabetical dreambooks. Later on, Förster distinguished five different bronotological genres, and added six more genres: birth lunaries, bloodletting lunaries, agenda lunaries (which he confused with collective lunaries), Apuleian Spheres, twenty-four Egyptian Days, and collective lunaries. Förster’s method depends solely on genre divisions. He made no systematic attempt to distinguish broader categories, which makes his approach highly effective.

Ker tried to find a larger perspective: texts dealing with (1) lucky and unlucky days, (2) with dreams, thunder, the moon, etc., (3) a prohibition against bloodletting in the Dog Days; glosses to the (4) Egyptian Days, and (5) Apuleian Sphere. This crude division gives the impression that prognostics may be too eclectic a kind of text to be gathered into one corpus. Ker’s system has found a ready

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37 The role of prescriptive prognostics can be ignored for Anglo-Saxon England (see sections 4.2.2.1, 4.2.3.1).
38 The exact number of prognostics in the corpus is 171 (see section 2.2.1); the total number of prognostic genres is thirty-two (see section 3.2.1).
39 The influence of the manuscript context on the type of prognostics contained therein is exhaustively dealt with in chapter 4.
40 Förster (1903).
42 I have adopted Förster’s classification with some modifications, see section 3.1.
43 Ker (1957: 523, 524, 525). This categorisation is exclusive of certain unusual prognostics, such as the text on the formation of the foetus.
44 Indeed, Borges’s list of animals in his essay ‘The Analytical Language of John Wilkins’ is more comprehensive than Ker’s classification of Old English prognostics:

These ambiguities, redundancies, and deficiencies recall those attributed by Dr. Franz Kuhn to a certain Chinese encyclopedia called the *Heavenly Emporium of Benevolent Knowledge*. In its distant pages it is written that animals
are divided into (a) those that belong to the emperor; (b) embalmed ones; (c) those that are trained; (d) suckling pigs; (e) mermaids; (f) fabulous ones; (g) stray dogs; (h) those that are included in this classification; (i) those that tremble as if they were mad; (j) innumerable ones; (k) those drawn with a very fine camel’s-hair brush; (l) etcetera; (m) those that have just broken the flower vase, (n) those that at a distance resemble flies (translated Weinberger 1999: 231).

Ker’s division seems to have been closely retained in the Cameron numbers: ‘folklore’ (B23) is divided into ‘prose charms and charm headings’ (B23.1 [Healey and Venezky 1980: 73-75]), and ‘tables of lucky and unlucky days’ (B23.2 [Healey and Venezky 1980: 95]), ‘prognostics’ (B23.3 [Healey and Venezky 1980: 158-60]), a ‘prohibition against bloodletting’,44 They transferred the Egyptian Days but not the Dog Days (i.e. 4) to the lucky and unlucky days, separated the alphabet prognostic from the general group of prognostics, and omitted the Apuleian Sphere included in Ker’s classification. In their discussion of the individual genres, however, Hollis and Wright seem to prefer Förster’s system, reduced to a fourfold group of ‘divination by natural phenomena’, ‘nativity prognostics and propitious days’, ‘dream interpretation’, and ‘medical prognostics’.45 Again, the inclusiveness of the categories is open to discussion.

Hollis and Wright have largely followed Ker’s grouping: (1) ‘prognostics’; (2) ‘alphabet divination’; (3) ‘tables of lucky and unlucky days’; and (4) ‘prohibition against bloodletting’.46 They transferred the Egyptian Days but not the Dog Days (i.e. 4) to the lucky and unlucky days, separated the alphabet prognostic from the general group of prognostics, and omitted the Apuleian Sphere included in Ker’s classification. In their discussion of the individual genres, however, Hollis and Wright seem to prefer Förster’s system, reduced to a fourfold group of ‘divination by natural phenomena’, ‘nativity prognostics and propitious days’, ‘dream interpretation’, and ‘medical prognostics’.47 Again, the inclusiveness of the categories is open to discussion.

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Scholars of the Middle English prognostics have made more headway in devising a classification than Anglo-Saxonists have. The works of Braswell, Keiser, Means, Mooney, Taavitsainen and Voigts should not be disregarded by students of the earlier medieval prognostics.50 A fourfold classification (for Middle English prognostics) has been advanced by Means. She grouped prognostics into: (1) ‘electionary’ or ‘horary’, i.e. ‘a guide for choosing... activities according to the most favourable astrological conditions’; (2) ‘lunary’, i.e. ‘a set of prognostications based upon the position of the moon at specific times’; (3) ‘destinary’, i.e. ‘a horoscope; a group of prognostications based upon time of

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46Overlap is shown by the fact that Egyptian Days and Dog Days are unlucky, while one of Ker’s genres of unlucky days is that of the three Egyptian Days.
birth, determining destiny... decided by the position of the sun or moon at the time of nativity'; and finally (4) 'questionary', which is 'only concerned with specific questions, who and how they are asked, and the means by which they may be answered'.

The system devised by Means is practicable if one is not content to simply list the prognostic genres individually, and it is a pity that this classification has not been acknowledged more often in recent scholarship on the prognostics. According to Hollis and Wright, 'the possibilities for grouping and classification are numerous'. To this opinion one might add that such groupings are, moreover, a matter of individual preference.

Yet another way of distinguishing prognostics is to see whether or not they are structured by time. Alphabetical dreambooks are non-temporal, whereas agenda lunaries are temporal. The sunshine prognostic occupies a position in between, because it forecasts the future by using sunshine (non-temporal) on the twelve days of Christmas (temporal). Temporal prognostics may employ various time units, e.g. hours (unspecified, canonical, night and day office), days (weekdays, New Year's Day, Days of Christmas, miraculous days, etc.), weeks, months, and phases of the moon.

Non-temporal categories are: alphabets and dice, numbers, behaviour, dreams, and natural phenomena, such as compass directions, wind, the moon, sunshine, and thunder.

It is to be noted that the structures are varied, and that some prognostic genres make use of more than one component. Apuleian Spheres, for instance, predict the outcome of an illness, based on a combination of the letters in one’s name, the phase of the moon and the weekday on which one fell ill, and an arbitrary system of numbers. Care should be taken to distinguish between a structural component, and the subject and/or outcome. In the previously mentioned sunshine prognostic, sunshine is part of the structure of the prognostic, but it does not form the subject or outcome of the prognostic, that is, the text does not foretell the amount of sunshine. A prognostic on bloodletting by weekday, in contrast, assigns appropriate times for bloodletting based on the days of the week. In this case, weekdays are the structural component, but bloodletting relates to the outcome of the prognostic. Hence, bloodletting is not a non-temporal component in these examples, whereas sunshine is. The relevance of this distinction will become apparent when the names of prognostic genres are considered. The structure of a dream lunary, for example, consists of lunar phases, but the outcome of the prognostic deals with dreams.

The subjects to be queried in prognostics are legion, ranging from questions on health, illness, birth and death (by far the most popular subjects), to the recovery of stolen goods, or the gender of an unborn child. These subjects pertain to the personal – e.g. an individual’s recovery from illness –, or have an indirect bearing on the questioner – e.g. the size of next year’s harvest or the death of a bishop. Nevertheless, all issues addressed in prognostics can be related to the life of an individual consulting

54The temporal element can be differentiated into methods of time-keeping, see section 4.2.2.1.
55It is to be noted that there are many more non-temporal prognostic structures, but that these were not known employed for prognostication in Anglo-Saxon England, e.g. zodiacal signs, geomancy, palmistry. Moreover, the range of natural phenomena is limited to the categories mentioned. Earthquakes, volcanoes, comets and planets are not commonly used as prognostic devices.
56The letters of the alphabet, the weekday, and sometimes the lunar phases, are represented by numerical values on which calculations are based.
57On my system, see section 3.1.
the text. The influence of the predictions may extend to the death of this person, but the prediction has no influence in the afterlife. In this sense, prognostics are patently in a class of their own as compared to long-term prophecies, such as those concerning the end of times.58

1.4.1 HISTORY OF THE SUBJECT
In the history of editions of Old English texts, the prognostics have enjoyed only a relatively brief vogue. Up to the nineteenth century, Old English texts were infrequently edited or transcribed, but from then on they attracted growing attention.59 From the earliest editions to those of the present, the collecting and editing of the prognostics span roughly one century, from 1841 to 1944. Within this period, all known Old English prognostics were published, but despite these efforts a collective edition has never appeared.60 Below, I trace in chronological order, the publication history of the prognostics. In doing so, I will concentrate on the pioneers. Authoritative re-editions will be mentioned but are not discussed separately.

Junius the Younger. The Dutch scholar Franciscus Junius the Younger (1591-1677) never published a single prognostic, but he is included here for his great interest in the Anglo-Saxon vernacular.61 Two manuscripts which were in his keeping, Hatton 113 (formerly Junius 99) and Hatton 115 (formerly Junius 23) contain prognostics. Of these, Hatton 115 is of considerable importance for its large collection of prognostics in a separate booklet. Junius also had access to Tiberius A.iii, which is one of the most remarkable miscellanies of post-Benedictine Reform England and which features many prognostics in Old English and Latin. Junius’s interest in prognostics is evident from his copies of prognostic texts in the manuscripts Junius 41, 43 and 44. He did not copy these texts at random, but organised them from different manuscripts by structural or thematic unity, which shows that he was aware of prognostics as a text genre. Junius 41 features the two odd birth prognostics from Tiberius A.iii: the text on the development of the foetus and that on the behaviour of the mother. Junius 43 has dream prognostics in the form of dreambooks and dream lunaries from Tiberius A.iii and Hatton 115. Junius 44, finally, includes lunaries (both collective and specific ones), brontologies and year prognoses, again from Tiberius A.iii and Hatton 115.

Hampson. The first (partial) edition ever of some prognostics is found in the monumental two-volume Medii aevi kalendarium: Dates, Charters, and Customs of the Middle Ages, by Robert Thomas Hampson (1793-1858).62 This work is unique in that it provides an unparalleled, in-depth analysis of medieval folkloric customs and all manner of medieval feast days. To my knowledge, no later study on this topic has been carried out on such a large scale.63 Consequently, Medii aevi kalendarium remains an indispensable tool for those interested in the early medieval calendar and the uses connected with

58 Occasionally, however, prognostics are found near texts dealing with the fifteen signs of Judgement Day.
60 With respect to Förster’s publications on prognostics, Sauer (1998: 344) wrote: ‘the preparation of a clear, comprehensive, critical edition of these texts is a difficult task, and it is not surprising that a complete edition has not yet been achieved’.
61 The life and scholarship of Junius are studied in Bremmer (1998).
62 Wanley (1705: II.87-90) listed the contents of these manuscripts. Stanley (1998: 164) only mentioned the prognostics in Junius 44.
63 Hampson (1841).
64 Although the reliability of Hampson’s work is diminished in the light of modern scholarship, I make grateful use of the Medii aevi kalendarium because of the sheer amount of useful information it contains.
it. In the glossary of *Medii aevi kalendarium* (volume 2, which matches the study in length), three prognostics have been edited and translated to exemplify several types of dangerous days.\textsuperscript{65} In addition, Hampson’s study (volume 1) contains a translation of a year prognosis in connection with popular customs on New Year’s Day.\textsuperscript{66} These renderings of four Old English prognostics have been superseded by Förster’s more authoritative editions.\textsuperscript{67} At several points in *Medii aevi kalendarium*, Hampson refers to Wanley’s catalogue of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts,\textsuperscript{68} which must have served as his source for the prognostics.

**Cockayne.** Twenty years elapsed after the publication of Hampson’s work, before Thomas Oswald Cockayne (1807-73), author of several historical, philological, and grammatical works,\textsuperscript{69} edited a slim volume of Old English texts, *Narratiuncula anglice conscripta*, which, among others, includes the text now known as the formation of the foetus.\textsuperscript{70} A few years later, Cockayne published an edition and translation of Anglo-Saxon scientific texts in three volumes, Teutonically entitled *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*.\textsuperscript{71} This publication contains an almost complete collection of Anglo-Saxon medical texts, herbal remedies, and prognostics. In browsing through the corpus, it becomes evident that Cockayne included the greater part of the Old English prognostics.\textsuperscript{72}

Cockayne published roughly two-fifths of all Old English and glossed prognostics.\textsuperscript{73} He used three manuscripts as his main source. From Caligula A.xv and Hatton 115 (booklet 5), all Old English prognostics are represented. A Latin Apuleian Sphere was reproduced from Caligula A.xv. The prognostics in Tiberius A.iii were used as variants to those in the former two manuscripts. The running Old English glosses of the two longest Latin prognostics (a collective lunar and an alphabetical dreambook) in Tiberius A.iii were edited as well. Skipping several prognostics in Tiberius A.iii, Cockayne presented two rather curious texts connected with childbirth, and the same number of minor prognostics. At first sight, it may seem strange that Cockayne favoured the weekday brontology and the illness lunar over the other prognostics in Tiberius A.iii. It is likely that the latter were omitted because they are all Latin prognostics with Old English glosses, in contrast to the Old English brontology and illness lunar.\textsuperscript{74}

One peculiar incident regarding the reprint of the *Leechdoms* deserves mention. When Singer published a partly stripped reprint of the *Leechdoms* with a new introduction, he left out the greater portion of the prognostics. Moreover, in introducing the revamped third volume, Singer named the

\textsuperscript{65}Hampson (1841: II.76-77, s.v. *Dies Malæ*, II.107, s.v. *Egyptian Days*).
\textsuperscript{66}Hampson (1841: I.133-34).
\textsuperscript{67}See below.
\textsuperscript{68}Hickes (1703-05: II).
\textsuperscript{69}For biographical information, see Stephen and Lee (1885-1900: XI.176), Singer (1961: I.xi-xviii), Hall (2001: 441).
\textsuperscript{70}Text 3.1.1/1, in Cockayne (1861: 49-50).
\textsuperscript{71}Cockayne (1864-66).
\textsuperscript{72}See section 2.2.1. The prognostics can be found in Cockayne (1864-66: II.146-49, III.76-77, 82-85, 144-47, 150-215, 224-25).
\textsuperscript{73}This number does not take into account the variant texts in Cockayne’s collated editions, because his collations are far from accurate.
\textsuperscript{74}This is, of course, true for the collective lunar and alphabetical dreambook, as well as for several other Latin prognostics with Old English glosses in Tiberius A.iii, but the lunar and dreambook certainly commanded some interest as more substantial texts. The other Old English glosses of Latin prognostics were solely used as variant readings to Cockayne’s edition of the prognostics in Caligula A.xv and Hatton 115.
manuscripts Caligula A.xv and Tiberius A.iii, but he failed to mention Hatton 115, the texts of which are not included in the reprint. Singer further noted:

There follows in Vol. III a mass of senseless prognostications from dreams (p. 198), no source for which has been traced.... Next come (p. 231-p. 283) translations from the works of Bede [=Ælfric’s De temporibus anni]. These may be linguistically important but Bede’s scientific works are now available in modern critical editions and they are here omitted because of the special limitation of their interest.76

The ‘mass of senseless prognostications from dreams, ... no source for which has been traced’ is a particularly uninformed statement in view of the fact that many prognostics can be traced back to Greek and Latin texts, but the alphabetical dreambook to which Singer referred ultimately derives from Assyrian clay tablets and Egyptian papyri, as Singer must undoubtedly have known in view of publications by Förster, and Oppenheim, among others.77 Aside from my objection to Singer’s careless dismissal of dreambooks, his statement is rather ambiguous. His remark that ‘they are here omitted’ seems to refer to Bede’s scientific works (i.e.Ælfric’s De temporibus anni). Nevertheless, this text, which had found a place in Cockayne’s collection, is retained in Singer’s edition of the Leechdoms, whereas most of the prognostics are not. To assume a mistake on the part of either editor or publisher is unlikely because the excluded prognostics from Hatton 115 should have started halfway down pages 158/159 (i.e. directly following those from Caligula A.xv and Tiberius A.iii), while the bottom halves of these pages are blank in Singer’s edition. Furthermore, the pages following are renumbered consecutively from page 160 onwards. Finally, Singer does not mention manuscript Hatton 115, the prognostics of which start where Singer started cutting in the Leechdoms. It would seem, therefore, that the exclusion of the prognostics from Hatton 115 is deliberate, perhaps ‘because of the special limitation of their interest’. Did he refer to De temporibus anni or to the prognostics? On account of De temporibus anni being ‘now available in modern critical editions’, one would think Singer would have wanted to exclude Ælfric’s work rather than the prognostics.80

Cockayne’s publication was groundbreaking in providing the first comprehensive edition of the prognostics; yet his editorial methods left much to be desired. Of course, Cockayne’s shortcomings exist only in the mind of the modern editor. Placed in its original cultural climate, the Leechdoms were neither exceptionally Germanic in tone, nor overly folkloric in character. Even so, there are some flaws which diminish the reliability of the Leechdoms as an authoritative text edition.

75Singer (1961: I.xxv).
76Singer (1961: I.xxiv); emphasis is mine. Singer’s references to page numbers in this citation are to Cockayne’s edition (1864–66: III).
77See section 3.2.1.
79I.e. Henel (1942).
80One other – emotive – reason springs to mind: Singer was quite keen on ridiculing Anglo-Saxon prognostics and medicine, judging by his exhaustive analysis of magical and pagan elements in medical texts, which would make him more inclined to omit De temporibus anni than the prognostics (cf. Grattan and Singer 1952: 3–94; Singer 1917, 1928: 133–67; 1961: I.xxvi–xxxviii).
81Cf. Stanley (1975). The language of Cockayne’s translation is deliberately Germanic (to such an extent that neologistic Germanic words were preferred above the existing Romance vocabulary), which gives the subject an undeservedly quaint air of Germanic folklore.
Cockayne’s first shortcoming is his carelessness in transcriptions. In the large enterprise which the *Leechdoms* is, mistakes and faulty emendations are to be expected, but they are almost ubiquitous. Second, his collated editions of prognostics of the same type are inaccurate in that he tends to mark variant readings haphazardly. In a collated edition of an Old English dreambook, for instance, Cockayne recorded just a fraction of the variant readings. He must have sensed a certain inadequacy, because he added an apologetic note stating that a ‘minute collation seemed unsuitable in this piece’, yet why this is so never transpires. In another instance, Cockayne proved even more obtuse: he presented a collated edition of two Latin illness lunaries with Old English glosses and prefixed the text with the diagram of an Apuleian Sphere, Apuleian Spheres being an altogether different prognostic genre. Additionally, he did not mention that there is no Apuleian Sphere in one of the two manuscripts presented, and he omitted the explanatory text that is an essential part of the Apuleian Sphere. The third and final objection I would raise against Cockayne’s edition is that it omitted the Latin text whenever the Old English glosses a Latin prognostic. The edition of the Old English glosses of the longest extant Latin alphabetical dreambook from Anglo-Saxon England, for example, is preceded by the comment ‘the Saxon glosses some Latin’. My critical remarks on Cockayne’s edition do not deny the fact that the *Leechdoms* are invaluable in that they formed the first modern publication of a wide range of Old English non-literate and non-historical texts, including prognostics.

**Sievers.** In response to a series of articles which presented alphabetical lists of letters with a clause attached to each letter in Latin and the vernacular, Eduard Sievers (1850-1932) published the text that is now known as the Old English alphabet prognostic. The conclusion of this text, viz. the three metrical lines following the letter Z, have become known as the poem ‘The Gloria II’.

**Birch.** Walter de Gray Birch (1842-1924) was senior assistant of the manuscript department in the British Museum (now British Library). His interests ranged from charters and seals to methods of bookbinding. Birch published a partial edition of the contents of one of the more important prognostic collections: those in the manuscripts Titus D.xxvi and xxvii. Despite the fact that he was mainly interested in the religious aspects of these manuscripts and the way in which they were bound, Birch did not desist from editing and analysing the prognostics. In addition to the one Old English prognostic (the aforementioned alphabet prognostic), Titus D.xxvi, xxvii contain no less than twenty Latin prognostics, sixteen of which were (sometimes in part) edited by Birch. Beate Günzel has recently

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84Cockayne (1864-66: III.169 n. a).
85Cockayne (1864-66: III.150-51).
86The aforementioned glossed illness lunary, which lacks a translation probably because of the Latin, is an exception.
87Cockayne (1864-66: III.199). When Singer (1961: Lxx) remarked that Cockayne was ‘over-scrupulous in excluding material’, he presumably did not have this example in mind.
88Martin (1867: 368), Steinmeyer (1874), Schönbach (1875), Sievers (1875).
89Although an enumeration of Siever’s pioneering work in the manifold disciplines of philology is beyond my scope and purpose, his extensive scholarship is hereby acknowledged. For biographical information, see Frings (1933), Ganz (1978), Pope (1998), Sauer (2001: 457-60).
90Sievers (1877).
91Dobbie (1942: lxxiii-lxxiv, 94).
93Birch (1878). Birch reprinted this article in a condensed and slightly modified form in appendices D and E of his *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester* (1892).
published a critical edition of the entire contents of Titus D.xxvi, xxvii.\textsuperscript{94} For a better understanding of the transmission of prognostics into the vernacular, the Latin texts in these manuscripts prove invaluable.

\textbf{Assmann}. The next editor of some prognostics was Bruno Assmann.\textsuperscript{95} For his \textit{Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben},\textsuperscript{96} Assmann used Vespasian D.xiv, consisting almost entirely of homilies to which two prognostics were added at a later date.\textsuperscript{97} In his study of this manuscript, Assmann must have noticed the year prognosis and the month brontology, which he subsequently published.\textsuperscript{98} Rubie Warner published a critical edition of the entire manuscript.\textsuperscript{99}

\textbf{Förster}. The scholar to subject the Old English prognostics to an exhaustive analysis, both as compared to Latin and other vernacular analogues, and in a wide cultural context, was Max Förster (1869-1954).\textsuperscript{100} His bibliography contains hundreds of titles on a great variety of subjects. A minute, though invaluable, fraction of his writings concerned the prognostics, which he began with an article entitled ‘Die Kleinliteratur des Aberglaubens im Altenglischen’ (‘The Non-Literary Canon of Superstition in Old English’).\textsuperscript{101} In it, Förster explored the sources of Old English prognostics and was able to supply Latin analogues for many of the texts edited by Cockayne and Assmann. The article proved to be the start of a programme, for in a long series of articles called ‘Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Volkskunde’ (‘Contributions to Medieval Folklore’), Förster edited many more prognostics.\textsuperscript{102} Several years after the ‘Beiträge’, the article ‘Die altenglischen Traumlunare’ (‘The Old English Dream Lunaries’) appeared, closely followed by ‘Die altenglischen Verzeichnisse von Glück- und Unglückstagen’ (‘The Old English Lists of Lucky and Unlucky Days’).\textsuperscript{103} His last article on the Anglo-Saxon prognostics appeared during the Second World War, entitled ‘Vom Fortleben antiker Sammelunare im englischen und in anderen Sprachen’ (‘On the Continuation of Ancient Collective Lunaries in English and in other Languages’).\textsuperscript{104}

Förster’s training in comparative, Germanic, Celtic and Romance philology is evident from his choice of sources and analogues in these articles: from early Latin prognostics to modern almanacs, from classical Greek to a wide range of sources in the European vernacular. Förster edited most of the

\textsuperscript{94}Günzel (1993).
\textsuperscript{95}I have not been able to find any biographical information except for the brief mention of Assmann in Sauer’s account of nineteenth-century Anglo-Saxon scholarship (2001: 462).
\textsuperscript{96}Assmann (1889b: 246, 266).
\textsuperscript{97}See section 4.2.4.
\textsuperscript{98}Assmann (1888, 1889a: 369).
\textsuperscript{99}Warner (1917).
\textsuperscript{101}Förster (1903).
\textsuperscript{102}Förster (1908a-c, 1910, 1911, 1912a-c, 1916). The following is a checklist of the contents of the ‘Beiträge’ series: I (1908a) introduction, 1. brontologies; II (1908b) 2. year prognoses, 3. alphabetical dreambook; III (1908c) 4. contents of Tiberius A.iii; IV (1910) 5. alphabetical dreambook; V (1911) 6. alphabetical dreambook in verse, 7. alphabetical dreambook in prose; VI (1912a) 8. wind prognostics, 9. sunshine prognostics; VII (1912b) 10. brontologies, 11. year prognoses, 12. (non-prognostic) calendar verses, 13. birth by weekday prognostics; VIII (1912c) 14. birth lunaries, 15. illness lunaries, 16. bloodletting lunaries, 17. agenda lunaries, 18. Apuleian Spheres; IX (1916) 19. alphabetical dreambook.
\textsuperscript{103}Förster (1925-26, 1929).
\textsuperscript{104}Förster (1944). He also edited a Welsh dreambook, and two Welsh redactions of the \textit{sortes sanctorum} (Förster 1921, 1936).
Old English prognostics. These efforts illustrate his endeavours in the field of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics and testify to his pioneering interest in a comparative study of the genre. Furthermore, his editions of the prognostics are exhaustively annotated, and invariably accompanied by an introduction on the transmission and history of each particular prognostic genre. Some of Förster’s analyses are now outdated, since more and closer Latin analogues have been discovered. Yet for many texts his editions and studies are still the standard against which new insights need to be measured. If it is true that Cockayne prepared the ground for the study of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics, it is equally true that the study of the genre matured with Förster.

**Henel.** Heinrich Henel (1905-1981) is a scholar whose interest ranged ‘von Beowulf bis Kafka’. Henel wrote his article ‘Altenglischer Mönchsaberglaube’ (‘Old English Monkish Superstition’) well after Förster had published the greater part of his work on the prognostics, but its importance should not be underestimated because it contributed valuable Latin analogues to the prognostics already edited by Förster. Moreover, Henel was more successful than Förster in deciphering the prognostics in those parts of Vitellius E.xviii which had been badly damaged by the Cottonian Fire of 1731. Henel had actually seen the manuscript, whereas Förster worked with photographs. Henel published collated editions of six prognostic genres.

**Svenberg.** Eight years before Förster published the only Latin collective lunary with Old English glosses, Emanuel Svenberg published a slim volume containing collated editions of collective lunaries, among which a number of insular texts. Svenberg edited the Latin part of the collective lunary in Tiberius A.iii, the Old English glosses of which had been published by Cockayne.

### 1.4.2 STATE OF AFFAIRS

The scholars introduced above have published between them all the extant Old English prognostics, and many of the Latin ones from Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Some, such as Assmann and Sievers, contributed just a fraction of the texts; others like Cockayne, Henel, and Förster discovered and published between them almost the entire corpus of Old English prognostics. Despite the relative antiquity of these editions, they still are the touchstone for modern research on the prognostics.

For some reason or other, the study of Anglo-Saxon prognostics became unfashionable after Förster had published his ‘Antiker Sammellunare’ in 1944. In fact, no new authoritative editions of Anglo-Saxon prognostics have appeared since that time. This does not mean that the prognostics were neglected, as the recent articles by Liuzza attest to. Moreover, a fair number of studies of the continental and Middle English prognostics have been carried out after the 1940s.

In the past decade, several publications have focussed on Anglo-Saxon prognostics from an...
1.5 PLAN FOR THIS BOOK

A number of interesting discoveries will be presented in this thesis: (1) a fivefold division of manuscript contexts which proves essential in understanding why some Anglo-Saxon prognostics are encountered more often than others and why certain prognostic genres appear in some contexts but not in others; (2) a correlation between the language and the manuscript context, and the language and type of prognostic copied into a manuscript; (3) quantified indications that Anglo-Saxon prognostics, specifically Old English ones and glossed texts, came into vogue only in the period of the Benedictine Reform; (4) clear evidence that the status of prognostics changed in the course of time; (5) ample indication that prognostics were not always held in strong opposition to orthodox Christianity, as some contemporaries, such as Ælfric, would have us believe; (6) suggestions that prognostics were not used in a pastoral capacity.

The remainder of this thesis is a study and text edition of the prognostics. The study is structured as follows: chapter 2 is a handlist of manuscripts and texts; it contains information such as the date, place of origin, and contents of the manuscripts containing prognostics, as well as a description of each prognostic in the corpus. Chapter 3 provides a full description of the individual prognostic genres, their history and transmission. These two chapters may be consulted when the need arises, rather than be read from beginning to end. Chapter 4 delves into the manuscript contexts of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics and offers a method by which the attestation of particular prognostic genres may be analysed. Chapter 5 reviews the transmission of prognostics, and the influence of language and context on the selection of prognostics for inclusion in medieval manuscripts. Moreover, relevant data such as language, date and place of origin are used to analyse the distribution of prognostics in time and place. Chapter 6 places prognostics in a framework of superstition in order to facilitate an investigation of opinions on prognostication in late Anglo-Saxon England. Chapter 7, finally, addresses the issue of the intended use of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics. The appendices provide additional, mostly tabular information in the form of reference lists and concordances. Appendix 1 contains a brief overview of all the manuscript information presented in chapters 2 and 3, and is most helpful when reading chapters 4 to 7. Appendix 2 is a concordance to the naming and numbering of prognostics in other works, such as Ker’s Catalogue, and the short title and Cameron number for the Dictionary of Old English. Appendix 3 presents reference tables to the redactions of several prognostic genres. These tables can be consulted by those who actually wish to try out the prognostics in times of need, and by

113Wallis (1995), Hollis (2001), Liuzza (2001). A short characterisation of these articles is provided in section 7.2.2.1.
115Pulsiano and Doane (1994-).
those who are, like me, appreciative of tables in general.

The text corpus I have compiled consists of 171 texts: fifty are in Old English, eleven in Latin with Old English glosses, and 110 are in Latin. The corpus comprises all glossed prognostics and those in Old English, including the twelfth-century copy of a series of prognostics from Canterbury (?) in Hatton 115 and the prognostic in the vernacular copied by the Tremulous Worcester hand in CCCC 391. The 110 Latin texts do not constitute a closed corpus, but they do represent a fair sample of insular prognostics from before the thirteenth century. It will become apparent that my collection of these prognostics does not constitute a modern effort at grouping an arbitrary range of texts together under the designation prognostics. Rather, the various types of prognostics were already organised into larger units in the Anglo-Saxon period.  

The insular prognostics are attested in manuscripts which have survived no less than three waves of material losses, viz. the Viking raids and occupation of the Danelaw, the Norman Conquest, and the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII. The prognostic corpus survives in thirty-seven (fragments of) manuscripts. Most of the texts were copied in New Minster, Winchester, Christ Church, Canterbury, Worcester Cathedral, and Ramsey Abbey. The majority is attested in manuscripts dating from the eleventh century. All prognostics are translations from classical texts: none of the genres is native to Anglo-Saxon or Germanic cultures. Finally, it may be said that while prognostics can be studied as expressions of superstition, medicine or arithmetic, they are not necessarily for that reason superstitious, medical, or arithmetical texts.

\[117\] The evidence for the recognition of a corpus of prognostics in medieval times is presented at various points in this thesis and enumerated in the conclusion.
2

HANDLIST OF ANGLO-SAXON MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING
PROGNOSTICS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents information on a number of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing prognostics, and a detailed set of data for each individual prognostic in these manuscripts. The handlist includes all Old English and glossed prognostics, many Latin ones, some prognostics now (partly) lost, and a number of prognostics in continental manuscripts which reached England before the thirteenth century.

The lack of a thorough, descriptive catalogue by subject for Latin texts in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts makes the contribution of Latin prognostics to this list more haphazard than I would have wished for.1 The number of Latin prognostics will probably be more than doubled were a close inspection of all extant Anglo-Saxon manuscripts carried out. Many references to Latin prognostics are found in the articles of Förster and Henel, and Ker’s Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon.2 I located some Latin prognostics in catalogues of manuscripts while researching the date and origin of other insular manuscripts I was interested in, as is the case with the texts on the three Egyptian Days and the three miraculous birthdays in CCCC 422, page 49; texts I would probably not have found if it were not for James’s Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge.3 Prognostics are sometimes not introduced as such in descriptions of the contents of manuscripts, which makes their discovery a matter of chance, as with the texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days and the unlucky days in Tiberius C.vi, fol. 114r, recently introduced as follows: ‘contains two notes’.4

Although the focus is limited to the Anglo-Saxon period, room is made for texts postdating the eleventh century when it is believed that these younger texts add to our understanding of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics. It should not be forgotten, in this respect, that one of the more significant collections of Old English prognostics, in Hatton 115, dates from s. xii or s. xii\textsuperscript{m}.

Each manuscript is introduced with the help of information provided in descriptions of manuscripts. The number of catalogues I have consulted is not exhaustive. As is often the case with catalogues of manuscripts, the more one consults them, the wider the range in dates and places of origin for a given manuscript. My choices in these matters – including the preference of one manuscript description over another –, therefore, do not lay claim to any form of reality or exactitude whatsoever, but merely provide me with a working basis. I have relied mostly on Ker, Pulsiano and Doane, Gameson, and Gneuss, because the work of these scholars reflects dependable scholarship.5

The focus is on the prognostics, so my main aim in these concise manuscript descriptions has been to discover where and when the prognostics were copied, and in what manuscript contexts they were incorporated. I refer the reader to the catalogues mentioned for each manuscript, should more

1Mooney (1998: 123) observed that ‘the principal difficulty in editing astrological and prognostic texts is finding them’.
3James (1912).
4Pulsiano (1994b: 41 [233.2]).
information be desired.

The prognostics have not been numbered in order of appearance: each text has been assigned a unique number which codes for the prognostic genre, followed by a number corresponding with the place of the text in the list of attestations for this genre. Thus, the prognostic with number 9.2.4/5 is a dream lunary (lunary [9], specific type [2], dreams [4]), taking fifth place in the list of attested dream lunaries. In section 3.2.1, under dream lunaries, it can be verified how many prognostics of this genre have been attested, and in what manuscripts they appear. Text 9.2.4/5, for instance, can be found in Tiberius A.iii, fols 35v-36r.

Prognostics (or parts of prognostics) which are no longer extant are entered in italics in the handlist. I include only those prognostics for whose one-time existence evidence can be found. Moreover, I have not included lost exemplars in lost manuscripts, but restricted myself to lost prognostics in extant manuscripts. Entries which are in round brackets are excluded from the main text corpus and pertain to texts added at a later date in a language other than Latin or Old English, to non-insular prognostics attested in manuscripts which may also contain Anglo-Saxon prognostics, or to continental manuscripts which were transferred to England before the thirteenth century. These may be composite manuscripts (e.g. Sloane 475), or manuscripts brought to, and expanded in England (e.g. Digby 63).

To accommodate the reader I have tabulated some of the data from this chapter in appendices 1 and 2. The first is a fact-sheet of date, place of origin, context, and prognostic contents. The second appendix is a concordance to the classification of prognostics in various catalogues and manuals.

It has proved impossible for me to continuously integrate newly-found prognostics because this would entail rewriting substantial parts of my thesis to incorporate new data. Therefore, I have established a closed corpus of 171 prognostics in section 2.2.1, while prognostics found at a later date are described in the supplement, section 2.2.2. Unfortunately, this has led to the exclusion of several manuscripts containing interesting collections of prognostics, notably Egerton 3314, fols 1-78, which formed one volume with Caligula A.xv, fols 120-153. The prognostics in section 2.2.1 form the basis of my study and text edition, those in section 2.2.2 are not taken into account.

NB I have been able to transcribe the four prognostics in Egerton 3314 on 28 February 2006, i.e. after the manuscript of this thesis had been approved. With permission of my supervisors, I have included working editions of the Egerton prognostics as texts 6/27α (Dog Days), 8.3/30α, 8.3/30β, and 8.3/30γ (twenty-four Egyptian Days) respectively. Please note that these four texts are not taken into account in any part of my study of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics.

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6A reference list of genres and numbers is in section 3.1.
2.2.1 CORPUS

CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, MS 9

AKA THE LONDON-CAMBRIDGE LEGENDARY, THE COTTON-CORPUS LEGENDARY

MS 9, pp. 61-458, was once part of a legendary with Nero E.i, vols. 1 and 2.\(^7\)

DATE: overall: s. xi; additions s. xi, xii (pp. 17-60); calendar: s. xi\(^2\)

ORIGIN: Worcester

CONTENTS: calendar and computus; saints’ lives; legendary


CCCC 9, pp. 3-14

TYPE: Dog Days (entries in the calendar)

LANGUAGE: L

INCIPIT:

EDITION: Wormald (1934: 226-37 [18])

CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, MS 391

AKA PORTIFORIUM OSWALDI; PORTIFORIUM SANCII WULFSTANI

MS 391 may have been made for, or owned by Wulfstan II (c. 1008-1095), bishop of Worcester, 1062-1095.

DATE: overall: s. xi, 1064-1069; additions s. xi-xiii; \(\frac{3}{4}\) (pp. 713-721), s. xiii (p. 721 [Tremulous hand])\(^8\)

ORIGIN: Worcester

CONTENTS: computus; Gallican psalter; hymns and canticles; collectar; exorcisms, blessings, ordeals, and prayers; offices; prognostics


CCCC 391, pp. 713/20-714/5

TYPE: brontology, temporal, day of the week

LANGUAGE: OE

INCIPIT: On anweardne gear gif hit þunreð ærest on sunnadæg

EDITION: Förster (1908a: 46); Liuzza (2004: 18)

TRANSLATION: Liuzza (2004: 19, n. 62)


CCCC 391, pp. 714/10-19

TYPE: brontology, non-temporal, compass directions

LANGUAGE: OE

INCIPIT: Gif þunorrade bið hlynende of eastdæle

EDITION: Förster (1912a: 65-66) used 14/2 (in Hatton 115) to add the missing lines.

TRANSLATION: Förster (1912a: 65-66)


CCCC 391, pp. 714/10-19

TYPE: brontology, non-temporal, compass directions

LANGUAGE: OE

INCIPIT: Gif þunorrade bið hlynende of eastdæle

EDITION: Förster (1912a: 65-66) used 14/2 (in Hatton 115) to add the missing lines.

TRANSLATION: Förster (1912a: 65-66)


\(^{10}\) Förster (1912a: 65-66) used 14/2 (in Hatton 115) to add the missing lines.

\(^{11}\) Adap..
EDITION: Förster (1908a: 47-48); Liuzza (2004: 19)\textsuperscript{12}
TRANSLATION: Liuzza (2004: 19, n. 62)

CCCC 391, pp. 714/19-715/3 5.1.1.2/1 TYPE: bronatology, temporal, canonical hours (day office)
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIIT: Gif ðunor + cumð, æt þære þriddan tide dæges
EDITION: Förster (1912b: 297-300)

CCCC 391, p. 715/4-26 3.1.3/1 TYPE: birth, temporal, day of the week
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIIT: Gif mon bið acenned on sunnandæg oððe on nihte

CCCC 391, p. 716 9.2.2/1 TYPE: lunar, specific, birth
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIIT: Ón a)`nre nihte earlne monan þæt cild þæt swa bið acenned
EDITION: Förster (1912c: 21-26 [W])

CCCC 391, pp. 717-718/1 9.2.5/1 TYPE: lunar, specific, illness

CCCC 391, p. 718/2-8 3.1.2/1 TYPE: birth, temporal, three miraculous days
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIIT: (Ð)ry dagas synd on .xii. monðum mid iii nihtum on ðam ne bið nan wif acenned
EDITION: Förster (1929: 260 [W])
COLLATION: Henel (1934-35: 346-47 [W])\textsuperscript{14}

CCCC 391, p. 718/9-22 8.1/1 TYPE: Egyptian Days, three days per year
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIIT: Dry dagas synd on xii monðum þa synd swiðe unhalwende

CCCC 391, pp. 718/23-720/3 9.2.4/6 TYPE: lunar, specific, dreams (psalm verses follow each phase)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: Luna .i. quicquid uideris
COLLATION: Förster (1925-26: 67-74)\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{13}Ker (1957: 114) printed the last line, which was lacking in Förster (1912c: 34-36).
\textsuperscript{14}In Henel (1934-35: 346-47) as variants to 3.1.2/3 (in Vitellius E.xviii).
\textsuperscript{15}In Franzen (1991: 69) used to elucidate 8.1/2 (also in CCCC 391).
\textsuperscript{16}In Förster (1925-26: 67-74) as variants to 9.2.4/5 (in Tiberius A.iii).

CCCC 391, pp. 720/4-721/11 9.2.4/1
TYPE: lunary, specific, dreams
LANGUAGE: OE

INCIPIIT: Þonne se mone bið anre nihte eald swa hwæt swa þu gesihst


CCCC 422, p. 27 9.2.3/1
TYPE: lunar, specific, bloodletting (top right corner torn out, endings of first five phases damaged)
LANGUAGE: L/OE (linear gloss)
INCIPIIT: gimenett [title] Luna i Bona est. / her hit is (god tima.)

FACSIMILE: Graham et al. (2003: microfiche 11.8.1)
EDITION: Henel (1934-35: 334-35)

CCCC 422, pp. 29-40 8.3/4
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: DIES MALA.

EDITION: Wormald (1934:184-95 [14])

Budny (1997: I.644) described the last letter of ‘recednesse’, the final word of 9.2.4/1.
(2003: 90 [60.11])

CCCC 422, p. 49/8-12  3.1.2/4
TYPE: birth, temporal, three miraculous days
LANGUAGE: L
incipit: In anno sunt. tres dies & tres noctes. in quibus si quis. homo. genitus. fuerit
facsimile: Graham et al. (2003: microfiche 11.8.2)
edition: James (1912: II.319-20 [II])
listing: Ker (1957: 114 [67.d.vi], 174 [139.A.i]); Graham et al. (2003: 90 [60.11])

Cambridge, Trinity college, O.7.41 (1369)
date: overall: after 1112, additions s. xiii, xiv; prognostic and calendar: after 1112
origin: Colchester
contents: prognostic, calendar and computus with chronicle notes; mathematical notes;
De concordia evangelistarum; Marianus Scotus, Chronicar; the orders of the church;
Hebrew alphabet and notes; arithmetic
Gameson (1999: 74 [170])

Ctc O.7.41, fol. 1r  2/2
Type: Apuleian Sphere
language: L
incipit: Racio spere pytagorice quam apuleius descriptit.
listing: James (1900-04: III.379 [1369.1]); Thordike (1923-58: I.692);
Thordike and Kibre (1963: 1315); Gameson (1999: 74 [170])

Ctc O.7.41, fol. 1v-7r  8.3/5
Type: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (verses and entries in the calendar)
language: L
incipit: Iani prima dies: & septima fine timetur. [verse] dies egyptiacus [entry]

Graham et al. (2003: 90) was unaware that this prognostic and the next are two separate texts; he quoted the incipit of the first and the explicit of the second.

Ibid.

Robinson (1988: I.104) dated the manuscript to after 1112 with the help of the lunar tables written between 1107-1112 by Walcher (d. 1135), prior of Malvern (cf. Haskins 1915: 57). The singleton folding sheet, fol. 23, on which James (1900-04: III.379-82) and Gneuss (1981: 15) based their estimate, has computistical tables dating to 1086.

Robinson (1988: I.104) erroneously referred to shelf-mark 1360 instead of 1369.

List: James (1900-04: III.379 [1369.2]); Thordike (1923-58: I.686, 695)

Ctc O.7.41, fol. 1v-7r  6/6
Type: Dog Days (entries in the calendar)
language: L
incipit: Dies caniculares.

Cambridge, Trinity college, R.15.32 (945)
The main scribe of the calendar and computus in CTC R.15.32, Ælsinus, is one of two main scribes of Titus D.xxvi, xxvii
date: overall: s. xi (pp. 1-12, 37-218), 1035-1036 (pp. 13-36); additions to the calendar s. xi (names of the months added to the calendar on pp. 15-26), additions s. xi (note on p. 36), more additions to the calendar s. xi; calendar: 1035-1036; Dog Days original to the calendar; Egyptians Days added s. xi; prognostic: s. xi
origin: overall: New Minster, Winchester, transferred to, and added to in St. Augustine’s, Canterbury, by s. xi; calendar: New Minster, Winchester; additions to the calendar St. Augustine’s, Canterbury; prognostic: New Minster, Winchester
contents: astronomical notes; computus; arithmetic
Ker (1957: 135 [90]); Gneuss (1981: 15 [186]; 2001: 45 [186]);

Ctc R.15.32, pp. 15-26  8.3/6
Type: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (entries in the calendar)
language: L
incipit: Dies mala
Wright and Hollis (2004: microfiche 12.5.1)
edition: Wormald (1934: 128-39 [10])
listing: Wright and Hollis (2004: 34-35 [84.6.e])

James (1900-04: III.379) wrote: ‘The usual verses Iani prima dies ei septima fine timetur are given…. The Dies egyptiaci are also marked’. This is one of the few references to Egyptian Days in Anglo-Saxon calendars I have encountered.

James (1900-04: II.363) noted that 8.3/7 is in a larger hand, which might suggest that this prognostic served as filler material. Gneuss (2001: 45), however, did not note anything of the kind, and I have not considered this text a later addition to the computus.

22James (1900-04: III.379) wrote: ‘The usual verses Iani prima dies et septima fine timetur are given…. The Dies egyptiaci are also marked’. This is one of the few references to Egyptian Days in Anglo-Saxon calendars I have encountered.

23James (1900-04: II.363) noted that 8.3/7 is in a larger hand, which might suggest that this prognostic served as filler material. Gneuss (2001: 45), however, did not note anything of the kind, and I have not considered this text a later addition to the computus.
CTC R.15.32, pp. 15-26 6/7
TYPE: Dog Days (entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCTIPIT: Dies caniculares incipiuntur.
FACSIMILE: Wright and Hollis (2004: microfiche 12.5.1)
EDITION: Wormald (1934: 128-39 [10])

CTC R.15.32, p. 37/1-12 8.3/7
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (hexameter verses)
LANGUAGE: L
INCTIPIT: KLIBIANVARII. Iani prima dies. & septima fine tumur.
FACSIMILE: Wright and Hollis (2004: microfiche 12.5.1)

CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Kk.5.32, FOLS 49-60
DATE: overall: 1021-1022 (fols 49-60); addition s. xi
ORIGIN: St. Augustine's, Canterbury, transferred to Glastonbury (c. 1100)
CONTENT: computus and calendar; excerpts from Byrhtferth's Enchiridion

CUL Kk.5.32, fol 50r-55v 8.3/8
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCTIPIT: Dies
FACSIMILE: Robinson (1988: II, plate 16 [of fol. 51v])
EDITION: Wormald (1934: 72-83 [6])

CUL Kk.5.32, fol 50r-55v 6/8
TYPE: Dog Days (entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCTIPIT: Dies caniculares, hic incipit
EDITION: Wormald (1934: 72-83 [6])

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, ADDITIONAL 37517
AKA THE BOSWORTH PSALTER
DATE: overall: s. x, xi; calendar: s. x/xi
ORIGIN: Canterbury (St. Augustine's)?
CONTENT: calendar; glossed Roman psalter; glossed canticles; litany; hymnal; monastic canticles; prayers and texts of the mass

Add. 37517, fol 2r-3r 8.3/9
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCTIPIT: Dies
FACSIMILE: Gasquet and Bishop (1908: plate iv [of fol. 2r]); Watson (1979: II, plate 23 [detail of fol. 2v]); Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.1.1)
EDITION: Wormald (1934: 58-69 [5])

Add. 37517, fol 2r-3r 6/9
TYPE: Dog Days (entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCTIPIT: Dies caniculares, hic incipit
FACSIMILE: Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.1.1)
EDITION: Wormald (1934: 58-69 [5])

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, ARUNDEL 60
AKA THE ARUNDEL PSALTER
DATE: overall: s. xii; 1073? (fols 1-132, 143-148), 1099 (fol. 149); additions s. xi
ORIGIN: New Minster Winchester
CONTENT: prognostic, calendar, and computus; glossed Gallican psalter; glossed canticles; litany; prayers; six ages of the world; list of bishops of Winchester

25See Gneuss (2001: 59) for a detailed overview of the dates of the contents.
26It has not yet been settled whether the manuscript is from Christ Church or St. Augustine's, Canterbury. Gneuss (2001: 59) tentatively opted for Christ Church, Canterbury. Ker (1957: 162), Temple (1976: 45-46) and Orchard (1995) argued for a St. Augustine's origin. Orchard's analysis of the contents of the calendar place the calendar at least in St. Augustine's.
Arundel 60, fol. 1r 9.2.3/2
TYPE: lunary, specific, bloodletting
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: AD SANGVINEM MINVENDVM. [title]
Luna i Tota die bona est.
FACSIMILE: Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.2.1)
LISTING: Liuzza (2001: 215 [A2])

Arundel 60, fols 2r-7v 8.3/10
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (verses and entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: IANI PRIMA DIES ET SEPTIMA FINE
TVMETVR. [title] dies [entry]
FACSIMILE: Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.2.1)
LISTING: Liuzza (2001: 215 [A2])

Arundel 60, fols 2r-7v 6/10
TYPE: Dog Days (entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: Dies caniculares incipiunt
FACSIMILE: Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.2.1)

Arundel 155, fols 2r-7v 8.3/11
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: DIES EGYPTIACVS.
FACSIMILE: Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.3.1)
EDITION: Wormald (1934: 170-81 [13])

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, ARUNDEL 155
AKA THE EADUI PSALTER
DATE: overall: 1012-1023 (fols 2-135, 171-191); extensive additions and alterations s. xii; calendar: 1012-1023; alterations to the calendar, which include the addition of entries on the Egyptian Days, s. xii
ORIGIN: Christ Church, Canterbury
CONTENTS: calendar and computus; Roman psalter, changed to Gallican; canticles; prayers; hymns; creeds; prayers
Caligula A.xv, fol. 125va 2/3
TYPE: Apuleian Sphere
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: Collige per numeros quicquid cupis esse probrandum.
FACSIMILE: Cockayne (1864-66: III.150 [diagram only])
EDITION: Förster (1912c: 45-46 [text only]); Pulsiiano (1998b: 113, n. 41)
COLLATION: Liuzza (2005: II.39-40 [C; incomplete])
LISTING: Förster (1925-26: 75 [1]); Liuzza (2001: 215 [C1])

Caligula A.xv, fols 125vb-126r 9.2.5/3
TYPE: lunary, specific, illness
LANGUAGE: L/OE (linear gloss)
INCIPIIT: Luna i. qui inciderit / Se þe afealð
EDITION: Cockayne (1864-66: II.I.150-51 [C] [incomplete])

Caligula A.xv, fols 129v/27-130r/12 8.3/12
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: Non interficias nec sanguis relaxetur.
EDITION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.152-54); Förster (1929: 266-69 [C])
COLLATION: Henel (1934-35: 336-38 [C])

Caligula A.xv, fol. 130r/13-27 15/1
TYPE: unlucky days
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIIT: Syndon twegen dagas on æghwylcum monðe
EDITION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.154); Förster (1929: 260 [C])
COLLATION: Henel (1934-35: 346-47 [C])
TRANSLATION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.155)
LISTING: Wanley (1705: II.234 [XIII]); Planta (1802: 336-38 [C])

38Republished Singer (1961: III.169).
40Corrections Henel (1934-35: 336, n. 1).
41In Henel (1934-35: 336-38) as variants to 8.3/3 (in Harley 3271).
43Bonser (1963: xvii) erroneously referred to this text as a bloodletting prognostic.
44Replicated Förster (1903: 354); republished Singer (1961: III.154).
45In Henel (1934-35: 346-47) as variants to 3.1.2/3 (in Vitellius E.xviii).
Caligula A.xv, fols 131v/16-132r/8 9.2.4/2

TYPE: lunary, specific, dreams
LANGUAGE: OE

EDITION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.154-56); Förster (1925-26: 79-86 [C])

TRANSLATION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.155-57)


Caligula A.xv, fol. 132r/9-35 9.2.2/2

TYPE: lunary, specific, birth
LANGUAGE: OE

EDITION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.155-57); Förster (1925-26: 76 [15]); Ker (1957: 175 [139.A.q]); Healey and Venezky (1980: 158 [Prog 2.3 (Först), Cameron B23.2.3.2]); Quinn and Quinn (1990: 133 [F402]); Hollis and Wright (1992: 257); Voigts and Kurtz (2000: 47.00); Liuzza (2001: 216 [C8])

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON TIBERIUS A.iii, FOLS 2-173

Original foliation is: fols 117-173, 2-116.

DATE: s. xi

ORIGIN: Christ Church, Canterbury

CONTENTS: table of contents (fol. 117); glossed Rule of St. Benedict (fols 118-163); injunction to observe the Rule (fols 164-168); Memoriale qualiter (fols 164-168); list of ecclesiastical feast days (fols 168-169); Capitula from synod of Aachen in 818 (fols 169-173); post-medieval table of contents (fol. 2); glossed Regulæs concordiae (fols 3-27); prognostics (fols 27-43); short notes (fols 43-44); prayers and directions (fols 44-60); Ælfric, glossed Colloquy (fols 60-64); prognostics (fols 65); Ælfric, De tempori annorum (fols 65-73); commonplaces (fols 73); OE Life of St. Margaret (fols 73-77); Ælfric's homily for Palm Sunday (fols 77-83); Sunday letter (fols 83-87); OE homily about a devil captured (fols 87-88); OE homiletic pieces (fols 88-93); ordination formula for an archbishop (fols 93-94); directions for a confessor (fols 94-97); Monasteriales indicia (fols 97-101); OE lapidary (fols 101-102); warning against pride (fols 102-103); L and OE Rule of St. Benedict, ch. 4 (fols 103-105); OE Alcuin, De virtutibus et virtutibus (fols 105-106); cattle charm (fols 106); Ælfric, Pastoral Letter III (fols 106-107); horae BVM (fols 107-115); prayers and verses (fols 116)


LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON NERO A.ii, FOLS 3-13

Nero A.ii, fols 3-13, was once part of the prayerbook Galba A.xiv, and was bound by Cotton with a north Italian prayerbook (s. viii-ix), and a series of texts on St. Cuthbert (s. xii).

DATE: s. xi

ORIGIN: St. Mary's, Winchester

CONTENTS: calendar and computus; prayers


Tiberius A.iii, fols 27v/12-32v/16

TYPE: dreambook (redaction a, redaction a, a/b hybrid e); 249 original entries [7/4a] to which a first [250-70, 7/4b] and second supplement [271-302, 7/4c] were added.

LANGUAGE: L/OE

INCIPIENT De somniiorum diuersitate secundum ordinem abcdarii danielis prophete. / be swefena mistlicnesse æfter endebryndnessæ abeces danielis þær wiregan. [title] Aues in somnis qui uiderit / fugelas on swefenum se þe gesyð


Tiberius A.iii, fols 32v/16-35v/14

9.1/1

TYPE: lunary, collective

LANGUAGE: L/OE

INCIPIENT: de obseruatione lune & que cauenda sunt [title] Luna prima omnibus rebus agendis utilis est. / mona se forma on eallu


COLLATION: Förster (1916: 270-83 [TA])


Tiberius A.iii, fols 35v/15-36v/13

9.2.4/3

TYPE: lunar, specific, dreams

LANGUAGE: L/OE

INCIPIENT: Luna prima quicquid uideris / swa wæt swa þu gesiht

EDITION: Förster (1925-26: 67-74 [Tb])


Tiberius A.iii, fol. 36r/14-36v/7

17/4

TYPE: year prognosis

LANGUAGE: L/OE

INCIPIENT: Si fuerit ianuarius die dominico. / gif bið on dag drihtenlicum

EDITION: Förster (1908b: 296-97)

TRANSLATION: Thorndike (1923-58: I.677 [incomplete])


Tiberius A.iii, fol. 36v/8-22

9.2.2/5

TYPE: lunar, specific, birth (incomplete, lacks phase)

LANGUAGE: L/OE

INCIPIENT: Luna i. qui natus fuerit. / se þe acenned bið

EDITION: Förster (1912c: 18-21 [T])


52Cockayne’s translation is prefaced by the comment ‘the Saxon glosses some Latin’ (1864-66: III.199). Replicated Förster (1908b: 302-05) as variants to 7/2 (also in Tiberius A.iii).

53In Förster (1916: 270-83) as variants to 7/1 (also in Tiberius A.iii), and 7/3 (in Hatton 115).

54Corrections Wistrand (1942: 23-35).

Tiberius A.iii, fols 36v/23-37r/11  9.2.5/4
TYPE: lunary, specific, illness
LANGUAGE: L/OE
INCIPIT: Luna i. qui inciderit. / se þe afeallað

Tiberius A.iii, fol. 37r/12-37v/4  5.1.2/1
TYPE: brontology, temporal, hour of the day
LANGUAGE: L/OE
INCIPIT: Si tonitruauerit hora uesper tina. /gi f hit þunrað on tide æfen
EDITION: Förster (1908a: 50-51); Liuzza (2004: 16-61)
TRANSLATION: Liuzza (2004: 17, n. 55)

Tiberius A.iii, fol. 37v/4-38r/2  9.2.4/3
TYPE: lunary, specific dreams (incomplete, lacks end of phase 24 and beginning of 25-26)
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIT: On anre nihte ealdne monan swa hwæt swa þe mæteð
EDITION: Förster (1912c: 32-34 [T])


In Weißer (1982: 273-77) as variants to Harley 3017, fol. 58v (see section 2.2.2).

Corrections Förster (1910: 55, n. 5).


In Cockayne (1864-66: III.168-76) collated with 7/3 (in Hatton 115). Replicated Förster (1908b: 302-05) as variants to 7/2 (in Tiberius A.iii). In completely replicated Griffiths (1996: 221-24), who used an old manuscript designation (Junius 23) and who referred to 7/2 as a dreambook in Tiberius A.ii.

1) Wanley (1705: II.194 [VI]) did not realise that 9.2.1/1 and 9.2.5/2 are two separate prognostics; he took the incipit from the former, and the explicit from the latter.
Tiberius A.iii, fol. 40r/5-21 9.2.5/2
TYPE: lunary, specific, illness (incomplete, lacks phase 13)
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIT: On anre nihte ealdne monan se þe hine adl gestandeð.
EDITION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.182); Förster (1912c: 34-36 [T13])
TRANSLATION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.183)

Tiberius A.iii, fol. 40v/6-17 10/1
TYPE: month prognosis
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIT: Donne se mona bið acenned on sunnandæge.
TRANSLATION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.181); replicated Griffiths (1996: 232-33), who designated the manuscript Tiberius A.ii.

Tiberius A.iii, fol. 41r/12-41v/8 9.2.2/3
TYPE: lunary, specific, birth
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIT: Gif man biþ acenned on ane nihte ealdne monan.
EDITION: Förster (1912c: 21-26 [T])
COLLATION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.156-58)

Tiberius A.iii, fols 40v/18-41r/11 3.1.1/1
TYPE: birth, temporal, development of the foetus
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIT: Her onginð secgan ymbe mannes gecynde
TRANSLATION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.147); Bonser (1963: 265); Deegan (1987: 23); Swanton (1993: 263)

Tiberius A.iii, fol. 41r/12-41v/8 9.2.2/3
TYPE: birth, temporal, development of the foetus
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIT: Gif man biþ a cenned o n a ne nihte e aldne monan.
EDITION: Förster (1912c: 21-26 [T])
COLLATION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.156-58)

Tiberius A.iii, fols 41v/8-42r/5 17/1
TYPE: year prognosis
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIT: KL Ianuarius gif he byþ on monandæg.
EDITION: Förster (1908b: 297-98)
TRANSLATION: Hampson (1841: I.133-34)

Tiberius A.iii, fol. 42r/5-42v/8 7/2
TYPE: dreambook (a/b hybrid; 26 entries)
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIT: If man by thet his mon ehte.
COLLATION: Förster (1916: 270-93 [TC])
TRANSLATION: Griffiths (1996: 226-28)

Tiberius A.iii, fols 42v/9-43r/2 3.2/1
TYPE: birth, non-temporal, behaviour of the mother
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIT: Efti is oðer wise be þissum þæt þu meht witan on bearneacenum wife hwæþeres cynnes bearn heo cennan sceal.
EDITION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.144)

Tiberius A.iii, fol. 65r/1-11 9.2.3/3
TYPE: lunary, specific, bloodletting
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: Luna.1. tota die bonum est.
EDITION: Förster (1912c: 36-37)

Tiberius A.iii, fol. 65r/11-22 3.1.3/3
TYPE: birth, temporal, day of the week
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: DE NATIVITATE INFANTVM. [title] Die dominico. hora diuturna siue nocturna utilissimus erit qui nascetur
COLLATION: Förster (1912b: 301-03 [E/Ea])
John’s College 17.
DATE: overall: c. 1122; additions to the annals 1135; prognostics: c. 1122
ORIGIN: Peterborough
CONTENTS: Tiberius C.i, fols 2-42: computus, astronomy, and prognostic; names of the winds; excerpts from Bede, Macrobius, Isidorus, Pliny; Harley 3667: annals of Peterborough Abbey in Easter table, parts of Byrhtferth’s computus, astronomy, and prognostics; names of the winds
Tiberius C.i, fol. 7rb/1-15
TYPE: Egyptians Days, twelve days per year
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: Isto quoque dies obscurandi sunt in singolis mensibus.
FACSIMILE: Wilcox (2000: microfiche 8.5.1)

Tiberius C.i, fol. 7v
TYPE: Apuleian Sphere
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: Ratio spere pitagori philosophi quem apuleius (de)scriptit.
COLLATION: Liuzza (2005: II.40-44 [T; incomplete])

Harley 3667, fol. 4va, 4vc
TYPE: Apuleian Sphere
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: Ratio spheræ pitagori.
FACSIMILE: Wilcox (2000: microfiche 8.9.1)
LISTING: Kauffmann (1975: 76); Wilcox (2000: 70 [275.3]); Liuzza (2001: 219 [TH3])

Harley 3667, fol. 5r
TYPE: Apuleian Sphere
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: De quacumque re scire volueris nel consulere.
FACSIMILE: Wilcox (2000: microfiche 8.9.1)
COLLATION: Liuzza (2005: II.40-44 [Th2; incomplete])

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON TIBERIUS C.ivi
AKA THE TIBERIUS PSALTER
DATE: overall: s. xi, mid 1060s?; additions s. xii (Latin text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days, and a text on the unlucky days text in Norman French); prognostics: s. xi (fol. 6v); s. xii (fol. 114r)
ORIGIN: Winchester (Old Minster?)
CONTENTS: computus; illustrations (including Apuleian Sphere); notes and prayers; glossed Gallican psalter with collects; prognostic

Tiberius C.ivi, fol. 6v
TYPE: Apuleian Sphere
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: COLLIGE PER NUMEROS QVICQVID CPRVIP ESSE PROBAND(VM.)
FACSIMILE: Wormald (1962: plate 125); Heimann (1966: plate 9a); Temple (1976: ill. 303); Desham (1977: plate VIIIa); Jones (1984: 66); Puliano (1994b: microfiche 2.4.1); Liuzza (2005: II.33, plate 3)
EDITION: Wanley (1705: II.224 [II; incomplete, verse only])
COLLATION: Liuzza (2005: II.39-40 [Ti; incomplete])

81 In Liuzza (2005: II.40-44) as variants to 2/12 (in St. John’s College 17).
82 In Liuzza (2005: II.40-44) as variants to 2/12 and 2/13 (both in St. John’s College 17).
83 In Liuzza (2005: II.39-40) as variants to 2/10 (in Bodley 579).
Tiberius C.vi, fol. 114r/8-18  8.3/13
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIENT: Non interficias nec sanguis relaxetur.
FACSIMILE: Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.4.4)
LISTING: Wor mald (1962: 137 [150]); Pu lsiano
(1994b: 41 [233.2])

(Tiberius C.vi, fol. 114r/19-27
TYPE: unlucky days
LANGUAGE: Norman French
FACSIMILE: Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.4.4)
LISTING: Wo rmald (1962: 137 [150]); Pu lsiano
(1994b: 41 [233.2]))

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON TITUS D.xxvi, xxvii
AKA ÆLFWINE’S PRAYERBOOK
The two manuscripts originally formed one volume in
the order Titus D.xxvii, xxvi. Ælfwine owned this
manuscript when dean of New Minster, Winchester
(before 1032), and the manuscript was probably written
for him personally. Ælfwine himself did not write
portions of the manuscript. One of two main scribes,
Ælsinus (aka Ælfisige), also wrote the calendar and
computus of CTC R.15.32. The quires containing
prognostics in xxvi were added in s. xi.

DATE: overall: 1023-1031 (xxvii, fols 2r-21r, 22r-55r,
57r-64v, 66r-73v, 76r-93v; xxvi: 20r-75v, 80rv);
additions s. xi (xxvii, fols 55r-56v; xxvi, fols 2r-18r, 76-
79v); s. xii (xxvi, fol. 74r); the bifolia containing
miniatures added c. 1050 (xxvii, unnumbered leaf + fol.
65, 74-75; xxvi, fols 18-19); prognostics: 1023-1031
(xxvii, fols 2r, 22r-23r, 25rv, 27r-29v); s. xi (xxvi, fols
55v-56v; xxvi, fols 3v-16r); calendar: s. xi, before 1029
ORIGIN: New Minster, Winchester
CONTENTS: xxvii: prognostic, computus, Easter tables
with obits in hand A up to 1023, and calendar;
computus, prognostics, short notes, and prayer; Ælfric,
De temporibus annu; short notes, computus, and
prognostic; prayer; miniature of the Crucifixion;
devotions to the Holy Cross; prayer; miniature of the
Trinity; offices of the Trinity, the Holy Cross, the
Virgin Mary; private prayers; xxvi: directions for private
devotions; short notes, and prognostics; prayers;
medicinal recip; decisions at a Bishop’s Synod;
miniature of the Apostle Peter; collectar; devotions;
litany; private prayers; charm; beginning of St. John’s
Gospel
LISTING: Wanley (1705: II.247-48); Plan ta (1802:
567); Bond and Thompson (1873-83: III, plate 60);
Wormald (1952: 69 [33]); Ker (1957: 264-66 [202]);
(1981: 26 [380]; 2001: 70 [380]); Hollis and Wright
(1992: 260); Günzel (1993: 1-78); Corrèa (1995: 50-
51); Keynes (1996: 111-23); Liuzza (2001: 219-21 [Æ]);
Wit (2002: 84-86 [11])

Titus D.xxvii, fol. 2r  9.2.3/5
TYPE: lunary, specific, bloodletting
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIENT: Ad sanguinem minuendam. [title] Luna i
Tota die bona est.
FACSIMILE: Keynes (1996: plate X)
EDITION: Birch (1878: 496 [incomplete]); Günzel
(1993: 89 [1])
COLLATION: Förster (1912c: 36-37)
LISTING: Planta (1802: 567 [XXVII.1]); Craig (1916:
xxxix); Ker (1957: 310 [239.14]); Bonser (1963: xviii);
Liuzza (2001: 219 [Æ1])

Titus D.xxvii, fols 3r-8v 8.3/15
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (entries
in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIENT: Dies
FACSIMILE: Keynes (1996: plates X-XIII)
EDITION: Wormald (1934: 114-25 [9]); Günzel
(1993: 91-102 [4])
LISTING: Steele (1919: 121)

Titus D.xxvii, fols 3r-8v 6/13
TYPE: Dog Days (entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIENT: Dies caniculares incipiunt.
FACSIMILE: Keynes (1996: plates X-XIII)
EDITION: Hampson (1841: L.435-46); Wormald

Titus D.xxvii, fol. 22r-22v/16  8.3/16
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year
(hexameter verses + explanation and goose prohibition)

If (a) the last obit, 1023, in the hand of scribe A is
indicative of the time of composition of the manuscript,
and (b) the manuscript had indeed been finished before
1032, the year in which Ælfwine became abbot, the date
for the additions should be 1023-1031 (cf. Günzel 1993:

Republished Birch (1892: 269).
In Förster (1912c: 36-37) as variants to 9.2.3/3 (in
Tiberius A.iii).
Hampson (1841: L.435-46) did not print the entries
for the Egyptian Days in the same calendar.
LISTING: Liuzza (2001: 220 [Æ57])

Titus D.xxvi, fol. 4r/2-17  6/12
TYPE: Dog Days (+ moonbook)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: Quali tempore aperienda sit uena [title]
Incipiente ortu canis. uel arcturi adq
ue
siria stella
EDITION: Birch (1878: 474-475); Güenzel (1993: 145 [58])
COLLATION: Henel (1934-35: 332 [T])

Titus D.xxvi, fol. 5r/1-13  8.3/14
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year
(incomplete, lacks last four dates)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: Incipiunt dies aegyptaci qui in anno
obseruandi sunt per
unu
m
que
men
ii.
LISTING: Liuzza (2001: 220 [Æ59])

Titus D.xxvi, fol. 6r/1-6v/9  9.2.3/4
TYPE: colour of the moon
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: Pithagoras uero uir animi sagax scribit a terra
ad luna
m
cxxv i milia stadioru
mes se collegit a
so lem
aute
mab ea duplu
m
. inde ad xii. signa triplicatum.
EDITION: Wright and Halliwell (1841-43: I.15 [incomplete]); Birch (1878: 477); Günzel (1993: 147-48 [63])
COLLATION: Förster (1912c: 18-21 [D])
LISTING: Planta (1802: 567 [XXVI.8]); Craig (1916: xli); Thorndike (1923-58: L.680, n. 2); Liuzza (2001: 220 [Æ64])

Titus D.xxvi, fol. 7r/1-7v/13  3.1.3/4
TYPE: birth, temporal, day of the week
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: De natuitate Infantium [title] Die dominico
hora diurna. Siue nocturna utili(ssimus) erit qui
nascetur
EDITION: Birch (1878: 478 [incomplete]); Güenzel (1993: 147 [62])
COLLATION: Förster (1912b: 301-03 [E/Ed])

Titus D.xxvi, fol. 9r/1-9v/13  2.2.7/9
TYPE: lunar, specific, birth
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: Incipit lunaris Sancti danielis de natuitate.
[tile] Luna .i. qui natus fuerit
EDITION: Birch (1878: 479-79 [incomplete]); Günzel (1993: 148-49 [64])
COLLATION: Förster (1912c: 18-21 [D])
LISTING: Planta (1802: 567 [XXVI.8]); Craig (1916: xii); Thorndike (1923-58: L.680, n. 3); Liuzza (2001: 220 [Æ63])

Titus D.xxvi, fol. 9r/1-9v/13  2.4.7/9
TYPE: lunar, specific, dreams
LANGUAGE: L

106 Republished Birch (1892: 256).
107 In Förster (1912b: 301-03) collated with 3.1.3/3 (in Tiberius A.iii).
108 Thorndike (1923-58: L.680, n. 3) erroneously referred to this text as a birth lunary.
109 Republished Birch (1892: 256).
110 In Förster (1912c: 18-21) as variants to 9.2.2/5 (in Tiberius A.iii).
111 Republished Birch (1892: 256).
112 In Förster (1912c: 32-34) as variants to 9.2.5/4 (in Tiberius A.ii).
INCIPIT: Incipit lunaris de somnis [title] Luna .i. quicquid uideri(s)
EDITION: Birch (1878: 479 [incomplete]); Günzel (1993: 149-50 [65])

Titus D.xxvi, fols 9v/14-10v/9 5.1.2/2
TYPE: brontology, temporal, hour of the day
LANGUAGE: L

INCIPIT: De tonitruis dierum uel noctium [title] S
EDITION: Birch (1878: 479 [incomplete]); Günzel (1993: 150-51 [66])
COLLATION: Liuzza (2004: 16-17)
LISTING: Plant a (1802: 567 [XXVI.11]); Thorndike (1923-58: I.679, n. 1); Liuzza (2001: 221 [Æ66])

Titus D.xxvi, fols 10v/10-11v/6 17/5
TYPE: year prognosis

INCIPIT: incipiunt signa de temporibus. [title] S
EDITION: Birch (1878: 480); Günzel (1993: 151 [67])

Titus D.xxvi, fols 11v/8-16r 7/5
TYPE: dreambook (redaction a; 159 entries; corrections to the text in another hand)
LANGUAGE: L

INCIPIT: Aues in somnis uidere. & cumillis pugnare. [title] S

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON VESPASIAN D.xiv, FOLS 4-169
DATE: overall: s. xii, additions in the main hand s. xiii (fols 67v, 74v-75v, 102r-103v, 163v-169v), additions s. xiii (fol. 4r); prognostics: s. xii ex 2/4
ORIGIN: Christ Church, Canterbury?
CONTENTS: homilies; prognostics

INCIPIT: Æonne forme gearesdag byð sunendæg: [title] S
EDITION: Assmann (1889a: 369); Warner (1917: 66 [XXVI])
TRANSLATION: Griffiths (1996: 228-29)
LISTING: Wanley (1705: II.202-06); Plant a (1802: 476-77); Förster (1920); Ker (1957: 271-77 [209]); Richards (1973); Handle y (1974); Hollis and Wright (1992: 259); Treharne (1998: 227-29); Irvine (2000: 48-52); Wilcox (2000: 53-64 [245, ASMMF 8.7]); Liuzza (2001: 221 [V])

Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 75v/3-21 17/2
TYPE: year prognosis
LANGUAGE: OE

INCIPIT: Donne forme gearesdag byð sundæg: [title] S
EDITION: Assmann (1889a: 369); Warner (1917: 66 [XXVI])
TRANSLATION: Griffiths (1996: 228-29)

114 Republished Birch (1892: 257).
115 In Förster (1925-26: 67-74) as variants to 9.2.4/5 (in Tiberius A.iii).
116 Republished Birch (1892: 257).
117 In Liuzza (2004: 16-17) as variants to 5.1.2/1 (in Tiberius A.iii).
118 Thorndike (1923-58: I.679, n. 1) erroneously referred to this text as a day brontology.
119 Republished Birch (1892: 258).
120 Republished Birch (1892: 258).
121 In Förster (1916: 270-93) as variants to 7/1 (in Tiberius A.iii) and 7/3 (in Hatton 115).
124 The place of origin is a matter of debate and wavers between Christ Church, Canterbury and Rochester. For a recent discussion of the uncertainties as regards the place of origin of Vespasian D.xiv, see Irvine (2000: 48-54), who, while emphatically not favouring a Canterbury origin, does inadvertently seem to weaken the case for a Rochester descent. Christ Church, Canterbury is a scriptorium which produced many prognostics, while Rochester is not known to have produced any prognostics, except possibly for the ones in Vespasian D.xiv. Therefore, I deem it more likely that the source for the prognostics, if not for the entire manuscript, should be Christ Church rather than Rochester.
125 Incompletely replicated Förster (1903: 349).
5.1 (Warn), Cameron B23.3.5.1); Matter (1982: 391 [2]); Quinn and Quinn (1990: 134 [F405]); Hollis and Wright (1992: 257); Wilcox (2000: 59 [245.28]); Voigts and Kurtz (2000: 170.00); Liuzza (2001: 221 [V1]).

Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 103v/9-25 5.1.4/1
TYPE: brontology, temporal, month of the year
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIT: Emb þunre [title] On Ianuarii monðe gyf hit þunrēd:
FACSIMILE: Wilcox (2000: microfiche 8.7.4)
EDITION: Assmann (1888: 185); Warner (1917: 91 [XXXIV]); Liuzza (2004: 12)

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON VITELLIUS A.xi.
DATE: overall: s. xi; additions to the calendar s. xi/xii-xii; calendar: s. xi; Dog Days original to the calendar; Egyptian Days added s. xi/xii-xii
ORIGIN: Wells?
CONTENTS: calendar; sacramentary; prayer, exorcisms and benedictions

Vitellius A.xii, fols 3r-8v 8.3/18
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (entries and verses in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: Vicenam quinta iani primamq de beau. / Rotat aquarius hanc: manet alta sub capricorn. [verse] Dies egyptiaceus [entry]
EDITION: Wormald (1934: 100-111 [8])

Vitellius A.xii, fols 65v-71r 6/15
TYPE: Dog Days (entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: DE DIEBVS EGYPTIACIS. [title] Hos dies maxime obseruare debemos. in quibus nullomodo. neque utlla necessitate
LISTING: Planta (1802: 380 [5]), Thorndike (1923-58: I.695); Derozel (1954: 224); Liuzza (2001: 221 [Sa])

Vitellius A.xii, fols 44r/26-44v/1 8.1/8
TYPE: Egyptian Days, three days per year
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: DE DIEBVS EGYPTIACIS. [title] Hos dies maxime obseruare debemos. in quibus nullomodo. neque utlla necessitate

Vitellius A.xii, fol. 44r/26-44v/1 8.1/8
TYPE: Egyptian Days, three days per year
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: DE DIEBVS EGYPTIACIS. [title] Hos dies maxime obseruare debemos. in quibus nullomodo. neque utlla necessitate

Vitellius A.xi., fols 72v-77v 8.3/17
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (verses and entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: Iani prima dies & septima fine minat. [verse] Dies egiptiacus [entry]

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON VITELLIUS A.xviii.
DATE: overall: s. xi; additions to the calendar s. xi/xii-xii; calendar: s. xi; Dog Days original to the calendar; Egyptian Days added s. xi/xii-xii
ORIGIN: Wells?
CONTENTS: calendar; sacramentary; prayer, exorcisms and benedictions

Vitellius A.xviii, fols 3r-8v 6/16
TYPE: Dog Days (entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: Incipiunt dies caniculares.
EDITION: Wormald (1934: 100-111 [8])

Vitellius A.xviii, fols 3r-8v 6/16
TYPE: Dog Days (entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: Incipiunt dies caniculares.
EDITION: Wormald (1934: 100-111 [8])

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON VITELLIUS C.viii.
DATE: overall: s. xi
ORIGIN: Winchester?
CONTENTS: calendar; sacramentary; prayer, exorcisms and benedictions

Vitellius C.viii, fols 22-26 6/15
TYPE: Dog Days (entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: Diei caniculares.
EDITION: Wormald (1934: 100-111 [8])
**CONTENTS:** prayer; prognostic; computus

**LISTING:** Wanley (1705: II.241); Planta (1802: 424); Singer (1917: 110); Ker (1957: 292 [221]; 1959: lxiv); Gneuss (1981: 27 [404]; 2001: 73 [404]); Hollis and Wright (1992: 260); Liuzza (2001: 221-22); Wright and Hollis (2004: 84-95 [255, ASMMF 12.12])

**Vitellius C.viii, fol. 22r/12-22v/4** 8.1/3

**TYPE:** Egyptian Days, three days per year

**LANGUAGE:** OE

**INCIPIT:** Þry dagas syndon on geare þe we egip tiace hatað þæt is on ure geðeode plihtlice dagas

**FACSIMILE:** Wright and Hollis (2004: microfiche 12.12.1)

**EDITION:** Hampson (1841: II.107); Förster (1929: 271-73 [V2])

**TRANSLATION:** Hampson (1841: II.107)


**LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON VITELLIUS E.xviii**

**AKA THE VITELLIUS PSALTER**

The computus of the manuscript shows similarities with the contents of Titus D.xxvi, xxvii. Ælfwine, dean and later abbot of New Minster, Winchester, is mentioned as the writer of the instructions for secret writing in Vitellius E.xviii, but the text is a copy from an older exemplar. The manuscript has sustained severe damage in the Cottonian Fire. Henel’s supposition that one lost leaf preceding the calendar (i.e. fol. 1*r) will have contained a bloodletting lunary is likely in view of the bloodletting lunaries preceding the Winchester calendars in CCCC 422, pp. 27-40, Arundel 60, fol. 1r-7v, and Titus D.xxvii, fol. 2r-8v.

**DATE:** overall: 1062; additions s. xii (fols 141r-144r [litany and prayers]) and s. xiii/xiv (fols 9r [list of houses in confraternity], and 17rv [invocations to the Virgin Mary]); calendar and prognostics: 1062

**ORIGIN:** New Minster, Winchester

**CONTENTS:** calendar; computus, prognostics, charms and instructions for secret writing; glossed Gallican psalter; prayer; glossed canticles; litany; prayers; lections


**Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 1*r** 9.2.3/6

**TYPE:** lunar, specific, bloodletting

**LANGUAGE:** L

**INCIPIT:** Iani príma dies & septima finetur.

**FACSIMILE:** Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.6.1)

**EDITION:** Hampson (1841: I.422-33); Wildhagen (1921: 77-94); Wormald (1934: 156-67 [12])

**LISTING:** Liuzza (2001: 222 [Vi])

**Vitellius E.xviii, fols 2r-7v** 8.3/19

**TYPE:** Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (verses and entries in the calendar)

**LANGUAGE:** L

**INCIPIT:** Iani príma dies & septima finetur.

**FACSIMILE:** Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.6.1)

**EDITION:** Hampson (1841: I.422-33); Wildhagen (1921: 77-94); Wormald (1934: 156-67 [12])

**Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 9r/17-26 15/2

**TYPE:** unlucky days

**LANGUAGE:** OE

**INCIPIT:** DE DIEBVS MALIS CVIVSQVE MENSIS: [title] Tweigen dagas syndon on æghwilcu monðe.

**FACSIMILE:** Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.6.1)

**EDITION:** Hampson (1841: II.76); Förster (1929: 262-64 [V])

**TRANSLATION:** Hampson (1841: II.76)


**Vitellius E.xviii, fols 2r-7v** 6/17

**TYPE:** Dog Days (entries in the calendar)

**LANGUAGE:** L

**INCIPIT:** Dies kaniculares hic incipiu (nt.)

**FACSIMILE:** Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.6.1)

**EDITION:** Hampson (1841: 1.422-33); Wildhagen (1921: 77-94); Wormald (1934: 156-67 [12])

**Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 9r/17-26** 15/2

**TYPE:** unlucky days

**LANGUAGE:** OE

**INCIPIT:** DE DIEBVS MALIS CVIVSQVE MENSIS: [title] (T)weigen dagas syndon on æghwilcu mondè.

**FACSIMILE:** Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.6.1)

**EDITION:** Hampson (1841: II.76); Förster (1929: 262-64 [V])

**TRANSLATION:** Hampson (1841: II.76)


**Liuzza (2001: 222) noted the hexameter verses only. The entries for Egyptian Days and Dog Days in the calendar are unobserved.**
Voigts and Kurtz (2000: 204.00); Liuzza (2001: 222 [Vi2])

Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 13r/27-37

TYPE: Dog Days
LANGUAGE: OE

INCIPIT: Eahtatina nihtum ær hlafmæssan gangeð se styrra up (se is gehaten) canes. þæt se hára steorra

FACSIMILE: Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.6.1)

EDITION: Henel (1934-35: 331)


Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 13r/6-15

TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year
LANGUAGE: OE

INCIPIT: Find eft þryd dagas on twelf monðum. þa syndon swiðe unhalwende

FACSIMILE: Pulsiano (1998a: 90, 96)


Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 14v

TYPE: Apuleian Sphere
LANGUAGE: L/OE

INCIPIT: +DE, VITA VEL DE MORTE:–

FACSIMILE: Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.6.1)

EDITION: Förster (1912c: 46-47 [text only]); Pulsiano (1998b: 90, 96)

COLLATION: Liuzza (2005: II.39-40 [Vi; incomplete])


Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 15r/1-5

TYPE: birth, temporal, three miraculous days
LANGUAGE: OE

INCIPIT: (Ð)ry dagas syndon on twelf monðum mid þrim ni(h)tum o(n þam ne bið) nan wif acenned

FACSIMILE: Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.6.1)

EDITION: Henel (1934-35: 346-47); Pulsiano (1998a: 6-7)


Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 15r/9-19

TYPE: Apuleian Sphere
LANGUAGE: L

INCIPIT: (SP)ERE:– [title] (Ratio sperae pythagorii ph)ilosophi quae apuleius descripsit

FACSIMILE: Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.6.1)


COLLATION: Henel (1934-35: 336-38 [V])

TRANS: Hampson (1841: II.76 [incomplete]); Förster (1929: 266-69 [V])


Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 16r/9-19

TYPE: Apuleian Sphere
LANGUAGE: L/OE

INCIPIT: (DE) VITA VEL DE MORTE:– [title] Spera apulei platonici de uita uel de morte

FACSIMILE: Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.6.1)

EDITION: Förster (1912c: 46-47 [text only]); Pulsiano (1998b: 90, 96)

COLLATION: Liuzza (2005: II.39-40 [Vi; incomplete])


137 Corrections Henel (1934-35: 336, n. 1).
139 In Voigts and Kurtz (2000: 25.00) filed under the manuscript reading ‘Find eft’ (incipit).
140 Corrections Henel (1934-35: 336, n. 1).
141 In Henel (1934-35: 336-38) as variants to 8.3/3 (in Harley 3271).
143 In Liuzza (2005: II.39-40) as variants to 2/10 (in Bodley 579).
LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, HARLEY 585

DATE: overall: s. x/xi (fols 1-114 [Herbarium and Medicina de quadrupedibus, booklet 1]), s. xi\(^{i110}\) (fols 115-129 [table of contents, booklet 1]), s. xi\(^{i110}\) (fols 130-179/10 [Lacnunga, booklet 2]), s. xi\(^{i110}\) (fols 179/11-193 [Lacnunga, booklet 2]); additions s. xii-xiv; \(^{144}\) prognostic: s. xi\(^{i110}\)

ORIGIN: England\(^{145}\)

CONTENTS: Herbarium pseudo-Apuleii; Medicina de quadrupedibus; table of contents for Herbarium (booklet 1); Lacnunga and Lorica of Gildas (booklet 2)


Harley 585, fol. 190r/7-190v/16 8.1/5

TYPE: Egyptian Days, three days per year

LANGUAGE: OE

INCIPIT: Þry dagas syndon on geare þe we egip tiaci hatað þ is on ure geœeode plihtlice dagas

FACSIMILE: Doane (1994: microfiche 1.5.4)


\(^{144}\)Ker (1957: 305-06) dated fols 1-114 (and presumably fols 130-179/10) to s. x/xi, the table of contents on fols 115-129, and part of the Lacnunga on fols 179/11-193, to s. xi\(^{1}\). Doane (1994: 26), however, dated the manuscript overall to s. xi\(^{i10}\), and mentioned that ‘despite Ker’s dating of the two hands, probably no great interval separates them; the change of hands on f. 179r seems to be a continuation of the same campaign of writing, following the same exemplar’. That Doane is right seems likely because Lacnunga originally formed an independent booklet separate from the other texts in booklet 1 (cf. Robinson 1978: 234-35).


\(^{146}\)Replicated Förster (1903: 353); republished Singer (1961: III.76).

\(^{147}\)Replicated Cameron (1993: 165, n.13).

\(^{148}\)Replicated Payne (1904: 19); republished Singer (1961: III.77).

\(^{149}\)The calendar contains a set of hexameter verses not printed by Hampson (1841: I.449-60). The verses he did append to the bottom of each page are not from Harley 863 as he clearly indicated (Hampson 1841: I.448), but Steele (1919: 119) replicated these as belonging to the calendar of Harley 863.

\(^{150}\)The place of origin of Harley 3271 is unknown, but the first eight prognostics are found in identical redactions in manuscripts from New Minster, Winchester: CCCC 422, part B, Arundel 60, Titus D.xxvi, xxvii, and Vitellius E.xxviii. The β-sequences (see section 3.2.2) are presumably from Winchester. The presence of computus material in Old English in Harley 3271 and CCCC 422, part B, Titus D.xxvi, xxvii, and Vitellius E.xxviii strengthens the proposed link with

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, HARLEY 863

AKA THE LEOFRIC PSALTER

The psalter was commissioned by Leofric, bishop of Exeter, 1046-72, and was probably given to Exeter cathedral. The calendar was added later.

DATE: overall: s. xi\(^{i10}\); calendar added s. xii\(^{i10}\); calendar: s. xii\(^{i10}\)

ORIGIN: Exeter

CONTENTS: notes; calendar, Gallican psalter; canticles; litany; prayers; office


Harley 863, fols 1r-6v 8.3/20

TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (verses and entries in the calendar)

LANGUAGE: L

INCIPIT: Iani prima dies & septima fine timetar. [verse] DIES MALA. [entry]


EDITION: Hampson (1841: I.449-60)\(^{149}\)

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, HARLEY 3271

DATE: s. xi\(^{1}\), before 1032

ORIGIN: New Minster, Winchester?\(^{150}\)
CONTENT: grammatical texts; OE tribal hидge; notes on nations; Ælfriс’s Grammar; miscellaneous pieces, prognostics and computus


Harley 3271, fols 90v-20r/91r-24 8.3/3
TYPE: Egyptian Days; twenty-four days per year (+ goose prohibition); parts iii-vi (fols 90v-18/91r-4) precede i-ii (fols. 91r/5-24)
LANGUAGE: L (with one Old English gloss: dies

Harley 3271, fols 102r/1-31 9.2.3/7
TYPE: lunar, specific, bloodletting
LANGUAGE: OE

Harley 3271, fols 120v/20-121r/30 8.3/21
TYPE: Egyptian Days; twenty-four days per year (+ goose prohibition); the text is an extremely sloppy copy and has been repeated on fol. 122rv, probably for this reason
LANGUAGE: L (with one Old English gloss: dies

Harley 3271, fols 122v/7-19 8.3/22
TYPE: Egyptian Days; three days per year (on the link with the previous entry, see above)
LANGUAGE: L

Harley 3271, fols 122r-122v/7 8.3/22
TYPE: Dog Days (+ moonbook)
LANGUAGE: L

Harley 3271, fol. 122v/7-19 6/19
TYPE: Dog Days (+ moonbook)
LANGUAGE: L

152See section 4.2.2.3.
154Ker (1957: 311) wrote ‘a Missa pro sacerdote occupies f. 121/4-30’. The mass, however, is on ll. 4-20, and the text on the three Egyptian Days is on ll. 21-30.
155In ker (1934-35: 340-41) collated with 6/14 (in Titus D.xxvii) and 6/18 (also in Harley 3271).
156In Henel (1934-35: 339-40) the text of the Egyptian Days is based on 8.3/22, but the goose prohibition is collated with that of 8.3/21 (also in Harley 3271).
157In Henel (1934-35: 340-41) collated with 6/14 (in Titus D.xxvii) and 6/18 (also in Harley 3271).
Harley 3271, fol. 122v/19-28 8.1/10
TYPE: Egyptian Days, three days per year
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: DE TRIBVS DIEBVS AEGYPTIACI. [title]
Post viii. kal apelis illa die lunæ & intrante agusto illa die lunæ: & exeunte decembre illa die lunæ.
Harley 3271, fols 122v/29-123v/25 12/1
TYPE: regimen
LANGUAGE: L (with one Old English gloss: cataplasma / cliþa)
INCIPIT : DE IANVARIO. [title]
Mense ianuario non minuare sanguine.
Harley 3271, fols 123v/25-124r/9 6/20
TYPE: Dog Days (+ moonbook)
LANGUAGE: OE (with one Old English gloss: catarticum / spiwdrenc)
INCIPIT: DE FLEBOTOMATIONE. MENSIS.

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, HARLEY 3667
See Tiberius C.i, fols 2-42, + Harley 3667

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, HARLEY 6258B
The manuscript is incomplete and has been reordered repeatedly.
DATE: s. xii
ORIGIN: England

CONTENTS: Herbarium pseudo-Apulei; Medicina de quadrupedibus; herb cures; Peri didaxeong

Harley 6258B, fol. 51v/25-52v/9 6/2
TYPE: Dog Days; embedded in a tract on the four humours
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIT: Incipit liber qui dicitur peri didaxeon. [title]
H/er onginþ seo bo c peri didaexe on. þæt ys seo swytelung hu fela gera was behued se læcecræft.
FACSIMILE: Doane (1994: microfiche 1.7.2-3)
EDITION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.82-84); Löweneck (1896: 3-5)
TRANSLATION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.83-85)

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, ROYAL 2.B.v
AKA THE REGIUS PSALTER
DATE: overall: s. x (psalter and canticles), additions s. x-xi; prognostic: s. x
ORIGIN: overall: Winchester (s. x-xi, fols 1-7 also from Winchester (St. Mary’s?), transferred to Christ Church, Canterbury (s. xi and later [whence some of the additions and alterations originate]); prognostic: Winchester
CONTENTNS: office of the Virgin Mary; glossed maxims and proverbs; glossed Roman psalter with L commentary; glossed canticles with L scholia; chronological and other notes, and prognostic; OE prayers; notes

158 Henel (1934-35: 332) did not print the moonbook.
Royal 2.B.v, fol. 190r/10-190v/7 5.1.4/2
TYPE: bronto logy, temporal, month of the year (incomplete, lacks entry for December)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIENT: Si tonitruum fuerit in mense ianuario
FACSIMILE: Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.7.7)
EDITION: Liuzza (2004: 8)
TRANSLATION: Liuzza (2004: 8, n. 28)

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, ROYAL 12.D.xvii
AKA BALD’S LEECHBOOK
DATE: s. x or xi/xii
ORIGIN: Old Minster, Winchester
CONTENTS: Bald’s Leechbook (fols 1r-58v [book I], fols 58v-108v [book II]; Leechbook III (fols 109r-127v)

TYPE: Dog Days (+ moonbook); embedded in a regimen
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIENT: .l xxii
FACSIMILE: Wright (1955: plates 5b-6a (toc), 54b-55b (text)); Doane (1994: microfiches 1.10.1 (toc), 1.10.2 (text))
EDITION: Cockayne (1864-66: II.14-16 (toc) II.146-48 (text) [I.XXII]); Leonardi (1905: 5 (toc) 44-45 (text) [I.XXXII]); Mitchell (1995: 236 (text) [incomplete])
TRANSLATION: Cockayne (1864-66: II.15-17 (toc) II.147-49 (text)); Bonser (1963: 296-97 [incomplete]);

162Pulsiano (1994b: 63) noted that this prognostic covers the months January, March, July, and August whereas the text lists entries for all months except December.

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, SLOANE 475, FOLS 125-231
Fols 125-231 of this composite manuscript are in various English hands. Fols 1-124, dating from the twelfth century and non-Anglo-Saxon, contain a medical compendium in five parts: (fols 1-8r [1], 8v-37r [2], 37r-60r [3], 60r-85r [4], 85r-124v [5]).
DATE: s. xi or xi/xii (fols 125-231); additions on fol. 209v-210v s. xiv
ORIGIN: England?
CONTENTS: excerpts of Isidore’s Etymologiae; Galen’s De febribus; recipes, charms, and prognostic; medical glossary; tract on urine; gynaecological tract; prognostics; medical recipes

(Sloane 475, fols 4v/24-6r/1 TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (+ moonbook); embedded in a regimen
LANGUAGE: E

(Sloane 475, fol. 6r/1-7 TYPE: Dog Days
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: Liuzza (2001: 226 [S2]))

(Sloane 475, fol. 6r/7-13 TYPE: Egyptian Days, three days per year
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: Liuzza (2001: 226 [S2]))

(Sloane 475, fols 7v/12-8r/16 TYPE: Dog Days (+ moonbook); embedded in a tract on Pulsiano (1994b: 63) noted that this prognostic covers the months January, March, July, and August whereas the text lists entries for all months except December.

165The place of origin of fols 125-231 is now taken to be England (Beccaria 1956: 255-59; Gneuss 2001: 85; Liuzza 2001: 225), but in view of the redactions of the prognostics, I am not convinced. See also section 4.2.3.
bloodletting
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: Beccaria (1956: 255 [78.5])

(Sloane 475, fol. 8r/16-24)
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year
LANGUAGE: L
EDITION: Steele (1919: 110 [lists dates only])

(Sloane 475, fols 35r/18-36r/6)
TYPE: regimen
LANGUAGE: L

(Sloane 475, fol. 37r/4-22)
TYPE: lunary, specific, bloodletting
LANGUAGE: L

(Sloane 475, fols 58v/25-60r/17)
TYPE: regimen
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: Beccaria (1956: 257 [78.15])

(Sloane 475, fols 81r-82r/13)
TYPE: regimen
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: Beccaria (1956: 257 [78.19])

(Sloane 475, fol. 216v/4-217r/6)
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year
LANGUAGE: L
EDITION: Weißer (1982: 365-73 [*Lo L])
LISTING: Craig (1916: xl); Thorndike (1923-58: I.679); Liuzza (2001: 226 [S7])

(Sloane 475, fols 211r-216v/4)
TYPE: lunary, collective
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: (Luna i. H)æc dies utile est omnibus rebus agendis.
EDITION: Svenberg (1936: 25-83 [L])

(Sloane 475, fol. 217r/7-217v/12)
TYPE: year prognosis
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: Natalis domini prima dies si acciderit dominica
LISTING: Craig (1916: xxxiv); Thorndike (1923-58: I.678); Beccaria (1956: 259 [78.29]); Martin (1981: 39

166In Liuzza (2005: II.44-45) collated with 2/6 (in Vitelli E.xviii).
167Thorndike (1923-58: I.679) called this a weekday and name prognostic, though the description of such a genre does not sound familiar. Numerical values for the days of the week and the letters in one's name are part of the Apuleian Sphere, and it is likely that Thorndike was thinking along the wrong lines because of the absence of part of the explanatory texts and the diagram.
LAMBETH, LONDON, LIBRARY, MS 427, FOL 1-202
AKA THE LAMBETH PSALTER
The composite manuscript originally contained the psalter prefaces, the psalter and canticles; fols 3-4 (prognostics) and the leaves after fol. 202 were added at a later date.
DATE: overall: s. xi (fols 1-2, 5-202); additions s. xi-xv; prognostics: s. xii
ORIGIN: Winchester?, transferred to Lanthony secunda
CONTENTS: psalter prefaces (fols 1r-2v); prognostics and computus (fols 3r-4v); psalter preface (fols 4v-5r); glossed Gallican psalter (fols 5r-141v, 142r-182v); glossed prayer (fols 141v-142r); glossed form of confession (fols 182v-183v); alliterative verse (fol. 183v); glossed canticles (fols 184v-202v)

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, BODLEY 579 (2675)
AKA THE LEOFRIC MISSAL
Leofric, bishop of Exeter (1046-72), gave the manuscript to Exeter Cathedral (s. xi-xii, though this does not mean that section C was added at that time).172 DATE: section A: c. 900 (fols 9-16, 60-154, 158-253, 262-263, 266-336); section B: s. x, 970s (fols 38-59); section C: s. xiii and after (remainder); concerns both the addition of new folios and additions in writing to section A); calendar and prognostics: s. xii
ORIGIN: section A: NE France (Arras?). This section was transferred to England, possibly in Canterbury (from the 920s) and Tavistock (s. xi); section B: Canterbury, transferred to Exeter; section C: England, Exeter; calendar and prognostics: Canterbury
CONTENTS: Section A: Gregorian sacramentary; Section B: computus, calendar, and prognostics; Section C: manumissions, notes, masses, benedictions and exorcisms

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171O'Neill (1991: 163-64) rejected Ker’s suggestion that the manuscript originated from the priory of Lanthony (cf. Ker 1957: 343, Lindelöf 1909-14: II.15). It is assumed that O’Neill referred to the psalter in its original state, so without the prognostics and added material on fols 203-209, whereas the words ‘R. Lanthonie’ are on fol. 209v, which, therefore, need not conflict with O’Neill’s findings (cf. Ker 1957: 343, O’Neill 1991: 145).
172The date, origin, and genesis of Bodley 579 are extremely complicated matters, for which see Pfaff’s concise and lucid account (1995a: 11-14). See also Stevens (1992: 148, n. 54).
Bodley 579, fols 39r-44v 6/21
TYPE: Dog Days (entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIENT: DIES CANICVLARES.
FACSIMILE: http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msbodl579
EDITION: Wormald (1934: 44-55 [4])

Bodley 579, fols 49v-50r 2/10
TYPE: Apuleian Sphere
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIENT: COLLIGE PER NVMERVM QVICQVID
CVPIS ESSE PROBANDVM.
TRANSLATION: Voigts (1986: 301, 305, n. 30 [verse only])
LISTING: Liuzza (2001: 227 [L])

Bodley 579, fol. 56r/6-20 9.2.3/9
TYPE: lunary, specific, bloodletting
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIENT: LVNA PRIMA BONA EST
FACSIMILE: http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msbodl579
EDITION: Warren (1883: 54)
LISTING: Liuzza (2001: 227 [L2])

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296 (21870)
DATE: s. xi
ORIGIN: Crowland
CONTENTS: calendar and computus; Gallican psalter; canticles; creeds; litany; prayers; office

Douce 296, fols 1r-6v 8.3/25
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (verses and entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIENT: IANI PRIMA DIES ET SEPTIMA FIN

ORIGIN: Francia (fols 1-39), Northumbria (remainder). Kept at Old Minster, Winchester by c. 1000?


Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 63 (1664)
The manuscript was written by the Frankish scribe Rægenbold, who brought the opening pages of the manuscript with him to England.

DATE: overall: 867-892; additions s. ix/x(?)(fols 9r, 25r, 41r [scribbles]), s. xi-xii (additions to the calendar); prognostic and calendar: 867-892

ORIGIN: Francia (fols 1-39), Northumbria (remainder). Kept at Old Minster, Winchester by c. 1000?

CONTENTS: computus


LISTING: Liuzza (2005: II.31, plate 1 [of fol. 50r]); http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msbodl579
EDITION: Wormald (1934: 44-55 [4])
**Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113**

Formerly Junius 99

Aka St. Wulstan's Homiliary, Part 1

Hatton 113 and its companion volume Hatton 114 formed one manuscript up to c. 1200, and were intended as a continuation of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121. The original one-volume manuscript was copied for use by St. Wulstan, bishop of Worcester (1062-1095).

Date: overall: s. xi (fols ii verso-xi verso between 3/4 1064-1083; fols ii recto, 1-144 between 1062-1070), additions by Coleman (1080-1100), alterations to text and glosses (nearly contemporary with composition of the manuscript), marginalia added s. xii and xii/xiii, several layers of glosses in the Tremulous Worcester hand s. xiii; calendar: 1064-1083

Origin: Worcester

Contents: letter to Wulstan; prayers; calendar; computus; table of contents; homilies (Wulfstan, pseudo-Wulfstan, Ælfric)


Hatton 113, fols iii recto-viii verso

Type: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (entries in the calendar)

Language: L

Incipit: Dies mala.


Edition: Atkins (1928: 241-52); Wormald (1934: 198-209 [16])

Hatton 113, fols iii recto-viii verso

Type: Dog Days (entries in the calendar)

Language: L

Incipit: Dies caniculares incipiunt.

Edition: Wormald (1934: 254-65 [20])
for a Christ Church origin. Both Tiberius A.iii and Hatton 115 strengthens the case for an otherwise unattested genre of the agenda lunary in Christ Church, Canterbury? A prognostic copied in the same state of the Tremulous hand is found in CCCC 391, p. 721 (Franzen 1991: 1:45-102). A prognostic copied in the same state of the Tremulous hand is found in CCCC 391, p. 721 (Franzen 1991: 1:45-102).

178 For a description of the layers of glosses in the Tremulous hand in Hatton 115, as well as the additional entries made by the Tremulous hand in the table of contents, cf. Franzen (1991: 1:44-102).


180 The date and origin of booklet 5 are disputed, cf. Ker (1957: 403), Franzen (1991: 40; 1998: 44-45). I have adopted the date advanced by Treharne (1998: 235-39). She placed the origin of booklet 5 in the south, possibly Kent, on the basis of script, language and content. The similarities with prognostics in Tiberius A.iii (Christ Church, Canterbury) and Vespasian D.xiv (Christ Church, Canterbury) would posit an exemplar, if not an origin, in Christ Church for booklet 5. The presence of the otherwise unattested genre of the agenda lunar in both Tiberius A.iii and Hatton 115 strengthens the case for a Christ Church origin.

Hatton 115, fol. 148r

TYPE: lunar, specific, dreams (incomplete, lacks phase 11)

LANGUAGE: OE

INCIPIT: D: Ere æresten nyhte þonne niwe mone byð ecymen. Þær mon þonne in sweofne gesið.


EDITION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.159-61); Förster (1925-26: 90-92)

TRANSLATION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.159-61); Griffiths (1996: 224-26)


Hatton 115, fol. 148v/1-18

TYPE: lunar, specific, birth (incomplete, ends with phase 14)

LANGUAGE: OE

INCIPIT: SE ðe bið acenned on annihtne mona.


EDITION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.160-62); Förster (1912c: 21-24 [H])


EDITION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.162); Förster (1912b: 297-300)

TRANSLATION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.163)


Hatton 115, fol. 149r/12-149v/7

TYPE: year prognosis

LANGUAGE: OE

INCIPIENT: Gif middiwintres messed eg b’i’d on sunnaneg.


EDITION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.162-64)

TRANSLATION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.163-65)


Hatton 115, fol. 149v/8-149r/17

TYPE: sunshine prognostic

LANGUAGE: OE

INCIPIENT: By forma dæg drihtnes gebyrde. gyf sunne scyneð.


EDITION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.164-66); Förster (1912a: 65 [H])

TRANSLATION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.165-67)


Hatton 115, fol. 150v/1-9

TYPE: brontology, temporal, day of the week

LANGUAGE: OE

INCIPIENT: ON anwardne ger gyf hyt þunrie ærest, on sunandæg.


EDITION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.166-68); Liuzza (2004: 15)

TRANSLATION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.167-69)


Hatton 115, fol. 151v/1-152r/3

TYPE: dreambook ([a]/[b] hybrid e; 73 entries)

LANGUAGE: OE

INCIPIENT: Gyf mon meted þat he gesee on his heaðof ufan gesetan.


EDITION: Förster (1916: 270-93 [H])


183 The caption for plate 19 in Pulsiano and Treharne (1998) erroneously refers to fol. 149v instead of fol. 149r.

184 Incompletely replicated Förster (1903: 355).

185 Corrections Förster (1912c: 49).


187 Förster (1912a: 65) designated the manuscript variously as Hatton 115 and 116. Förster used the first three entries to complete 14/1 (in CCCC 391), the remainder as variants to 14/1.


189 In Epe (1995: 192-211) as variants to 7/1 (in Tiberius A.iii).
TRANSLATION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.169-77)
Hatton 115, fols 152v/4-153v/16 9.2.1/2
TYPE: lunary, specific, agenda (incomplete, deliberately ends with phase 17)
LANGUAGE: OE
INCIPIT: O N annihte monan fær to cyninge.
EDITION: Cockayne (1864-66: I II.176-80); Förster (1912c: 43-45 [C])
TRANSLATION: Cockayne (1864-66: III.177-81)

OXFORD, ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, MS 17
AKA THE RAMSEY COMPUTUS
A medical section precedes and follows the computus on fols 1-2, 175-77. The five leaves from Nero C.vii, fols 80-84, originally belonged to St. John's College 17. This manuscript is a copy of an autograph by Byrhtferth of Ramsey. The original was used in the making of Byrhtferth's Enchiridion. Some of the prognostics in St. John's College 17 can also be found in Tiberius C.i, fols 2-42, + Harley 3667.
DATE: 1110-1111, additions s. xiii
ORIGIN: Thorney Abbey
CONTENTS: medicine; science, runes, computus, and prognostics; Byrhtferth's computus and calendar; excerpts from Bede, De temporum ratione, De natura rerum; excerpts from Helperic, De computo ecclesiasticus; Thorney annals; grammar, science and computus
St. John's College 17, fol. 1va-1vb/16 6/24
TYPE: Dog Days; embedded in a tract on the four humours
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: Hi qua tuor humores dominantur in suis locis.
EDITION: Singer (1917: 130-33 [3])
TRANSLATION: Singer (1917: 152 [incomplete])
St. John's College 17, fol. 1vb/17-32 6/25
TYPE: Dog Days (+ moonbook); embedded in a tract on bloodletting
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: DE FLEBOTOMIA. [title] Si necessitas fuerit omni tempore adhibendus est flebotomus.
EDITION: Singer (1917: 130-33 [3])
TRANSLATION: Singer (1917: 152 [incomplete])

191Strong punctuation is used after phase 17 to indicate the end of copying. The term ‘strong punctuation’ is borrowed from Ker (1957: 247 [186.29]).
192The date of this manuscript is uncertain, and, according to some scholars, depends heavily on the annals in the computistical part of the manuscript. Some assign St. John’s College 17 (+ Nero C.vii, fols 80-84) to s. xii, Gneuss (1981: 43), to c. 1080 for the main part of the manuscript (Lapidge 1980: 21), to c. 1090 (Kauffmann 1975: 56-57; Alexander and Temple 1985: 3), to 1110 (Coxe 1852: II.5; Rubin 1974: 67), to 1086-1092 (Hart 1970:31-34; Watson 1984: l.146), to s. xii, Van de Vyver 1935: 144, 147. Ker (1957: 435) dated additions to s. xii.
193The place of origin of the manuscript, like the date of composition, is shrouded in uncertainty, though the latest opinion is that it was copied in Thorney Abbey. In St. John’s College 17 the influence is felt of the master of science and the computus, Abbo of Fleury (c. 945-1004), who stayed at Ramsey in 985-987 at the request of Dunstan and Oswald, the latter himself being trained in Fleury (cf. Baker and Lapidge 1995: xv-xxv; Hart 1970: 29-34; Riché 2004: 30-46).
194Foliation refers to that part of the text pertaining to the Dog Days. The entire tract occupies fols 1vb/17-2rb/44, 2va/27-33.
St. John's College 17, fol. 3va/29-35 8.1/11
TYPE: Egyptian Days, three days per year
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: Hi tres dies pl us sunt obseruandi.

St. John's College 17, fol. 3va/36-41 3.1.2/6
TYPE: birth, temporal, three miraculous days
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: T res dies s un t in quoque anno cum tribus noctibus

St. John's College 17, fol. 4ra/1-30 9.2.3/10
TYPE: lunary, specific, bloodletting (text has undergone extensive revision)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: L una i. T otal die bona est.

St. John's College 17, fol. 4ra/31-45 3.1.3/5
TYPE: birth, temporal, day of the week
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: D i e domini co hora diuturna siue nocturna qui nascentur

St. John's College 17, fol. 4rb/1-30 9.2.2/8
TYPE: lunary, specific, birth
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: Luna i Qui nat us fuerit

St. John's College 17, fol. 4rb/31-4rc/16 9.2.5/7
TYPE: lunary, specific, illness
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: Luna i Qui ceciderit

COLLATION: Weißer (1982: 273-77 [*Ox,L])200

St. John's College 17, fol. 4rc/17-46 3.1.3/6
TYPE: lunary, specific, dreams
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: Luna i Quicquid uidieris

St. John's College 17, fol. 8rb 2/11
TYPE: Apuleian Sphere (consists of a diagram only; diagram contains coded writing)
LANGUAGE: L
EDITION: Derolez (1954: 29 [coded writing only])
FACSIMILE: Singer (1917: 121, fig. 1; 1928: 167, fig. 65)203

St. John's College 17, fols 16r-21v 8.3/27
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (verses and entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
EDITION: Steele (1919: 113)205
FACSIMILE: Singer (1917: 121, fig. 1; 1928: 167, fig. 65)203

St. John's College 17, fol. 40va/18-39 8.2/2
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twelve days per year
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIT: Isto quiuoque dies observandii sunt in singulis mensibus.

195Hanna (2002: 28) did not distinguish the individual prognostics on fols 3v-4r.
196Ibid.
197Ibid.
198Ibid.
199Ibid.
200In Weißer (1982: 273-77) as variants to Harley 3017, fol. 58v (see section 2.2.2).
201Hanna (2002: 28) did not distinguish the individual prognostics on fols 3v-4r.
202Ibid.
203Replicated Grattan and Singer (1952: 48, fig. 23), Singer (1961: I.xxv, fig. 3).
205Steele (1919: 113) only printed the hexameter verse for February, which differs from that in the other hexameter verses.
206Liuzza (2001: 229) referred to hexameter verses only.
St. John’s College 17, fol. 40vb/18-31 15/3
TYPE: unlucky days
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: Sun in unoque mense duo dies. quod sum in eis inciperit. non finitur unquam.

St. John’s College 17, fol. 40vb/32-49 8.3/28
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: De diebus egyptiacis qui maledicti sunt in anno. [title] His diebus non debent homines se flebotomare.

St. John’s College 17, fol. 41ra 2/12
TYPE: Apuleian Sphere
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: Ratio sper phytogori philosophi quem apuleius descript.
EDITON: Liuzza (2005: II.40-44 [J; incomplete])

St. John’s College 17, fol. 41rb 2/13
TYPE: Apuleian Sphere (diagram has been excised)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: De quacumque re scire uolueris uel consulere.
COLLATION: Liuzza (2005: II.40-44 [J; incomplete])

ROME, VATICAN CITY, BIBLIOTHECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, REG. LAT. 12
AKA THE BURY ST. EDMUNDS PSALTER
DATE: s. xi
ORIGIN: Christ Church, Canterbury
CONTENTS: penitential prayers; calendar and computus; Gallican psalter; canticles; paternoster and creeds; litany; prayers

Reg. lat. 12, fols 7r-12v 8.3/29
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: Dies mala.
FACSIMILE: Thompson et al. (1913-30: X, XI, plate 168a [of fol. 11v])
EDITION: Wormald (1934: 240-51 [19])

Reg. lat. 12, fols 7r-12v 6/26
TYPE: Dog Days (entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
INCIPIIT: Dies caniculares.
EDITION: Wormald (1934: 240-51 [19])

207 Exactly when the diagram was excised is not known, but it must have happened in the sixteenth century or after, because the sixteenth-century writer who, in the margins, added explanatory comments upon the medieval texts, also added a description of the text on fol. 41v in the top margin of the same page. This description is now partly illegible since the opening part was cut out when the diagram on its reverse side was excised.
208 In Liuzza (2005: II.40-44) partly as variants upon 2/12 (also in St. John’s College 17).
ROUEN, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, MS 274
(Y. 6)
AKA THE MISSAL OF ROBERT OF JUMIÈGES
The calendar antedates the rest of the manuscript. The
manuscript was donated to Jumièges by Robert of
Jumièges, bishop of London, 1044-1050, archbishop of
Canterbury, 1050-52, during his appointment in
London.
DATE: overall: s. xi; calendar: 1000-1006
ORIGIN: Christ Church, Canterbury
CONTENTS: computus and calendar; sacramentary
LISTING: Warren (1883: 275-93); Omont (1886-88:
I.53); Wilson (1896: xix-lxx); Atkins (1928); Ker (1957:
449 [377]); Temple (1976: 89-91 [72]); Gneuss (1981:
58 [921]; 141 [921])
Rouen 274, fols 6r-11v 6/27
TYPE: Dog Days (entries in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
 Incipit: Dies caniculares.
EDITION: Wilson (1896: 9-20); Atkins (1928: 241-52)

SALISBURY, CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, MS 150
DATE: overall: 969-978; glosses added s. xi/xii;
additions s. xii; calendar: 969-978
ORIGIN: overall: Shaftesbury?, transferred to Salisbury
(s. xii);211 calendar: Shaftesbury?
CONTENTS: calendar and computus; glossed Gallican
psalter; prayer; glossed canticles; litanies
LISTING: Bond and Thompson (1873-83: I I, plates
188-89); Ker (1957: 449-51 [379]); Sisam and Sisam
(1959: 1-47); Temple (1976: 45-46 [18]); Stroud
(1979); Gneuss (1981: 46 [740]; 2001: 111 [740]);
Gameson (1999: 152 [875])
Salisbury 150, fols 3r-8v 8.3/30
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (entries
in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
 Incipit: DIES EGYPTIACVS
FACSIMILE: Bond and Thompson (1873-83: II, plate
188 [of fol. 5r]); Temple (1976: ill. 60-61 [of fols 3r,
5r])
EDITION: Wormald (1934: 16-27 [2])

CAMBRIDGE, PEMBROKE COLLEGE, MS 103
DATE: s. xii
ORIGIN: Reading Abbey?
CONTENTS: sacramentary; religious writings;
proverbs; prognostics
LISTING: James and Minnis (1915: 97-100); Wit
(2002: 89-90 [17])
CPB 103, fols 75r-77v
TYPE: lunary, collective
COLLATION: Weißer (1982: 307-14 [Ca L])
 LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: James and Minnis (1915: 99 [8]); Thorndike
and Kibre (1963: 735); Martin (1977: 81-82 [C]; 1981:
CPB 103, fols 77v-79v
TYPE: brontology, temporal, hour of the day
 LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: James and Minnis (1915: 99 [8]); Thorndike
and Kibre (1963: 837)
CPB 103, fols 77v-79v

210Atkins (1928: 239) suggested Thorney Abbey.
211Wormald (1934: 15) opted for the west country. Ker
(1957: 451) suggested Sherborne and a transfer to
Salisbury. Sisam and Sisam (1959: 12); Temple (1976:
46), Gameson (1999: 152), and Gneuss (2001: 111)
opted for Shaftesbury. Gneuss (1981: 46) noted
Salisbury only. Stroud (1979) argued for Wilton.

212Many of these calendars have been edited by Wormald
(1939-46).
213James and Minnis (1915: 99 [8]) wrote: 'Prognostics
of weather etc. and divinations such as are often
attributed to Esdras "Luna prima hec est utilis omnibus
augmentis... Si hora nona (tonitrus fuerit) habundantia
et pax significat"’. The reference to Esdras would suggest
a year prognosis, but the incipit and explicit pertain to
an agenda or collective lunary and a brontotology by
hour, respectively.
214In Weißer (1982: 307-14) as variants to Harley 978,
fols 16r-18r.
215James and Minnis (1915: 99 [8]) wrote: 'Prognostics
of weather etc. and divinations such as are often
attributed to Esdras ‘Luna prima hec est utilis omnibus
augmentis... Si hora nona (ronitrus fuerit) habantantia
et pax significat’’. The reference to Esdras would suggest
a year prognosis, but the incipit and explicit pertain to
an agenda or collective lunary and a brontotology by
hour, respectively.
CAMBRIDGE, TRINITY COLLEGE, B.11.2 (241)
DATE: overall: 930s or s. xii, additions s. xi; prognostic: s. xi
ORIGIN: overall: St. Augustine’s, Canterbury, transferred to, and expanded in Exeter; prognostic: Exeter
CONTENTS: Amalarius’ Liber officialis; antiphon; prognostic; excerpts from Amalarius

CTC B.11.2
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year
LANGUAGE: L
EDITION: James (1900-04: I.328)
LISTING: Gneuss (2001: 44 [144])

CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Gg.5.35
AKA THE CAMBRIDGE SONGS MANUSCRIPT; THE CANTERBURY CLASSBOOK
DATE: s. xi; additions on fols 425v-431v and 444v-446v, c. 1100
ORIGIN: St. Augustine’s, Canterbury
CONTENTS: theological miscellany (part 1a, fols 1-209; part 1b, fols 210-276), Aldhelm, De laude virginitatis, and theological miscellany (part 2, fols 280-369), riddles, poems, theological miscellany, medical treatises (part 3, fols 370-431), The Cambridge Songs, Meters of Boethius, medical treatises continued (part 4, fols 432-446)216
CUL Gg.5.35, fols 425v/1-426v/23
TYPE: monthbook, Dog Days, regimen, and Egyptian Days; embedded in a tract on bloodletting
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: Beccaria (1956: 238 [70.2-5]); Cameron (1983: 154 [4]; 1993: 50-51); Doane and Grade (2001: 24 [45])

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, EGERTON 821
FORMERLY Cambridge, Trinity College, O.7.36 (1364), Halliwell 60
DATE: s. xii
ORIGIN: England
CONTENTS: astrological, medical and computistical miscellany
LISTING: Madden (1843: 1840.16); James (1900-04: III.372-73 [1364]); Thorndike (1923-30: I.726-30)
Egerton 821, fol. 1r-1v/17
TYPE: year prognosis
LANGUAGE: L

EXETER, CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, MS 3507
Vitellius A.xii, fols 4-77, and Exeter 3507 have a common exemplar.217
DATE: s. x2
ORIGIN: Christ Church, Canterbury, or Sherborne?
CONTENTS: computus; miscellaneous notes; Isidore’s De natura rerum
Exeter 3507, fol. 63v
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: Derolez (1954: 221); Ker and Piper (1969-92: II.813 [3c])
Exeter 3507, fols 63v-64r
TYPE: Egyptian Days, three days per year
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: Derolez (1954: 221); Ker and Piper (1969-92: II.813 [3d])

216 For a detailed list of contents, see Gneuss (2001: 27-28).
217 For Vitellius A.xii, see section 2.2.1.
Egerton 821, fols 1v/17-2v/26
TYPE: year prognosis, by zodiacal sign
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: James (1900-04: III.372); Svenberg (1963: 13 [6])

Egerton 821, fols 2v/26-5r/3
TYPE: brontology, by zodiacal sign
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: James (1900-04: III.372)

Egerton 821, fol. 7r/22-7v/22
TYPE: term of imprisonment, by zodiacal sign
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: James (1900-04: III.372)

Egerton 821, fols 7v/23-8r/25
TYPE: zodiacal lunary, agenda
LANGUAGE: L
EDITION: Förster (1944: 20)

Egerton 821, fols 8r/25-12r/14
TYPE: zodiacal lunary, collective
LANGUAGE: L
EDITION: Weißer (1982: 244-52 [Lo L])
LISTING: Thorndike (1923-58: I.680, n. 2); Förster (1944: 19)

Egerton 821, fols 12r/15-14v/21
TYPE: dreambook
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: James (1900-04: III.373)

Egerton 821, fol. 15r/13-15v
TYPE: Apuleian Sphere
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: James (1900-04: III.373)

Egerton 821, fols 17v/1-24r/2
TYPE: zodiacal mansions
LANGUAGE: L
EDITION: Svenberg (1963: 45-59 [H])

Egerton 821, fol. 32r/15-32v/11
TYPE: lunar, specific, illness
LANGUAGE: L
EDITION: Weißer (1982: 272-73 [*Lo,L])
LISTING: Thorndike (1923-58: I.680, n. 2)

Egerton 821, fols 55r/12-56r/12
TYPE: sortes sanctorum

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Svenberg (1963: 13) called this prognostic sortes Sangallenses, but this appellation pertains to a different prognostic genre, see the description of the sortes sanctorum in section 3.2.1.

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LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, EGERTON 3314, FOLS 1-78
Egerton 3314 formed one manuscript with Caligula A.xv, fols 120-153.\(^{219}\)
DATE: s. xi/xii; additions s. xii-xv
ORIGIN: Christ Church, Canterbury
CONTENTS: computus
LISTING: Skeat (1970: 1.400-403)

Egerton 3314, fol. 18r/1-25
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (verses)
LANGUAGE: L
EDITION: Weißer (1982: 272-73 [Lo L])
LISTING: Thorndike (1923-58: I.680, n. 2)

Egerton 3314, fols 18v-30r
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (verses in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
EDITION: Weißer (1982: 244-52 [Lo L])
LISTING: Thorndike (1923-58: I.681, n. 2); Förster (1944: 20)

Egerton 3314, fol. 50r/3-50v/18
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: Skeat (1970: 1.402 [6])

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(LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, HARLEY 3017
DATE: s. ix
ORIGIN: continent; strong links with Fleury computi; the manuscript is thought by some to have been in England on account of a runic alphabet added on fol.

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\(^{218}\)Svenberg (1963: 13) called this prognostic sortes Sangallenses, but this appellation pertains to a different prognostic genre, see the description of the sortes sanctorum in section 3.2.1.

\(^{219}\)For the foliation and contents of the original manuscript, see the description of Caligula A.xv, fols 120-153, in section 2.2.1.
61r, but this idea in itself is rather unconvincing.\textsuperscript{220}

\textbf{CONTENTS: computus}


\textbf{Harley 3017, fol. 1rv}

\textbf{TYPE: dreambook (76 entries)}

\textbf{LANGUAGE: L}


\textbf{Harley 3017, fol. 58r}

\textbf{TYPE: Apuleian Sphere}

\textbf{LANGUAGE: L}

\textbf{FACSIMILE: Liuzza (2005: II.32, plate 2)}

\textbf{COLLATION: Liuzza (2005: II.40-44 [F]; incomplete)}\textsuperscript{221}

\textbf{LISTING: Nares (1808: II.725 [5]); Liuzza (2001: 223 [F2])}

\textbf{Harley 3017, fol. 58v}

\textbf{TYPE: lunary, specific, illness}

\textbf{LANGUAGE: L}


\textbf{LISTING: Nares (1808: II.725 [6]); Thorndike (1923-58: I.680, n. 2); Liuzza (2001: 223 [F3])}

\textbf{Harley 3017, fol. 58v-59r}

\textbf{TYPE: lunary, specific, birth}

\textbf{LANGUAGE: L}

\textbf{LISTING: Nares (1808: II.725 [7]); Thorndike (1923-58: I.680, n. 3); Liuzza (2001: 223 [F4])}

\textbf{Harley 3017, fol. 59v}

\textbf{TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (with additions in the margin)}

\textbf{LANGUAGE: L}

\textbf{EDITION: Steele (1919: 109 [lists dates only])}

\textbf{LISTING: Nares (1808: II.725 [8]); Thorndike (1923-58: I.695); Liuzza (2001: 223 [F5])}

\textbf{Harley 3017, fol. 59v-60r}

\textbf{TYPE: Dog Days; embedded in a tract on bloodletting}

\textbf{LANGUAGE: L}

\textbf{LISTING: Liuzza (2001: 223 [F7])}

\textbf{Harley 3017, fols 63r-64v}

\textbf{TYPE: year prognosis}

\textbf{LANGUAGE: L}


\textbf{LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, ROYAL 13.A.xi}

\textbf{DATE: s. xi/xii or xii\textsuperscript{iv}}

\textbf{ORIGIN: Normandy or NW France, not yet in England by 1100}

\textbf{CONTENTS: computus, Bede’s \textit{De natura rerum}; computus; cosmology; horoscope; notes on eclipses; astronomy and computus}


\textbf{Royal 13.A.xi, fols 12v/11-13r/3}

\textbf{TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year}

\textbf{LANGUAGE: L}


\textbf{Royal 13.A.xi, fol. 13r/3-7}

\textbf{TYPE: Egyptian Days, three days per year}

\textbf{LANGUAGE: L}


\textbf{Royal 13.A.xi, fols 28r/13-28v/20, 29v}

\textbf{TYPE: Apuleian Sphere}

\textbf{LANGUAGE: L}


\textsuperscript{221}In Liuzza (2005: II.40-44) as variants to 2/12 (in St. John’s College 17).

57
Royal 13.A.xi, fol. 29v
TYPE: Apuleian Sphere
LANGUAGE: L
COLLATION: Liuzza (2005: II.40-44 [R; incomplete])
LISTING: Warner and Gilson (1921: II.80 [5])

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, SLOANE 2839
DATE: s. xii
ORIGIN: England or continent
CONTENTS: medicine
LISTING: Thorndike (1923-58: I.723); Beccaria (1956: 261-63 [81]); Gameson (1999: 122 [578])

Sloane 2839, fols 107r-110v
TYPE: Dog Days, regimen, twenty-four Egyptian Days (twice), moonbook, three Egyptian Days, and goose prohibition; embedded in a tract on bloodletting
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: Beccaria (1956: 262-63 [81.7-12]); Gameson (1999: 122 [578])

LOS ANGELES, GETTY MUSEUM, LUDWIG XII.5
FORMERLY Cologne, Schnütgen-Museum Ludwig XII.5
The computus bears resemblance to that in Titus D.xxvii
DATE: s. xii (fols 2-141); additions s. xiii (142-151), xiv-xvi (152-219)
ORIGIN: England
CONTENTS: compendium of the quadrivium containing miscellaneous notes on philosophy, history, medicine, geography, ecclesiastical history, arithmetic, music, prognostics, calendar and computus, astronomy, architecture and agriculture

Ludwig XII.5, fols 9v-11v
TYPE: year prognosis
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: Madan, Craster and Denholm-Young (1922-53: II.2.1058 [A]))

Ludwig XII.5, fols 46r-47r
TYPE: Apuleian Sphere
LANGUAGE: L
FACSIMILE: Euw and Plotzek (1979-85: III plates 82-83 [of fols 46r, 47r])

Ludwig XII.5, fol. 47rv
TYPE: sortes sanctorum
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: Euw and Plotzek (1979-85: III.160 [50])

Ludwig XII.5, fol. 49v
TYPE: weekday prognostic
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: Euw and Plotzek (1979-85: III.160 [51])

Ludwig XII.5, fols 51r-55v
TYPE: Egyptian Days, twenty-four days per year (verses in the calendar)
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: Euw and Plotzek (1979-85: III.161 [55])

(OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, BARLOW 35 (6467))
DATE: s. xi; additions s. xin
ORIGIN: continent, in England by s. xi
CONTENTS: computus; Alcuin’s Interrogationes Sigewulfi; glossary; charm; pseudo-Cicero’s Synonyma; glossaries
LISTING: Madan, Craster and Denholm-Young (1922-53: II.2.1058 [6467]); Gneuss (1981: 35 [541]; 2001: 91 [541])

Barlow 35, fol. 5r/16-32
TYPE: year prognosis
LANGUAGE: L
LISTING: Madan, Craster and Denholm-Young (1922-53: II.2.1058 [A]))

In Liuzza (2005: II.40-44) as variants to 2/12 (in St. John’s College 17).

In Liuzza (2005: II.40-44) as variants to 2/12 (in St. John’s College 17).
3

TYPOLOGICAL GUIDE TO THE ANGLO-SAXON PROGNOSTICS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

While the emphasis in chapter 2 lay on the manuscripts containing prognostics, and where these prognostics can be found, the present chapter concerns itself with a description of the individual prognostic genres attested in the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts listed in section 2.2.1. This chapter is divided into two parts: the first is a typology, the second briefly deals with fixed sequences of prognostics. The length of the genre descriptions in the typology varies depending upon whether the genre in question has been researched satisfactorily in the past, and the amount of information available on the genre or in the texts themselves.

The prognostics known in England before the second half of the twelfth century can be divided into seventeen main genres. Some of these genres can be further subdivided. Egyptian Days, for example, exist in three varieties. The prognostic genres are treated in alphabetical order and referenced in numbers. 3.1.3, for instance, stands for: birth prognostic, temporal, structured by weekday. For each genre, the attestations are listed by language, library and manuscript. It should be noted that the texts are not listed in order of chronology or place of origin. I reference these individual texts with a slash and a number after the generic designation. Exhaustive information on the individual texts and their manuscripts can be found in chapter 2. For each genre I provide a full description of the structure, aim and history. These descriptions focus on the medieval period up to the twelfth century and the insular manuscript evidence. A description of superstitious practices in the classical and pre-Christian period can be found in the works of Jastrow, Gundel, Bottéro and Reiner. To reveal the mechanisms behind the transition from pre-Christian prognostication to early medieval practices would necessitate considerable research. At various points in this chapter I refer to Assyrian and Egyptian prognostics which can be linked to medieval ones, but I do not aim to explain how such prognostics moved from one culture and language to the next. The early and high Middle Ages are studied by Thorndike. The later medieval period is discussed by Wedel, Weißer, Braswell, Voigts and Kurtz, Taavitsainen, and Means, among others. After the Middle Ages, prognostics were transferred to the domain of almanacs and folklore. This development is beyond the scope of my thesis.

In researching the genres presented in this chapter, I have made use of a wealth of studies, editions, and encyclopedic sources. The most relevant of these are listed for each prognostic genre under the heading ‘literature’. It has proved impossible to provide exhaustive references. In addition to the works mentioned, I recommend *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, the inaptly

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1See the table of contents for a complete list.
2E.g. 3.1.3/1 is the first birth prognostic by weekday, which can be found in CCCC 391, p. 715.
4Thorndike (1923-58).
6Förster generally included editions and references to the post-medieval folkloric almanac tradition in his articles on the prognostics (1903, 1908a-c, 1910, 1911, 1912a-c, 1916, 1921, 1925-26, 1929, 1936, 1944).
named *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, and Dieter Harmening’s *Superstitio*.7

Next to references to background literature, a list of texts and a description of each genre, the branch of superstition to which the prognostic belongs is introduced. The term ‘superstition’ is not used in a prejudicial way, but should be regarded as a technical term for a group of related customs. The place of prognostics in the field of superstition is addressed fully in chapter 6. Other headings that may be encountered are ‘alias’ and ‘attributions’. The first lists the names under which the genre in question is also known, the second the authorities to which the genre has been ascribed in medieval and modern times.

The classification I use in listing prognostic genres is an adaptation of Förster’s method of referencing individual genres, rather than distinguishing groups of genres such as bloodletting prognostics, lunar prognostics, texts on unlucky days, etc.8 I have tried to improve upon this method by making a distinction between temporal and non-temporal texts, which is of use in discussing the place of prognostics in the manuscript context.9 In all instances, I have employed an incremental outline, i.e. listing prognostics in alphabetical order (from a to z), in temporal order (from hours to months), in range (from general to specific).

I have not tried to place prognostics into stemmatic relationships, but I do occasionally refer to redactions and versions. I use the term ‘redaction’ to describe prognostic texts of one genre which share a number of features from which it may be concluded that they are related. Texts which diverge in phrasing, structure, vocabulary or content can be said to form separate redactions. Within a redaction, I speak of ‘versions’, i.e. texts which display small variation in for instance phrasing, but which have enough in common to form one redaction. I use no hard and fast rules to establish redactions and versions, but then I do not offer authoritative stemmata either. I therefore urge the reader to regard my efforts in the field of textual relationships as indicative rather than definitive.

### 3.2.1 TYPOLOGY

**1 ALPHABET PROGNOSTIC**

**LITERATURE:** Brand (1849-55: III.336-38); Martin (1867: 348-50); Steinmeyer (1874); Schönbach (1875, 1890); Sievers (1875, 1877); Birch (1878: 507-09; 1892: 278-80); Tobler (1883: 86); Camus (1891: 205-06); Gaster (1891: II.57-58); Bradley (1897); Skeat (1897); Dieterich (1901); Bolte (1901-06: IV.276-341); Pradel (1907: 32-33, 70-71, 142); Schneegans (1908: 586); Salvioni, Subak and Schneegans (1909: 336); Förster (1910: 39-40; 1936); Heinevetter (1912); Wilhelm (1914-18: I.113); Thorndike (1923-58: II.294-95); Dobbie (1942: lxxxiii-lxxxv); Schmitt (1966: 195-96); Martin (1977: 18); Fischer (1982a: 7); Hunt (1987: 180, n. 127); Kieckhefer (1989: 88); Hollis and Wright (1992: 266); Kruger (1992: 8); Günzel (1993: 61-63); Epe (1995: 55); Liuzza (2001: 189-90, 220, n. 132)

**ALIAS:** pseudo-Joseph dreambook, dream alphabet, *sortes biblicae*

**ATTRIBUTION:** medieval: Joseph

**BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION:** divination: literancy, stoicheiomyancy (through letters), rhapsodomancy, bibliomancy (through books or the Bible), oneiromancy (through dreams)

**TEXT:**


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7Wissowa et al. (1894-1978), Hoffmann-Krayer, Bächold-Staubli et al. (1927-42), Harmening (1979).
8On Förster’s method and that of others, see section 1.3.
9See chapter 4.
DESCRIPTION:
In the past, (1) has been called an enigma, which has remained an appropriate description to this day. Little, if anything at all, is known of the origin and purpose of this particular alphabet prognostic. The aim of (1) can only be stated in a tentative manner. The text is structured in the order of the Roman alphabet. The use of the Roman alphabet implies that the text derives from a Latin exemplar, rather than from a Greek or Germanic source. Each letter is followed by a predicate. For instance, the predicate of the letter ‘i’ is: ‘commence whatever you want and it will be accomplished for you’. The predicate of the letter ‘z’ is an alliterative Gloria, printed as a separate text by Dobbie, and entitled ‘The Gloria II’. The Gloria, however, is an integral part of the alphabet prognostic in as far as it constitutes the predicate of the letter ‘z’. This, and the fact that (1) is the oldest alphabet prognostic hitherto attested, is all that can be said with certainty.

(1) has received little attention, mostly so in the context of continental alphabet prognostics, from which our knowledge of this genre has derived. I am hesitant to discuss the Old English prognostic in the light of analogues as far away in time and place as fifteenth-century Germany, but this proves to be the only way to shed some light on the Old English text. Several redactions in Greek, Latin, and the vernacular (Middle High German, English, Welsh, Old French, Sicilian) have been attested, dating from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries. Förster posits the following time-line for the dissemination of the alphabet prognostic: Greek genesis (seventh century AD at the latest), Greek redaction in Southern France (seventh to eighth centuries), Latin redactions (eighth to ninth centuries), vernacular redactions (ninth century and after). Remarkably, the attested texts mirror this time-line exactly in that the vernacular redactions are oldest (starting with the Old English one), after which follow Latin redactions, and finally a sixteenth-century Greek alphabet prognostic. Text (1) is a translation of a Latin alphabet prognostic no longer extant, and is not an immediate descendant of a Greek original.

A number of alphabet prognostics have introductions, an example of which is as follows:

When you have a dream at night and you would like to know the outcome, read the Psalm ‘Miserere mei Deus’. After this, take a psalter and open it in the name of the Father and the Son, and the first letter at the top of the page is to be marked.
The attribution of alphabet prognostics to Joseph has led Förster and others to call the alphabet prognostic a ‘pseudo-Joseph dreambook’, just as the ascription of the alphabetical dreambooks to Daniel has led scholars to regard these as ‘pseudo-Daniel dreambooks’. The quotations above reveal the use of the alphabet prognostic as a form of oneiromancy, i.e. dream interpretation to foretell the future. However, these introductions are all taken from fifteenth-century continental redactions. Earlier redactions, such as (1), and the twelfth-century Middle High German prognostic edited by Steinmeyer, lack introductions. It should, therefore, be kept in mind that the introductions may reflect on the oneirocritic use of the alphabet prognostic in later times only. The earliest evidence of the use of the alphabet prognostic as a dream device is in the thirteenth-century Dorset manuscript Cleopatra B.ix. Another thirteenth-century alphabet prognostic with a dream purpose explained in an introduction is in Digby 86. Remarkably, this text is in Norman French. The absence of other early alphabet prognostics makes it difficult to substantiate an original oneirocritic use for this prognostic genre. Where Schönbach has reservations, Förster opined that (1) is ‘without doubt to be considered a dream alphabet’.

In 1936, Förster edited two Welsh alphabet prognostics which he described as intended for ‘Psalterwahrsagung’ (‘psalter soothsaying’), a type of bibliomancy or rhapsodomancy, i.e. foretelling the future through the Bible or other books. This notion is a marked change from his earlier appellation ‘pseudo-Joseph dreambook’. Förster now focussed on the intended use of alphabet prognostics. The late date of the explanatory introductions to the genre also obscures the rhapsodomantic side of this prognostic: the earliest attestations of the alphabet prognostic do not explain how the text is to be used, whereas introductions from later redactions do. The latest view on (1), by Liuzza, agrees with Förster that alphabet prognostics were intended as sortes bibliae.

Steinmeyer suggested that the alphabet prognostic was intended for casting lots: the letters were supposedly carved onto sticks which functioned as sortes. He did not speculate as to the occasions on which the lots were used. There is no medieval historic, archeological, or textual evidence whatsoever to support such a hypothesis, nor is there any indication in the text itself that the prognostic should be applied in this manner, although the Greeks are known to have forecast the future through astragalomantic letter oracles.

Sortilege, oneiromancy, and rhapsodomancy are not the only explanations that have been given
to the alphabet prognostic. Sievers was the first to publish (1).\textsuperscript{30} It has subsequently appeared in Birch’s study and edition of the manuscript in which it is found, in Skeat’s study of the text, and in Günzel’s outstanding monograph on Titus D.xxvi, xxvii.\textsuperscript{31} Whereas Sievers did not elaborate upon either the purpose or the origin of (1), Birch offered an explanation of its use which should be rejected on account of its highly conjectural nature: ‘they [the letters] may be descriptive of a set of illustrations which had been prepared for an alphabet of illuminated initial letters’.\textsuperscript{32} The fact that (1) is a later addition to the manuscript, which had no more room left for a set of illuminated initials anyway, considerably weakens Birch’s conjecture. Moreover, there are practical obstacles: how would one effectively depict the predicate of ‘t’ in an initial: ‘do not fear those who live in sin and intend evil’?\textsuperscript{33} Günzel remains skeptical with regard to the oneirocritic attribution to (1) for two reasons: first, the complication of a possibly late oneirocritic attribution which postdates (1), a point which has been addressed above; second, the syntax and subject matter of (1) differ compared to those of the oneirocritic, continental redactions.\textsuperscript{34} Text (1) has complete sentences with finite verbs, whereas the continental texts contain short statements. Furthermore, the subject matter of (1) is overtly Christian whereas the continental texts tend to reflect on life in general.\textsuperscript{35} The continental alphabet prognostics, in contrast to (1), are in Günzel’s eyes comparable to alphabetical dreambooks both in syntax and subject matter.\textsuperscript{36} Despite these reservations, Günzel does not offer an alternative purpose for (1).

In 1897, Skeat published (1), under the title ‘An Anglo-Saxon Enigma’. This title reveals his reception of the text: he proposed that the text is a riddle and that the letters of the alphabet are to be expanded to an applicable solution based on the sentence that follows the letter, e.g. ‘A(vis). he gangeð 7 biþ his siðfæt gesund’ (‘Bird: he goes and his journey will be safe’), ‘B(onum). God þu fintst gyf ðu hit onginst 7 þe bið wel’ (‘Good: you will find good [things] if you proceed, and you will be well’).\textsuperscript{37} Still in the same year, Bradley rejected Skeat’s interpretation, offering instead a novel explanation: the original Latin alphabet prognostic integrated the letter of the alphabet into the first word of the sentence. Bradley reconstructed a Latin redaction, e.g. ‘Ambulabit, et salvum erit iter ejus’ (‘He will go, and his journey will be safe’) for Old English ‘A(mbulab it).’ He gangeð 7 biþ his siðfæt gesund’.\textsuperscript{38} A Middle High German alphabet prognostic exists which corroborates Bradley’s idea, e.g ‘D demut’ (‘humility’), ‘F vrede’ (‘peace’),\textsuperscript{39} but Förster banished an alphabet constructed along the same lines from the corpus of alphabet prognostics.\textsuperscript{40} A parallel to the alphabetical constructions advanced by

\begin{itemize}
\item Sievers (1877: 189-90).
\item Birch (1878: 508-09; 1892: 279-80), Skeat (1897), Günzel (1993: 121-22).
\item Birch (1878: 507).
\item ‘ne fyrdē 7a þe on synnum lyfiað 7 yfel þencâð’ (text 1/1).
\item Günzel (1993: 61-63).
\item ‘Ibid.’
\item Hollis and Wright (1992: 266) noted that ‘the possibility of a connection with the alphabetically organized Dreambooks does not seem to have been explored’. There are, however, no connections discernable between these two genres beyond those observed by Günzel and the fact that both are arranged in alphabetical order.
\item Skeat (1897: 543).
\item Bradley (1897: 683). Note the agreement between the Old English and a fifteenth-century Latin alphabet prognostic: ‘A significat prosperum iter et uiam felicem’ (Sievers 1875). The other predicates in this Latin redaction do not coincide with the Old English. Bradley already commented upon this.
\item Martin (1867: 368).
\item Förster (1936: 239 n. 5).
\end{itemize}
Skeat and Bradley is found in the Durham Ritual.\textsuperscript{41} This manuscript of s. ix/x received a number of glosses and textual additions in the tenth century,\textsuperscript{42} among which a text in alphabetical order focussing on Biblical characters and Christian living, an issue also addressed in (1).\textsuperscript{43} The Durham alphabet is structured in the same way as proposed by Bradley, e.g. ‘Adam is the first man created by God’.\textsuperscript{44} There are no direct links between (1) and the Durham alphabet, and there is no reason to assume that the Durham alphabet influenced (1), but future investigation of alphabetical texts such as these may shed some more light on their genesis, role, and function.

Both Skeat’s and Bradley’s explanations of the composition of the alphabet prognostic seem possible. To illustrate this, I have annotated the edition of (1) to demonstrate how this method works. Even though some letters are not easily expanded, most can be resolved. The implications of it primarily being a riddle might weaken its primary use in foretelling the future through letters, i.e. as a literamantic or stoicheiomantic device, and this use is precisely why (1) is considered a prognostic in the first place.

Bradley thought (1) a sors, and he related alphabet prognostics to the sortes sanctorum.\textsuperscript{45} In this opinion he does not stand alone, because scholars such as Förster also drew this comparison.\textsuperscript{46} However, the comparison is particularly inapt because it revolves around rhapsodomancy, and the sortes sanctorum which were known in medieval Western Europe are not rhapsodomantic devices (although Greek ancestors of the genre were). Moreover, the Greek stoicheiomantic devices are astragalomantic, alphabet prognostics are not.

From the above, it appears that the purpose and usage of (1) remains enigmatic. It is likely that the genre is of Latin (and perhaps ultimately Greek) extraction, as all prognostics are, although affixing a date of origin to this genre would rely too heavily on speculation. Text (1) is as yet the oldest representative of the genre. The purpose of (1) is not clear: it has variously been interpreted as a means of divination by lot (either as lots to be cast or as sortes biblicae), a manual for illustrating initials, a riddle, and an aid in dream interpretation. The last suggestion has been put forward most often, which is why this text is included in the prognostic corpus. There is something to say in favour of an oneirocritic and rhapsodomantic application in that it is more probable for one or a few (intermediate) texts of this prognostic to omit an introduction to this effect, than it is for an introduction to be affixed to one text which is subsequently copied all over Western Europe and in many different languages.\textsuperscript{47} Whether it is an intended ambiguity of the alphabet prognostic or not, I do think there is a riddling aspect to (1) which might appeal to readers who are not prognostically inclined.

\textsuperscript{41}Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.IV.19.


\textsuperscript{43}This alphabet can be found on fol. 88v. The text was added by the scribe Aldred the Provost, who also contributed other additions to the manuscript, in 970.

\textsuperscript{44}‘Adam primus homo factus est a domino...’ (Brown, Wormald, Ross, and Stanley 1969: fol. 88v).

\textsuperscript{45}Bradley (1897: 683). The sortes sanctorum (13) are described below.

\textsuperscript{46}Förster (1936: 231-32).

\textsuperscript{47}Förster (1936: 230) mentioned that no less than twenty-six alphabet prognostics contain introductions stating an oneirocritic and rhapsodomantic purpose.
2 APULEIAN SPHERE


ICONCLASS: 49D36, 58B2, 58BB1, 98B(APULEIUS)3

ALIAS: Sphere of Democritus, of Petosiris, of Pythagoras, of Life and Death

ATTRIBUTIONS: medieval: Apuleius (Platonicus), Democritus, Nechepso, Petosiris, Pythagoras; post-medieval: Bede, Columba, Hippocrates, Plato

BRANCHES OF SUPERSTITION: observation of times: weekdays, lunar phases; divination: arithmomancy (through numbers), onomatomancy, (through the values of the letters in a name), literamancy, stoicheiomancy (through letters)

TEXTS:

L/OE: 1. London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 16r
3. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C.i, fol. 7v
4. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C.vi, fol. 6v
5. London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 14v
6. London, British Library, Harley 3667, fol. 4va, 4vc
7. London, British Library, Harley 3667, fol. 5r
8. London, British Library, Harley 3667, fol. 5r
10. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, fols 49v-50r
11. Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 17, fol. 8rb
12. Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 17, fol. 41ra
13. Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 17, fol. 41rb

DESCRIPTION:

When Grattan and Singer printed a diagram and an alphabetical list of letters with numerical values for an Apuleian Sphere, part of the caption read: ‘it is not clear what is to be done with the numbers when obtained, but the point is not worth prolonged study’. The number of scholars who have subsequently studied Apuleian Spheres have proved Grattan and Singer to be wrong.

The purpose of the Apuleian Sphere is to help predict the outcome of an illness, while predictions...
concerning other issues are occasionally found, such as the outcome of a fight, or the chances of recovering a fugitive slave or lost or stolen property. This prognostic genre was transmitted from Greek via Latin, although some scholars have posited an Egyptian origin. Bonser claimed a Pythagorean Greek origin for Apuleian Spheres, while ‘Celtic influence is seen in the treatment of the earlier examples, Byzantine in the latter’. The supposed ‘Celtic influence’ is not supported by the texts themselves. An ultimate Greek descent is substantiated by the use of Greek writing and names in some of the Anglo-Saxon Apuleian Spheres (2, 3, 8, 11, 13). The oldest Greek Sphere hitherto attested dates back to the fourth century AD, in a demotic papyrus at the Leiden Museum of Antiquities. The earliest Latin translations are sometimes thought to have been composed in the sixth century, and despite the fact that no pre-ninth-century Spheres have been found, some scholars adhere to this date. Jones assigns an eighth-century terminus post quem. Singer makes mention of ‘a large number of early manuscripts from the eighth century onwards’, whereas he had previously indicated that the earliest text is found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 11411, fol. 99r, which is dated to the first half of the ninth century. Stevenson recently argued that the Apuleian Sphere in Lat. 11411 constitutes evidence of the presence of this genre in Anglo-Saxon England at the time of Archbishop Theodore, describing the manuscript as ‘an eight-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript from Echternach’. In the same passage, she connected Apuleian Spheres with Egyptian Days, and with the medical knowledge of Theodore. These connections, however, are illusory at best, not being backed up by one bit of evidence. From the ninth century onwards, this genre is attested increasingly more frequently in Western European manuscripts.

Despite the huge popularity of this prognostic device in the Middle Ages, vernacularisation set in rather late, as the sole rudimentarily glossed Anglo-Saxon Apuleian Sphere (1) attests to. This may have to do with the (Latinate) computistical context in which this genre is usually found in Anglo-

52 Thorndike (1923-58: I.682-83).
53 Singer (1928: 144).
54 Bonser (1963: 157).
55 The text redactions I have termed continental Petosiris, and Anglo-Saxon Petosiris I and II (see below) use Greek names in Greek script as a basis for their examples. The compartmentalised circular diagrams (see below) employ Greek qualifications in addition to Latin.
57 Thorndike (1923-58: I.682, n.4) refers to the text in Leemans (1843-85: II.35), whereas there is a more recent edition: Preisendanz (1928-31: II.81). The diagram itself is reproduced in Budge (1899: 230).
58 Sigerist (1942: 293), Murdoch (1984: 310). The former claimed that ‘the Sphere of Democritus was translated into Latin probably around the 6th century AD when such translations were made in large numbers’, although not one sixth-century Sphere has been attested. Jones assigns an eighth-century terminus post quem. Singer makes mention of ‘a large number of early manuscripts from the eighth century onwards’, whereas he had previously indicated that the earliest text is found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 11411, fol. 99r, which is dated to the first half of the ninth century. Stevenson recently argued that the Apuleian Sphere in Lat. 11411 constitutes evidence of the presence of this genre in Anglo-Saxon England at the time of Archbishop Theodore, describing the manuscript as ‘an eight-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript from Echternach’. In the same passage, she connected Apuleian Spheres with Egyptian Days, and with the medical knowledge of Theodore. These connections, however, are illusory at best, not being backed up by one bit of evidence. From the ninth century onwards, this genre is attested increasingly more frequently in Western European manuscripts.
60 Singer (1928: 144-145). Facsimile in Singer (1928: 145, fig. 54); Grattan and Singer (1952: 39, fig. 18).
61 Jenkinson (1908: xxxi), Wickersheimer (1966: 123 [LXXVIII]).
64 For editions, studies, and manuscripts, see Jenkinson (1908: xxxi, 31), Förster (1912c: 47-49), Wickersheimer (1914: 1966: 29 [XIX], 35 [XXV], 50 [XXXIII], 64 [LIV.3], 88 [LXIX], 123 [LXXVIII.1], 134 [LXXXVI], 140 [XCII.1], 141-42 [XCII.5]), Thorndike (1923-58: I.692-94), Singer (1928: 144-45), Sigerist (1942), Grattan and Singer (1952: 39), Beccaria (1956: 213 [55.24], 382 [134.4]), Hunt (1987: 161, 171).
65 Other prognostic genres, such as lunaries, were translated in relatively large numbers.
Saxon England, but even computi in the vernacular do not include vernacularised Apuleian Spheres while they do contain translations of other prognostics.\textsuperscript{66} The computus which contains (1), for example, includes five other prognostics in Old English, and four in Latin, one of which being yet another Apuleian Sphere (6).\textsuperscript{67} I have not encountered any early medieval continental manuscripts containing Apuleian Spheres in the vernacular. In the later Middle Ages, translations of Apuleian Spheres are less exceptional, as evidenced by several Middle English redactions as well as a Syrian Sphere.\textsuperscript{68}

At the heart of the Apuleian Sphere lies a diagram without which the prognostic is useless. Some Apuleian Spheres have two diagrams (4, 7, 10, 12), and one lacks everything but the diagram (11). In addition to a diagram, Apuleian Spheres consist of a variable set of elements, which may include: (a) an explanatory text of the procedure to be followed, (b) a set of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet, (c) a list of numerical values for the days of the week, and, sporadically, (d) a list of numerical values for the lunar phases. The tabular material and explanatory texts show great variation which makes a discussion of Apuleian Spheres rather complicated, in contrast to the simplicity of purpose of this genre. The order and presence of the components of Apuleian Spheres varies.

The explanatory text. This element informs the enquirer on how to predict the outcome of an illness, or a fight, for instance. The procedure to be followed is a form of arithmomancy, or divination by numbers: the numerical values for the letters in one’s name are added up to the numerical value for the weekday and the lunar phase on which the illness started. If a table of numerical values for lunar phases is present, this table should be consulted. Otherwise one may simply add the lunar phase itself to the calculation. From the sum, thirty is subtracted as many times as possible until one arrives at a number between 1 and 30,\textsuperscript{69} which can be looked up in the list of numbers in the diagram. The reason behind the choice of the number thirty is not revealed. The importance of the lunar calendar in this prognostic (see below) may have been of influence. Redactions exist which use the number twenty-nine instead of thirty, and this also may be attributed to the synodic lunar month of roughly 29.5 days.\textsuperscript{70} The diagram is divided into two or more parts, containing lists of mutually exclusive numbers that

\textsuperscript{66}See sections 4.2.2-4.2.2.3, 5.2.1-5.2.1.2.

\textsuperscript{67}See section 4.2.2.3.

\textsuperscript{68}Middle English Spheres are printed and discussed in Voigts (1986, 1994), Braekman (1988: 88-111), the Syrian one in Budge (1913: I.458-59, II.539).

\textsuperscript{69}Following the Latin phrasing ‘\textit{diuide per triginta}’ or ‘\textit{partire trigenos}’ (see verse text below), most scholars represent the instructions as ‘divide by thirty and look up the remainder in the sphere’. This is slightly misleading to the modern reader as ‘remainder’ is reminiscent of long division, which was impossible in the early medieval West. Indeed, the demotic Greek Sphere has ‘see how many times thirty there are’ (Betz 1986: 165, n.90).

\textsuperscript{70}There are prognostic genres similar to Apuleian Spheres which also use numerical values for names, and a subtraction process. Budge edited and translated a twelfth-century Syrian manuscript which included a method to discover which hand contains an object, who has stolen something from the questioner, who will die first, and what the course of an illness will be (1913: II.524-25, II.526-27, II.531-41). See also Braekman’s study of the \textit{Secreta secretorum} (1981: 105-111). An unusual illness prognostic which shows some similarities with the calculations of Apuleian Spheres but which does not use a diagram is found in the eleventh-century manuscript Dijon 448: ‘\textit{Cum quis aegrotare coeperit, quo die egrotauerit require, uel nomen egroti computabis et numerum diem addes, ex numero tres partes facit; si unus aut duo remanserit, conualescit egrotus}’ (Wickersheimer 1966: 30-31 [XXII.2]). Another prognostic without a diagram but with a list of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet is in Cleopatra B.ix, fol. 10v and Egerton 843, fol. 31v (text from the latter, both are English manuscripts from the second half of the thirteenth century): ‘Si uis scire quis prius moriatur, uir an mulier, computa nomina illorum et prospice numerum litteratarum suarum et diuide per nouem. Si par numerus superfuerit, mulier condet uirum; si impar. uir mulierum’ (Hunt 1987: 171 [9]).
predict life and death, respectively.

The phrasing of the explanatory text takes two main shapes: a six-line verse and a prose description. These two formulations are not mutually exclusive. There are Apuleian Spheres which have both a verse and prose explanation (3, 9, 10), while in exceptional cases the explanatory text is lacking altogether (11). In its archetypical form, the six-line verse is as follows:

Collige per numeros quicquid cupis esse probandum.
Iunge simul nomen feriam lunamque diei.
Collectamque una summam partire trigenos.
Quodque superferuet rotulus discernet uterque.
Quos retinet uitae necnon et mortis imago.
Si supra fuerit uiuet morietur et infra.\textsuperscript{71}

This verse is found in texts (3, 5, 9, 10). Text (10) constitutes the earliest example ever found of the six-line verse, but there is no reason to posit an Anglo-Saxon origin for the verse.\textsuperscript{72} Since the verse is a mnemonic device, the contents do not show great variation, except for copying mistakes, e.g. ‘discernat’ for ‘discernet’ (5); garbling of the order of the verse lines (9); grammatical variation, e.g. ‘numerus’ for ‘numeros’ (10); and some textual variation, e.g. ‘lunam feriamque’ for ‘feriam lunamque’.\textsuperscript{73}

The prose explanation offers opportunities for extensive variation, and a number of separate textual redactions can be distinguished based on the opening lines, the number used in calculations, and the presence or absence of an example.\textsuperscript{74} The first redaction I distinguish is the Apuleian, of which the opening line runs: ‘Spera apulei platonici de uita uel de morte uel de omnibus negotiis. & quicquid inquirere ulueris.’ (1, 3, 10). This type requires subtraction of the number thirty, and does not give an example of how the calculations should be carried out.

The second redaction is the Pythagorean, which typically has the opening line ‘Ratio sper\- phytagori phylosophi quem apulei descriptis. ut de qua\- cunque re scire ulueris nel consuleure.’ (4, 6, 9, 12).\textsuperscript{75} The Pythagorean redaction uses the number thirty and does not give an example.

The third redaction, that of Petosiris, uses the numbers twenty-nine and thirty, and provides examples. Continental Petosiris Spheres are presented as letters from Petosiris to Pharaoh Nechepso: ‘Petosiris Nechepso regi salutem. De his, quae a me ad humanae uitae cautelam in uenta sunt’.\textsuperscript{77} Calculations are based on the number twenty-nine exclusively, and this variant uses as a sample the names of Hector and Achilles.\textsuperscript{78} These names are usually written in Greek, which makes a list of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet unnecessary because Greek letters have fixed values. Petosiris’s Letter to Nechepso has wrongfully been attributed to Bede by Noviomagus in the sixteenth

\textsuperscript{71}Count by numbers whatever you wish to be examined. / Take together the [values for] name, weekday and moon of the day. / And divide the single, gathered sum by thirty. / Whatever remains both [i.e. halves] of the circle will differentiate. / The image of life and also that of death holds them. / If it is above, he will live; if below, he will die'.

\textsuperscript{72}Voigts (1986: 298).

\textsuperscript{73}The latter is attested in the early fifteenth-century manuscript Harley 3719 (Voigts 1986: 301).

\textsuperscript{74}See table A3.2 for a quick reference guide to the prose explanatory texts.

\textsuperscript{75}From text 2/1.

\textsuperscript{76}From text 2/12.

\textsuperscript{77}Riess (1891-93: 382).

I distinguish two Petosiris redactions in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. In Anglo-Saxon Petosiris I redactions, the opening paragraph was replaced by one resembling the Pythagorean, but the example of the Petosiris variety has been retained. This is most readily seen in the numbers used in calculation: thirty is referred to in the opening paragraph, twenty-nine in the example. The opening line of the Petosiris I redaction is an abbreviation of that of the Pythagorean: ‘De quacumque re scire volueris ael consulere’ (8, 13). The explanation refers to subtractions of thirty, but the example adduced uses the number twenty-nine. The example calculates the outcome of a fight between an unknown person (Hector in continental Petosiris redactions) and Achilles, and uses the (invariable!) numerical values for the letters of the Greek alphabet. Moreover, the name of Achilles is written in Greek in the examples. The second Anglo-Saxon redaction, Petosiris II, has an opening line identical to the Pythagorean (2). The Pythagorean opening quickly shifts to an explanatory text of the Petosiris variety, which is apparent because the number mentioned is twenty-nine exclusively (in contrast to Petosiris I!). The example in Petosiris II concerns calculations of a number of names of Greek deities, whose names are written in Greek. The diagram that accompanies Petosiris I is a rhomboid, that of Petosiris II a regular circular one. Both Anglo-Saxon Petosiris redactions differ from the other redactions in some respects: calculations are based on the number twenty-nine (but note that the explanatory text of Petosiris I also mentions thirty), there is no list of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet, and there is no list of numerical values for the days of the week. Jones observed that the continental Letter of Petosiris to Nechepso was common in Fleury computi. This observation is interesting because the English Petosiris I texts are attested in Byrhtferth’s computus, which is indebted to the computus of Abbo of Fleury.

Some scholars consider the Petosiris redaction to be a prognostic genre in its own right. Wickersheimer, for instance, thought that what he described as the Apuleian/Pythagorean Sphere ‘does not at all derive from the Sphere of Petosiris, but from another Greek figure like the one seen in Leiden papyrus V’. This may be the case for the older, continental Spheres of Petosiris, but the Anglo-Saxon Petosiris I Spheres are cross-overs which incorporate elements from the Pythagorean redaction. In general, Anglo-Saxon attestations of Petosiris redactions have much in common with other redactions, Petosiris II more so than Petosiris I. The following diagram clarifies the types and redactions of

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80Jones (1939: 90). A Sphere of the Petosiris redaction is printed in Migne’s edition of Bede’s works (1861-1904: I.963-66).
81See section 6.2.1.
82From text 2/13.
83See notes to 2/8, 2/13.
84On the diagrams, see below. Wickersheimer (1914: 167) noted that one of the continental Petosiris redactions made use of a rectangular diagram. The diagram of the Anglo-Saxon Petosiris II text 2/2 is odd in that it supplies a list of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet, which is superfluous because Petosiris redactions make use of Greek letters. Therefore, the regular circular diagram of 2/2 may well have replaced an older rhomboid or rectangular diagram.
85On the list of numerical values for the weekdays, see below.
86See section 4.2.2.2 for a study of the transmission of prognostics in the computus.
87‘ne dérive point de la sphère de Petosiris mais d’une autre figure grecque que l’on rencontre dans le papyrus V de Leyde’ (Wickersheimer 1914: 167). He referred to the Sphere in the Leiden papyrus introduced above. Singer (1917: 120) also considered the Sphere of Petosiris a genre in its own right.
As the example of the Petosiris redactions illustrates, it is possible to recognise a number of discrete prognostic genres in Apuleian Spheres, rather than separate redactions of one main genre.\(^88\) Doing so, however, has far-reaching consequences: there are at least four different types of diagrams in seven redactions, three types of lists of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet in eight redactions, two redactions of the list of numerical values for the weekdays, and two redactions of lists of numerical values for the lunar phases in two redactions.\(^89\) Combinations of different types and redactions of these lists, explanatory texts, and diagrams are frequently encountered, which makes contemplating the number of distinct prognostic genres rather academic.\(^90\) So instead of seeing a host of prognostic genres, for pragmatic reasons, I only recognise Apuleian Spheres, consisting of a number of flexible components.

**Numerical values for the letters of the alphabet.** If the Greek alphabet is used, as in the Petosiris redactions, for instance, there is no need for a separate list of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet. Indeed, the earliest attestation of an Apuleian Sphere, in the Leiden papyrus, does not include such a list as the text is in Greek. The transition of this genre from Greek to Latin necessitated a conversion table, because most of the letters of the Roman alphabet do not have a fixed value. The list enumerates the twenty-three letters of the Roman alphabet.\(^91\) I distinguish three types of lists for the letters of the alphabet: those which are or should have been absent because the letters follow the Greek system (2, 8, 13), those which convey small values (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12), and those which convey large numbers (5, 10). The purpose of the latter list is unknown, but it may have been intended for the initial letter of a name. Some texts have more than one list of small numerical values for the letters of the alphabet (4, 6, 12). The list of small numbers is attested in seven different redactions, that of large numbers in one.\(^92\) The placement of the list varies: it may be found written in a column alongside the text and diagram (1, 5, 7, 10), in a table around the diagram (4), in an outer

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\(^{88}\)See below for more information on this issue.

\(^{89}\)These findings pertain to Apuleian Spheres from Anglo-Saxon manuscripts solely. See section A3.1.

\(^{90}\)Theoretically, there are at least \(7 	imes 8 	imes 2 	imes 2 = 224\) different configurations possible. Add to this attested irregularities such as two diagrams for one text, diagrams without text, lists of values for the letters of the alphabet where none are needed, and the number of prognostic genres becomes too large to contemplate.

\(^{91}\)The alphabet excluding the letters ‘j’, ‘u’, and ‘w’.

\(^{92}\)See table A3.3.
ring of the circular diagram (2, 6, 12), and inside the diagram (3). 93

**Numerical values for the days of the week.** The days of the week all have a value which must be included if the calculation is to be relied upon. These values are arbitrary and the list should, therefore, always be present in the text. Petosiris redactions lack these lists, but (2), a Petosiris II type, features a list added in a considerably later hand. This list deviates from the two redactions known in Anglo-Saxon Apuleian Spheres. In Anglo-Saxon Apuleian Spheres, there are two redactions of the list of numerical values for the weekdays. 94

**Numerical values for the lunar phases.** In the Middle Ages it was believed that the phase of the moon on which something happened was of great importance, witness the large number of medieval lunaries. In Apuleian Spheres, accordingly, lunar phases play an essential part. There are two types of lists of numerical values for the lunar phases: those which do not exist because the value of the lunar phase equals that of the synodic phase of the moon (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12); and those which are present because the values of the lunar phases are arbitrary, ridiculously large numbers (7, 10). Continental Petosiris redactions employ these lists, 95 but this is not the case for Anglo-Saxon Petosiris redactions. In fact, the Anglo-Saxon instances of this list are linked to the diagram of uita/mors rather than the explanatory text. There are two redactions of the list of arbitrary numbers. 96

**Diagrams.** These figures lie at the heart of the genre of Apuleian Spheres since the outcome of the query is revealed in the diagram in the form of a set of numbers from one to thirty, placed in different sections of the diagram. All diagrams comprise an auspicious and inauspicious component, but the shape and style of the diagram exhibits great variation. There are four basic types: regular and compartmentalised circular diagrams, rhomboid diagrams, and figures of, literally, life and death:

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figure 3.2: diagrams of Apuleian Spheres
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Some Apuleian Spheres have more than one diagram (4, 7, 10, 12). The regular circular diagram is the most basic type and consists of a circle subdivided into a top and bottom half (1, 2, 4 [twice], 6, 7, 12 [twice]). 97 If the number of the outcome is present in the top half of the diagram, it means that the questioner will live, numbers in the bottom half signify death. The compartmentalised circular diagram is more intricate in that the top and bottom half are subdivided into compartments indicating the quality of life and death (3, 11). The labels for these compartments are in Greek, sometimes transliterated into Latin script and with glosses in Latin, e.g. ‘ZΩΗ MIKΠΑ’ ‘zoe micra id est uita

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93 See table A3.1.
94 See table A3.4.
96 See table A3.5.
97 2/9 has a dry-point circle that indicates the place where the diagram should have been drawn.
minor’. Sometimes coded writing has been added to heighten the hermetic nature of this prognostic genre, e.g. ‘\textit{ANAOC MHTGAC}’ ‘\textit{m\textsuperscript{rs} c\textsuperscript{t}t\textit{t}}’ (i.e. ‘\textit{mors cita}’). Like compartmentalised circular diagrams, rhomboids are compartmentalised as well (8, 10). Whereas rhomboids are sometimes found in Petosiris I redactions, which employ Greek writing, the compartments in these diagrams are labelled exclusively in the Roman alphabet, in contrast to compartmentalised circular diagrams. The rhomboids of (8) and (10) have little in common beyond their shape. The distribution of the numerical values they contain does not correspond. In addition, rather than the top half of (8) signifying life and the bottom half death, the left side means death and the right side life. Finally, the figure of life and death, i.e. the \textit{uita/mors} diagram, may have been an Anglo-Saxon invention because it is found in three English manuscripts but not once in continental ones (5, 7, 10). Instead of listing the sets of numbers in a geometrical figure, such as a circle, rhomboid or rectangle, they are listed in banners carried by a heavenly figure, and a denizen of the netherworld. The heavenly figure carries a banner containing the set of numbers corresponding to life, and the fiend a banner with the numbers for death.

In addition to the four basic shapes of the diagrams, mention should be made of the set of numbers these diagrams contain. There are three main types of numerical sets, which coincide with the types of diagrams: four redactions for regular circular and \textit{uita/mors} diagrams, one redaction for compartmentalised circular diagrams, and two redactions for rhomboids. The only diagrams to show some overlap, then, are the regular circular and the \textit{uita/mors} ones. The distribution of numbers in the \textit{uita/mors} diagram of (7), for instance, does not correspond to that in the \textit{uita/mors} diagrams of (5, 10), but to that in the first regular circular diagrams of (4, 7, 12).

So far, I have concentrated on the component parts of Apuleian Spheres. The number of combinations possible if one were to assemble an Apuleian Sphere has led scholars to distinguish several prognostic genres instead of redactions of Apuleian Spheres, as I already hinted at before. Wickersheimer and Sigerist made a distinction between the Sphere of Democritus, Pythagoras or Apuleius, the Sphere of Petosiris, and the \textit{tetragonus subiectus}, a Sphere with a rectangular diagram. Likewise, Thorndike saw distinct genres in the Sphere of Democritus, the Sphere of Petosiris, and the Sphere of Apuleius or Pythagoras. He thought that the latter had replaced the older Sphere of Democritus. Such genre distinctions are based upon the supposedly diverse origins of Spheres of life and death, and the various shapes and divisions of the diagrams. Thus, the rectangular diagram of the oldest Sphere of Democritus was thought to have changed into a compartmentalised circular one (the Apuleian or Pythagorean Sphere), whereas the Sphere of Petosiris retained its original, regular circular shape. There are no indications for these developments to have taken place at all. Therefore, I prefer to regard all instances of the Sphere of Life and Death as variations upon one genre. How and why a

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
  \item[\textsuperscript{98}] From text 2/3.
  \item[\textsuperscript{99}] From text 2/11.
  \item[\textsuperscript{100}] The diagram of 2/13 has been cut out, but the relatedness of this text to 2/8 indicates that the diagram of 2/13 will have been a rhomboid.
  \item[\textsuperscript{101}] See table A3.6.
  \item[\textsuperscript{102}] Wickersheimer (1914: 164-74), Sigerist (1942: 292-93). The earliest Apuleian Sphere had a rectangular diagram. Such a \textit{tetragonus subiectus} was more common in continental Apuleian Spheres (cf. Wickersheimer 1966: 35 [XXV], 141-42 [XCI.5]). I have found no English instances. A picture of a rectangular diagram is published in Wickersheimer (1966: plate ix).
  \item[\textsuperscript{103}] Thorndike (1923-58: L682-83).
\end{itemize}

72
number of different redactions came into being is a question which cannot be answered, but like
everything that evolves, such developments sometimes took place gradually over time and abruptly at
certain points in time.\textsuperscript{104}

There are only two sets of Anglo-Saxon Apuleian Spheres which closely resemble each other, to wit (4) and (12), and (8) and (13). Both redactions are incorporated in copies of Byrhtferth’s computus,\textsuperscript{105} and the redactions of their components agree in every way. It seems likely, therefore, that both sets are related. With regard to other redactions, proving relatedness is not so easy. The most obvious examples are the three Apuleian Spheres which have a \textit{uita/mors} diagram (5, 7, 10). It is impossible for these diagrams to have been conceived of independently. The earliest of the three (10) inspired the other two,\textsuperscript{106} but the transmission caused some modifications to the overall composition of the texts, as the following table illustrates:\textsuperscript{107}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text alphabetical values</th>
<th>weekday values</th>
<th>lunar values</th>
<th>diagram values</th>
<th>values for outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-5 verse</td>
<td>small 5 + large</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>\textit{uita/mors}</td>
<td>rc/um 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-7 absent</td>
<td>small 7</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>\textit{uita/mors} + regular circular</td>
<td>rc/um 3 (twice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-10 verse + prose (Apuleian)</td>
<td>small 5 + large</td>
<td>redaction 1</td>
<td>\textit{uita/mors} + rhomboid</td>
<td>rc/um 4 + r2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\begin{table}[h!]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{text} & \textbf{alphabetical values} & \textbf{weekday values} & \textbf{lunar values} & \textbf{diagram values} & \textbf{values for outcome} \\
\hline
-5 verse & small 5 + large & absent & absent & \textit{uita/mors} & rc/um 4 \\
-7 absent & small 7 & absent & redaction 1 & \textit{uita/mors} + regular circular & rc/um 3 (twice) \\
-10 verse + prose (Apuleian) & small 5 + large & redaction 1 & redaction 2 & \textit{uita/mors} + rhomboid & rc/um 4 + r2 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Components of Apuleian Spheres with \textit{uita/mors} diagram}
\end{table}

Let us assume that the chronological order of the texts reflects the stages of transmission: (10) is from the 970s, followed by (5) from s. xi\textsuperscript{104}, and finally (7) from c. 1122. Text (10) represents the most complete phase: an Apuleian Sphere with an explanatory text in both verse and prose, a set of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet, and one for the capitals, a list of values for the weekdays, and one for the lunar phases, a \textit{uita/mors} diagram and a rhomboid, each diagram containing its own set of values. In the process of transmission to (5), components were lost, including the prose explanation, the values for the weekdays and the lunar phases, and the rhomboid with its set of values. Three components, however, were retained: the \textit{uita/mors} diagram, the set of numerical values in the diagram, and the otherwise unattested list of values for the capitals. This list, in particular, has been copied very closely.\textsuperscript{108} It may be possible, therefore, that (5) as a whole is a direct copy of (10), albeit poorly executed. Text (7), however, cannot have derived directly from either (10) or (5), because it has totally different redactions of values for the letters of the alphabet, and for the lunar phases (already lost by (5)

\textsuperscript{104}The comparison between texts 2/5, 2/7 and 2/10 below will illustrate this.

\textsuperscript{105}See sections 4.2.2.2, 5.2.2.1.

\textsuperscript{106}Voigts (1986: 295-96) mentioned a tentative link between the diagrams of 2/10 and 2/5 (the link with 2/7 had not yet been discovered at the time). Most writers have focussed on the iconographical connections of the diagrams of these two Spheres (Wormald 1962: 125-26; Heimann 1966: 39-46; Desham 1977: 166-71). All conclude that the similarities indicate that 2/5 is a direct copy of 2/10.

\textsuperscript{107}See table A3.7 for a comparison between all Anglo-Saxon Apuleian Spheres. For the contents of the various redactions of the component parts and abbreviations used, see section A3.1.

\textsuperscript{108}The set of values for the capitals ‘I’, ‘M’, ‘V’, ‘X’, and ‘Z’, in both 2/10 and 2/5, read ‘I’, ‘I’, ‘V’, ‘X’, and ‘I’, respectively, whereas the numerical values for the first set and the other letters in the second set do not have any dots or dashes over them.
and unattested elsewhere). Moreover, (7) had gained a regular circular diagram in addition to its uitamors figure, and both diagrams have the same redaction of numerical values, a redaction which is not found in the uitamors diagram of (10). The only thing that (7) and (10) have in common is the uitamors diagram itself.

Where, then, do the other components of (7) come from? The redaction of the numerical values in both diagrams of (7) is identical to that of the first regular circular diagrams of (4) and (12). The diagrams of (7) even replicates some of the numerical ambiguities present in those of (4) and (12), which may have its cause in the fact that (4) and (7), while no longer so now, used to be in the same manuscript. A direct link between values for the diagrams of (7) and (4) is, therefore, not unthinkable. This link does not solve all problems in the transmission of (7): the redactions of the values for the letters of the alphabet and the lunar phases are not encountered elsewhere in English manuscripts, but they must have come from somewhere. Moreover, the compiler must have made a conscious choice to incorporate a list of values for the lunar phases and he must have had access to such a list, despite their rarity in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. No other type of Anglo-Saxon Apuleian Sphere uses values for the lunar phases but the texts accompanying the uitamors diagrams of (7) and (10). In continental manuscripts, on the other hand, values for lunar phases do occur with Spheres of the Petosiris type, which makes a continental source probable. This is in fact very likely in view of the association of the Sphere of Petosiris with the Fleury computus, and on account of the use Byrhtferth made of Abbo’s computistical work in compiling his own computus, in which (7) is found. If we add up the findings, it appears that (7) is a composite of a uitamors diagram derived from (10), a regular circular diagram inspired by (4), numbers for both diagrams of (7) taken from the first diagram of (4), and continental influences in the values for the letters of the alphabet and for the lunar phases.

A comparison of all Anglo-Saxon Apuleian Spheres would make it seem as if these prognostics are DIY kits which can be constructed from a choice of components, often offering more than one alternative for each part. Needless to say, this cannot have been the case, because these texts were transmitted with a certain preset configuration of components. It is unlikely that anything such as a manuscript or booklet ever existed in the early Middle Ages which listed all the readings and diagrams possible at the time. Nevertheless, a certain degree of variation was feasible, as the composition of (7) illustrates. Text (7), however, is based in part upon a known source which was capable of exerting considerable influence, i.e. (4), and in part upon a source no longer traceable but which must have furnished the list of values for the lunar phases since such a list cannot have appeared out of the blue.

This short review has introduced the nature, purpose, and origin of Apuleian Spheres. The earliest Sphere dates from the fourth century, but there are no attestations of the genre in a Western source before the ninth century. At this time, the Sphere gained in popularity and numerous texts appeared. The genre did not lend itself to vernacularisation until the later Middle Ages, and even then on a small scale only. The basic make-up of Apuleian Spheres is a diagram accompanied by a group of tabular material and an explanatory text. The basic requirements for an operational text are: a diagram with

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110 See section 2.2.1.
111 See above.
112 See table A3.7 for a comparison between all Anglo-Saxon Apuleian Spheres. For the contents of the various redactions of the component parts, see section A3.1.
a set of numbers, a set of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet, and for the days of the week. Apuleian Spheres may be accompanied by more tabular and explanatory material, depending upon the redaction of the text, the type of diagram, etc. In view of the complexity inherent in this genre, Apuleian Spheres deserve to be the subject of prolonged study.

3 BIRTH PROGNOSTICS
DESCRIPTION:
While some genre groupings share a common purpose (to report dangerous days for bloodletting, as Egyptian Days do) or structure (lunar phases, as lunaries do), birth prognostics are diverse texts which have in common that they have something to reveal about birth. The group comprises temporal and non-temporal prognostics, and within the temporal branch, texts pertaining to pre- and postnatal matters. Birth prognostics address issues ranging from the development of the human foetus, the gender of an unborn child, the character and walk of life of a newborn child, and three miraculous days in the year on which only boys are born.

3.1.1 BIRTH, TEMPORAL, DEVELOPMENT OF THE FOETUS
ATTRIBUTIONS: medieval: Augustine, Galen, Hippocrates; post-medieval: Octavius Horatianus, Soranus, Theodorus Priscianus
AUTHOR: Vindicianus
BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION: observation of times: weekdays, months
TEXT:
OE: 1. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fols 40v-41r
DESCRIPTION:
This prognostic, the only one of its kind in an English manuscript, describes the development and growth of the human foetus in monthly stages. If the text were to treat this matter solely, it would not be a prognostic. The last sentence of (1), however, tells us that if the baby has not yet been born in the tenth month, ‘in the mother it [the baby] becomes a fatality to her, most often on a Monday night’. This curious addition is likely to be original to the Anglo-Saxon text: no other redaction has been attested with this ending.

In the new introduction to the reprint of Cockayne’s Leechdoms, Singer remarked about this text and the birth prognostic about a mother’s behaviour (3.2/1): ‘pp. 144-147 are filled with two very curious passages [viz. 3.1.1/1 and 3.2/1] reminiscent of degenerate Greek medicine’. Singer did not elaborate upon the extent to which these two prognostics are degenerate and Greek, but it can be assumed that he had in mind medical texts ‘devoid of those living characteristics so honourably

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113Not included are birth lunaries, which are discussed under the lunaries below (see description 9.2.2).
114Prognostics structured by the month of birth star sign are not attested in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, but they existed in Middle English (Taavitsainen 1988: 52-53). Classical birth prognostics by star signs and planets have been identified (Gundel 1927: 157-93).
115Although the text does not say so, these months should probably be construed as lunar rather than solar. Galenic embryology uses a period of 280 days, which amounts to ten lunar months, forty weeks.
116hit in þam magan wyrð hire to feorhadle oftost on tiwesniht’ (text 3.1.1/1).
associated with ancient Greek medicine'.\textsuperscript{118} Talbot placed (1) and other birth prognostics and gynaecological texts in the context of the Hippocratic treatise \textit{De mulierum affectibus},\textsuperscript{119} although the evidence does not warrant an association between the latter and (1). Consensus on how these birth prognostics should be interpreted has not been reached, but this situation may be due to the fact that modern scholars have failed to study them seriously. Rubin, for instance, claimed that 'there is little of gynaecological value or knowledge in it [viz. 1].'\textsuperscript{120} Mitchell, in his student edition of (1), commented: 'it is not possible to say how widely they [viz. 3.1.1/1 and 3.2/1] were known or how seriously they were taken'.\textsuperscript{121}

Deegan is the only scholar so far who discussed with integrity the knowledge portrayed in the text, both with regard to the level of scientific knowledge in classical and medieval times, and in the light of classical and modern embryology.\textsuperscript{122} On the one hand, the development of the arterial system 'into 365 shorter and longer' veins and arteries may have its foundation in symbolism or analogy rather than observation.\textsuperscript{123} On the other hand, the comment that 'In the third month it [the foetus] is human without a soul' cannot be dismissed as fiction so easily,\textsuperscript{124} because the genesis and existence of the soul played a central role in Christian theology.\textsuperscript{125} Even today, the entry of the soul into the human foetus is the subject of major controversies, for instance with regard to policies on abortion or murder of unborn children.\textsuperscript{126} In fact, the few other texts on the development of the foetus in the vernacular, in Old Frisian manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, are not encountered in a medical context, but in codes of law.\textsuperscript{127} These Frisian instances of the 'Development of the Foetus' are used to determine the amount of wergild a mother is to receive if she loses her unborn child in a fight.\textsuperscript{128} Two more attestations of the 'Development of the Foetus' in Old Frisian law codes transposed the monthly stages from a prenatal to a postnatal situation, and also pertain to the amount of wergild to be received upon the loss of the child.\textsuperscript{129}

In view of the Old Frisian material, the gravity of the text is not in doubt. There are at least two more indications that the 'Development of the Foetus' was quite an authoritative text. First, the 'Development of the Foetus' is encountered more than once in continental manuscripts. I already referred to the Old Frisian instances. To these may be added a Middle High German redaction, published and copiously annotated by Ferckel,\textsuperscript{130} a Middle English metrical redaction,\textsuperscript{131} as well as

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{118}Grattan and Singer (1952: 23).
\textsuperscript{119}Talbot (1967: 19-20).
\textsuperscript{120}Rubin (1974: 68).
\textsuperscript{121}Mitchell (1998: 271).
\textsuperscript{123}On lv. 7 þreo hundræd scyþran 7 lengran’ (text 3.1.1/1).
\textsuperscript{124}‘On þam þriddan monþe he biþ man butan sawle’ (text 3.1.1/1).
\textsuperscript{125}Deegan (1987: 23-24).
\textsuperscript{126}In March 2004, the Unborn Victims of Violence Act awaited the President’s approval in the United States of America. This act is designed to protect pregnant women against physical violence by making the death of a foetus punishable. The Unborn Victims of Violence Act achieves this by giving the foetus the legal status of a person.
\textsuperscript{127}Hill (1961-63: 55).
\textsuperscript{128}Hill (1961-63: 57).
\textsuperscript{129}Hill (1961-63: 57-58).
\textsuperscript{130}Ferckel (1914). For an exhaustive commentary on the medical contents of the ‘Development of the Foetus’, see Ferckel’s edition.
\textsuperscript{131}Wright (1841: 138-40).
\end{footnotesize}
seven Latin redactions of the text of which (1) is but an excerpt, transmitted in over twenty manuscripts ranging from the eighth to the sixteenth centuries. Second, one of the Old Frisian redactions opens as follows: ‘Augustine says that the child within the mother is shaped in nine months’. If the ‘Development of the Foetus’ was not taken seriously, or ‘reminiscent of degenerate Greek medicine’, the attribution to Augustine would have been a considerable mistake. Text (1) is not ascribed to any authority, but in his edition of a Middle High German redaction, Ferckel named Galen and Hippocrates as authorities to whom the ‘Development of the Foetus’ has been ascribed. Post-medieval attributions include Octavius Horatianus, Soranus, and Theodorus Priscianus. The ascription to Augustine is not that far from the truth, particularly in view of Anglo-Saxon knowledge of embryology through Archbishop Theodore’s Laterculus Malalianus 13, which deals with the formation of the foetus of Christ in terms of Augustinian embryology. Authorship of the ‘Development of the Foetus’ cannot be traced back to Augustine himself, but to someone close to him, to wit Vindicianus (fl. 364-75), Augustine’s physician. Bonser thought that the ‘Formation of the Foetus’ originated with the Anglo-Saxons. Cameron claimed to ‘know of no sources for either of these articles [viz. 3.1.1/1 and 3.2/1]’, which is remarkable because elsewhere he wrote that the works of Vindicianus were known in Anglo-Saxon England, and that Vindicianus ‘wrote on various subjects, chiefly gynaecology’. The Middle High German text is a complete translation of Vindicianus’ Gynaecia. The ‘Development of the Foetus’ exemplified by (1) and the Old Frisian texts, constitutes chapter 20 of the Gynaecia. In this chapter, the growth of the foetus is described in monthly stages. There is much variation in order and content between the seven Latin redactions published by Rose, and it is impossible to trace the vernacular texts, including (1) back to any particular redaction edited by Rose. The development outlined in (1) is as follows:

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132 See below.
133 Rose (1894: 426-66), Förster (1903: 355, n. 1), Wickersheimer (1966: 44 [XXIX.7], 63 [LIII.1-2], 84 [LXVI.12-13], 101 [LXXVI.4], 120-21 [LXXVII.36], 141 [XCII.4], 188 [CXVIII.14]).
134 ‘Augustinus seith ande queth, thet thet kind andere modere bilethad werthe niughen monat’ (Hill 1961-63: 56).
135 Ferckel (1914: 306, n. 4). Hill (1961-63: 55) listed even more attributions, but he was under the mistaken impression that every name mentioned by Ferckel constitutes an attribution.
136 Stevenson (1995: 54-55, 138, 196-200). It is interesting to note that the pseudo-Bedan treatise De natuitate infantium libellus contains a section on foetal development. This section (in Migne 1861-1904: I.959) is presumably a fragment, because it deals with the seventh to tenth months only. In contrast to 3.1.1/1, the pseudo-Bedan text differentiates between the growth of masculine and feminine foetuses, and would, therefore, derive from Galenic or Augustinian embryology, just like the account in the Laterculus Malalianus. Bede was familiar with Theodore’s medical opinions (see section 6.2.3), and it would be tempting to link the fragment on embryology in De natuitate infantium with the Laterculus if it were not for the spurious attribution to Bede of the former treatise. De natuitate infantium somehow escaped discussion in Jones’s Bedae Pseudepigrapha.
139 Cameron (1993: 67).
140 Rose (1894: 452-56).
141 Rose (1894: 452-55, 465).
In discussing the question on the number of veins (answer: 365) in the Prose Solomon and Saturn (question 59), Cross and Hill (1982: 125) opined that the number 365 ‘derives from the Irish habit of using this figure to indicate totality in contexts where a precise or naturalistic figure cannot be obtained’. If this is true, the addition may be restricted to the ‘Development’ texts of insular derivation, i.e. Voss. Lat Q.69 and 3.1.1/1, which may explain the absence of the number symbolism in the (medieval continental) texts edited by Rose (1894).

The text will be edited and published by Bremmer.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>month</th>
<th>development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>brain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>membrane around the brain (week 6), arteries and veins, limbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>human without soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>firm in limbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>alive and growing, ribs, moving, mother in pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>skin, bones growing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>toes and fingers growing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>chest growing, heart and blood, firm body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>birth (may be delayed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>birth, fatal on Monday night</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4: Growth of the Human Foetus

Some of the Latin redactions place the entry of the soul in the third month, contrary to (1). The growth of bones is assigned to the sixth month in (1), and to the eighth in most Latin redactions. There is no consensus even as to the time of birth, which some Latin texts place in the tenth month. In (1), the expecting mother lies witless because of the pain of the growing and moving foetus in the fifth month. In the hitherto published Latin redactions, the mother is merely nauseous, usually in the fourth or fifth month. Four elements in (1) are absent in Rose’s Latin texts: the mention of 365 veins and arteries being created, the absence of the soul in the third month, the pain caused by the growing and moving foetus, and finally, the fatality on Monday night if the baby is not born in time. (1) must have derived from a Latin original of Vindicianus’ Gynaecia or a fragment containing at least chapter 20 of the work. Indeed, Rolf Bremmer has recently identified a Latin ‘Development of the Foetus’ which is very likely to have served as the direct source for (1), in the Leiden manuscript Voss. Lat. Q.69. This redaction contains all the attributes present in (1) but not in Rose’s texts, except for the prognostic comment at the end of (1) which may well be original to the translation into Old English.

Vindicianus was well-known in both continental and insular medieval medicine for his Epistula ad Pentadim de quattor humoribus. This humoral treatise is frequently represented in Anglo-Saxon and continental manuscripts. Vindicianus’ Gynaecia is occasionally attested in continental manuscripts, but no Anglo-Saxon redactions of the text have been brought to light. This may mean that the Gynaecia was considerably rarer in Anglo-Saxon England than the Epistula ad Pentadim. If this is indeed so, the survival of (1) is an extremely fortunate event, because in (1) we have not only the earliest ‘Development of the Foetus’ in the vernacular, but also the only piece of evidence that Vindicianus’ Gynaecia, at least in part, was known in early medieval England. Text (1) is found in the contents of a miscellany rather than a medical manuscript, wedged in between a whole series of prognostics rather than medical texts. This may mean that it was valued at least as much for its prognostic content as for

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143 In discussing the question on the number of veins (answer: 365) in the Prose Solomon and Saturn (question 59), Cross and Hill (1982: 125) opined that the number 365 ‘derives from the Irish habit of using this figure to indicate totality in contexts where a precise or naturalistic figure cannot be obtained’. If this is true, the addition may be restricted to the ‘Development’ texts of insular derivation, i.e. Voss. Lat Q.69 and 3.1.1/1, which may explain the absence of the number symbolism in the (medieval continental) texts edited by Rose (1894).

144 The text will be edited and published by Bremmer.

its medical or anatomical knowledge.\textsuperscript{146}

The ‘Development of the Foetus’ is usually regarded as a quaint text as to its medical content. Hence, it has been qualified as degenerate medicine, of little gynaecological interest. The detailed embryological knowledge presented in the ‘Development of the Foetus’ is indeed unlike, for instance, gynaecological knowledge portrayed in the recipes of the leechbooks, but is just as much a reflection of the state of medical science at the time. In contrast to the larger part of medicine in early medieval times, the ‘Development of the Foetus’ can be assigned to a known author, the fourth-century physician Vindicianus. Text (1) is a translation of chapter 20 of Vindicianus’ \textit{Gynaecia}, from an unidentified Latin original. The value of (1) lies in its anatomical and gynaecological knowledge, knowledge of a symbolic kind, but which also addresses the serious theological issue of the entry of the soul in the human foetus. Moreover, (1) is the earliest translation into a Western European vernacular.

\subsection*{3.1.2 Birth, Temporal, Three Miraculous Days}


\textbf{ATTRIBUTION:} post-medieval: Bede

\textbf{BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION:} observation of times: days

\textbf{TEXTS:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item OE: 1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 718
  \item 2. London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.xv, fol. 131r
  \item 3. London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 15r
  \item L: 4. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 422, p. 49
  \item 5. London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fol. 4rv
  \item 6. Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 17, fol. 3va
\end{itemize}

\textbf{DESCRIPTION:}

The ‘Three Miraculous Birthdays’ is a brief text that lists three days on which boys only are born, whose bodies will not decay before Judgement Day.\textsuperscript{147} Of all temporal prognostics ordered by days, this is the only genre to report a number of propitious rather than unlucky days.\textsuperscript{148} Texts on the three miraculous days are often attested side by side with those on the three Egyptian Days (8.1).\textsuperscript{149} Scholarship on the miraculous birthdays has restricted itself to text editions of the genre, and explications of its purpose. The history and origin of the genre are not known.

As all Anglo-Saxon prognostics are of classical origin, this birth prognostic probably is as well, but no early Latin or Greek representatives can be pinpointed.\textsuperscript{150} Henel referred to a Latin redaction from a continental manuscript dated to s. xii or xiii.\textsuperscript{151} Thorndike and Kibre listed several Latin redactions

\textsuperscript{146}On prognostics and their non-medical status in Anglo-Saxon England, see sections 4.2.3, 4.2.3.1. On the prognostic sections in Tiberius A.iii, fols 2-173, see section 4.2.5.3.

\textsuperscript{147}A survey I carried out revealed that there are actually women who are under the impression of having been born on one of these days.

\textsuperscript{148}Thorndike (1923-58: I.688-89) cited a text which is the opposite of the one on the miraculous birthdays: ‘there are four other days and nights according to Bede on which no one is ever born or conceived, and if by chance a male is conceived or born, its body will never be freed from putridity’. Unfortunately, Thorndike, who always referenced texts with meticulous care, did not include a source for these four unfortunate birthdays.

\textsuperscript{149}See the description of the \gamma-sequence in section 3.2.2.

\textsuperscript{150}Förster (1929: 260).

\textsuperscript{151}Henel (1934-35: 347).
from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A Latin representative of the genre is incorporated in the pseudo-Bedan De natiuitate infantium libellus. This treatise is a spurious text also containing a fragmentary text on embryology, and a birth by weekday prognostic (3.1.3). Förster pointed out the existence of a Middle English text on the miraculous birthdays, and a German redaction dating from 1508 which is ascribed to Bede. I have not found any medieval attributions to Bede, however. The Anglo-Saxon redactions range from the first half of the eleventh to the beginning of the twelfth centuries.

A clue as to the origin of the genre might be provided by the method of dating the three miraculous days. The insular texts survive in three main redactions which can be distinguished as follows: redaction (a) refers to the months of the Roman calendar, (b) to dates in Roman calendar format, and (c) to the Hebrew calendar. Redaction (a) covers all texts in the vernacular (1, 2, 3): ‘that is one of the days at the end of December, and two at the beginning of January’. Redaction (b) is exemplified by (4): ‘that is the sixth kalends of April [27 March], the ides of August [13 August], and the third kalends of February [30 January]’. Redaction (c), finally, is as follows (5, 6): ‘that is the last [day] of Tebet and the first two of Sabat’. The use of the Roman calendar indicates a Latin origin for this genre, or a Latin stage in its transmission. The reference to the Hebrew months might suggest that the texts on the three miraculous birthdays descended from a Hebrew source. This need not be the case, however, because knowledge of the names of the months in languages other than Old English, such as Latin, Greek, Egyptian, and Hebrew, was common enough in computi and calendars, both in the early stages of the art of time reckoning, e.g. in Bede’s De temporum ratione, and during its heyday in Benedictine Reform England. Therefore, there is no basis for positing a Hebrew origin for the prognostic on the three miraculous birthdays. Concerning a boy born on the three days, all redactions mention that ‘his body will not decay on earth before Judgement Day’. This reference to an event

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152Thorndike and Kibre (1963: 1583, s.v. ‘Tres dies et noctes sunt in quibus si uir generatus fuerit’, and ‘Tres dies pre alii sunt obseruandi’).


154Förster (1903: 354; 1929: 261, n. 1).

155‘þæt is an þære daga on æftewardan decembre 7 ii. on forewardan Ianuaríí’ (text 3.1.2/1).

156’hoc est vi kal apreliis. 7 idus. agustus 7 iii kal februeariiis’ (text 3.1.2/4).

157‘id est nouissimus de thebeth. & duo prami de sabath’ (text 3.1.2/6). In the computus, Tebet and Sabat correspond to January and February.

158In his De temporum ratione XI-XV (Jones 1975-80: II.312-32), Bede treats of the months, their background, and their names in various languages (cf. Wallis 1999: 281-84). The Hebrew names of the months and the Jewish lunar calendar are discussed extensively by Bede. He may have obtained this information from the Laterculus of Polemius Silvius: ‘an annotated Julian calendar; each month contains the names of the parallel Hebrew, Egyptian, Athenian and Greek months’ (Wallis 1999: 42, n. 118). Later computi devote some attention to the names of the months as well. Byrhtferth’s Enchiridion I.2 includes a list of names of the months in Hebrew, Egyptian, Greek, and English (Baker and Lapidge 1995: 24). Baker and Lapidge (1995: 262) argued that the names in Byrhtferth’s table derive from the calendar in his computus, e.g. Vitellius E.iv, fol 35r-40v, St. John’s College 17, fol 16r-21v (Baker and Lapidge 1995: 390-416). In addition to the computi and calendars mentioned just now, there are some Anglo-Saxon and post-Conquest computi which feature the names of the months in various languages, e.g. CTC R.15.32, pp. 15-26, CUL Kk.5.32, fol 50r-55v, Arundel 60, fol 2r-7v, Vitellius A.xii, fol 65v-71r, Vitellius E.xviii, fol 2r-7v, Bodley 579, fol 39r-44v (Wormald 1934: 128-39, 72-83, 142-53, 86-97, 156-67, 44-55, respectively). Finally, the names are included as glosses to Bede’s De temporum ratione in St. John’s College 17, fol 73v, 74v.

159‘ne forealdeð his lichoma næfre on eorðan ær domesdæge’ (text 3.1.2/1).
central to the Christian faith precludes a non- or pre-Christian genesis.\textsuperscript{160}

The method of dating the three birthdays divides the redactions into two groups: those that date according to the months (a, c), and the one that dates with the Roman calendric system (b). If the relevant parts of (a) and (c) are set side by side, it would appear that the Old English is a translation of the Latin: (a) ‘þær is an þære dagas on æftewardan decembre 7 ii. on forewardan Ianuaríí’, and (c) ‘id est nouissim us de thebeth. & duo primi de sabath’.\textsuperscript{161} There is, however, a correspondence between (a) and (b) which does not occur in (c). Both (a) and (b) end with a phrase which testifies to the mysterious, hermetic nature of these days: (a) ‘there are few people who know these secrets’\textsuperscript{162} and (b) ‘it is an extraordinary mystery’.\textsuperscript{163} Within redaction (a), this comment is attested in two minor variants: (1, 3) ‘feawe manna syndon þe þas dagas cunnon’ (‘there are few people who know of these days’), and (2) ‘feawe synd þe þas geryne cunnan oþþe witan’ (‘there are few who know of this secret’).\textsuperscript{164} Another minor variation between (1, 3) and (2) is in the reference that girls are not born on the three miraculous birthdays: where (1, 3) use ‘wif’, (2) employs ‘wifmann’.\textsuperscript{165} This implies that redaction (a) should be divided into (a1) and (a2), i.e. texts (1, 3) and (2), respectively. The mention of baby girls is not found in (b), but is attested in (c). In speaking of the integrity of the body until Judgement Day, the vocabulary differs in all redactions: (a1) uses ‘ne forealdeð’ (‘will not decay’); (a2) ‘ne forrotað... ne fulað’ (‘will not rot or corrupt’); (b) ‘integrum manebit’ (‘will remain intact’); and (c) ‘nunquam... putredine soluetur. sed perdurabit’ (‘will not end up in decay but will last’).\textsuperscript{166} Here, the phrasing of (a1, a2) resembles the negation of (c), rather than the affirmative statement of (b). On the basis of these findings, I conclude that there are two Latin redactions, both of which have influenced the Old English one. The variant readings (a1) and (a2) in the Old English redaction can be explained as representing two independent translations from a Latin source which resembled (c), but which had an important element from (b), to wit the comment on the hermetic knowledge of the birthdays.

The text on the three miraculous birthdays is the only temporal prognostic which pertains to auspicious rather than unlucky days. The origin of the ‘Three Miraculous Birthdays’ cannot be ascertained, but in view of the Christian subject matter, and the Latinate genesis of many of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics, it can safely be assumed that this genre is of (late-)classical descent. The genre lent itself to vernacularisation, as the three Old English attestations illustrate. It is possible to distinguish three redactions for the Anglo-Saxon texts.

\textsuperscript{160}Arguably, the genre may have been devised with a non-Christian setting of the end of times in mind, or the reference may have been added later, but as there is no evidence that this may have been the case, I reject this possibility.

\textsuperscript{161}From texts 3.1.2/1 and 3.1.2/6, respectively.

\textsuperscript{162}‘feawe synd þe þas geryne cunnan oþþe witan’ (text 3.1.2/2).

\textsuperscript{163}‘est mirabile. misterium’ (text 3.1.2/4). Liuzza (2001: 185, 215) was not aware of the existence of 3.1.2/4, which is why he did not know that the comment in Old English on the hermetic nature has a Latin source. Förster (1929: 261) was familiar with the presence of the ‘Three Miraculous Birthdays’ in the pseudo-Bedan De natiuitate infantium libellus (see above), where the prognostic is concluded with the phrase ‘et suum mysterium mirabile est ualde’ (Migne 1861-1904: I.960).

\textsuperscript{164}From texts 3.1.2/3 and 3.1.2/2, respectively.

\textsuperscript{165}From texts 3.1.2/1 and 3.1.2/2, respectively.

\textsuperscript{166}From texts 3.1.2/1, 3.1.2/2, 3.1.2/4, and 3.1.2/6, respectively.
3.1.3 BIRTH, TEMPORAL, DAY OF THE WEEK

LITERATURE: Migne (1861-1904: I.960); Birch (1878: 477-78; 1892: 256); Meyer (1884: 207); Förster (1903: 354-55; 1908c: 39; 1912b: 296-308); Thorndike (1923-58: I.679); Gundel and Gundel (1959: 108-114); Hollis and Wright (1992: 264); Günzel (1993: 33); Epe (1995: 59); Liuzza (2001: 184)

ATTRIBUTION: post-medieval: Bede

BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION: observation of times: weekdays

TEXTS:

OE:
1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 715
2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, fols 148v-149r

L:
3. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 65r
4. London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fols 6v-7v
5. Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 17, fol. 4ra

DESCRIPTION:
The text on birth by weekday foretells a child’s character and course of life depending on the day it is born. With regard to (4), Birch mentioned that this genre is ‘of great interest, no doubt, to the ancient soothsayer, and probably as trustworthy as those [auguries] we occasionally hear in these later times from doting mothers and maudlin nurses’. How ancient this soothsayer would have been, is not elucidated by Birch, unless he referred to the owner of Titus D.xxvi, xxvii, viz. abbot Ælfwine.

To my knowledge, no Latin versions from before the eleventh century have been found. Förster wrote: ‘the diversities of the Latin texts may in part go back to diversities of the original Greek texts’. There are, however, no Greek ancestors attested for this genre, nor early Latin ones for that matter. The birth by weekday prognostic is, like so many prognostics, a genre that seems just to exist from a certain period in the Middle Ages onwards. The obscurity of its beginnings is compensated for by the attention this genre received in post-medieval folklore – the ‘doting mothers and maudlin nurses’ mentioned by Birch. Förster published several fifteenth- and sixteenth-century redactions in Latin as well as a number of analogues ranging from Old French to Modern English and Danish. A prognostic on birth by weekday is incorporated in a condensed form in the pseudo-Bedan De natiuitate infantium libellus. I have found no medieval birth prognostic of this type that is ascribed to Bede.

Förster’s commentary on, and analysis of, the Old English and Latin redactions of the texts on birth by weekday is still unsurpassed. Rather than repeating his findings here, I will present the most salient points. There is a peculiarity of the Latin texts on birth by weekday which might point to a link with lunaries. In the Latin texts (3, 4, 5), the phrase ‘the beginning of all things is good’ is added in the entries for Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. This phrase properly belongs to the prognostic genre of agenda lunaries (9.2.1), and so to the agenda parts of collective lunaries (9.1). Neither the Old English birth by weekday texts nor the Latin analogues adduced by Förster include this phrase.

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167 Birch (1878: 478).
168 ‘Die Verschiedenheiten der Lateintexte mögen zum Teil schon auf Verschiedenheiten der zugrunde liegenden griechischen Texte zurückgehen’ (Förster 1912b: 305).
169 Förster (1912b: 301-08).
170 Migne (1861-1904: I.960).
171 Förster (1912b: 297-305).
172 ’omnibus rebus incipiendum bonum est’ (text 3.1.3/4). The phrase is omitted in the entry for Friday in 3.1.3/5.
173 Cf. Förster (1912b: 302, n. 3).
174 See 3.1.3/1, 3.1.3/2, and Förster (1912b: 301-03).
Text (1) states that a child will be ‘often ill and unhealthy’, if born on Monday. This phrase is not found in the other prognostics of this genre, but it is encountered in an Old English redaction of the birth lunaries. The similarities mentioned here indicate that the contents of lunaries must have influenced the contents of birth by weekday prognostics in some of the Anglo-Saxon redactions.

The contents of texts (1) and (2) show overlap, but they differ in phrasing, e.g. ‘nafað he na mycle sorge’ (‘he does not have many worries’) versus ‘orsorglice leofæð he’ (‘he lives without worry’), and ‘he yfele craftas leornæð’ (‘he learns evil crafts’) versus ‘he bið disicreaftr’ (‘he is skilled in evil crafts’). There are similarities between (1) and (2), but the contents do not correspond closely enough to presume that they are independent translations of a common Latin exemplar. The entry for Monday, for instance, reads: ‘he will be greedy for the goods of men, and hateful, and often ill and unhealthy’, which does not at all resemble ‘he will be killed by people, whether he be a layman or a clergyman’.

Latin (3, 4, 5) resemble each other to such an extent that they can be said to form one redaction. All three Latin texts perpetuate the erroneous reading ‘hora diuturna siue nocturna’ for ‘hora diurna siue nocturna’. Likewise, the epithet ‘utilissimus’ with reference to a Sunday child caused trouble in all instances: ‘uti illimus’ (3), ‘uti [il]li’ (4), and ‘utilissimi’ (5). In all three texts, the predictions match in spirit, but (5) differs from (3, 4): ‘qui nascentur fortes erunt & cupidi. & ferro peribunt & uix ad ultimatam. peruenient acetatem’ versus ‘qui nascentur erunt fortes & cupidi. & ferro peribunt. & uix ad senilem etatem peruenient’ (‘those who are born will be strong and beloved and die by the sword, and they will hardly reach old age’).

Förster concluded that the Old English texts form two separate redactions, neither of which can be matched to any surviving Latin exemplars from Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The Latin texts form two versions of one redaction: (3, 4) and (5). Text (5) was not known to Förster. He published three Latin redactions not featured in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, one of which may be representative of the Latin text which was used as a basis for Old English (2).

The diversity in text redactions of the birth by weekday prognostic makes up for the lack of background information on this genre. In other words, five Anglo-Saxon attestations represent no fewer than three redactions of a prognostic genre of which I have not found any pre-eleventh-century instances. However, the variety of vernacular redactions implies that the genesis of this genre must antedate the first attestations. Of all birth prognostics, this genre and the next seem to have stood the test of time most successfully, because their message survives to this day.

176 ‘oft seoc 7 hunhal’ (text 3.1.3/1).
177 See texts 9.2.2/2, 9.2.2/3. The link between ‘oft seoc 7 hunhal’ (3.1.3/1), and ‘a seoc 7 unhal (9.2.2/2) is remarkable in that the relevant Old English birth by weekday text is attested in CCCC 391, and the Old English birth lunaries in Caligula A.xv and Tiberius A.iii. The Old English birth lunary in CCCC 391, which would have been a more likely source of correspondence for 3.1.3/1, has the phrase ‘seoc 7 sicle’.
178 From texts 3.1.3/1 and 3.1.3/2, respectively.
179 ‘he bið manna góda gitsiende 7 lað 7 oft seoc 7 hunhal’ (text 3.1.3/1).
180 ‘he bið acweald fram mannum. lewde swa clæroc sweþer he bið’ (text 3.1.3/2).
181 From text 3.1.3/3. Thorndike (1923-58: I.679) thought that a distinction was being made between birth at night or during the day, but this is not the case: the text merely stresses the fact that a day is composed of a day and a night.
182 From texts 3.1.3/4 and 3.1.3/5, respectively.
183 Förster (1912b: 301-05).
3.2 BIRTH, NON-TEMPORAL, BEHAVIOUR OF THE MOTHER


BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION: observation of signs: behaviour

TEXT:


DESCRIPTION:

This non-temporal prognostic helps predict the gender of a child prior to its birth, with the help of observations of the behaviour of the expectant mother and her physique. The somewhat esoteric embryological knowledge of (1), its uniqueness in the Anglo-Saxon corpus, and its proximity in the manuscript to the ‘Development of the Foetus’ (3.1.1/1), have caused these texts to be studied together: whenever (1) is mentioned 3.1.1/1 is as well, and vice versa. I have pointed out that Singer saw evidence of ‘degenerate Greek medicine’ in (1) and 3.1.1/1. Mitchell was unable to establish ‘how seriously they [viz. 3.1.1/1 and 3.2/1] were taken’.184

Text (1) offers a number of observations and tests with which to predict the gender of a child:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>boy</th>
<th>girl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mother walks slowly</td>
<td>mother walks quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother has hollow eyes</td>
<td>mother has swollen eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother prefers lily</td>
<td>mother prefers rose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother walks on her heels</td>
<td>mother walks on her toes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother’s belly is carried high</td>
<td>mother’s belly is sunk down</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After these predictions, (1) continues with a non-prognosticatory section which cautions the mother to abstain from nuts, fruit, or the meat of male animals. In the fourth or fifth month, if the mother eats nuts or fruit ‘the child will be stupid’.186 Moreover, consumption of the meat of male animals will make the child ‘hump-backed and hydrocele’.187 The combination of gender predictions and dietary guidelines is unusual, but there are no indications whatsoever which imply that (1) should be split into two separate texts. In fact, the wording of (1) is such that the text must have been considered as a close-knit unit: all entries for both the predictions and the dietary rules are introduced with (minor variations on) the phrase: ‘again, there is another way’.188 Even the first entry is introduced in this manner, which suggests that the source text must have been longer than (1).

No direct sources for (1) have been identified, nor have any analogues or variant redactions been established.189 These facts set (1) aside from the other prognostics, all of which have analogues at least. Deegan wrote the following: ‘as far back as the Hippocratic writings, in the fifth and fourth century

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184Singer (1961: I.xxiv). See the description of the ‘Development of the Foetus’ (3.1.1) above.
186‘ær čld bишь disig’ (text 3.2/1).
188‘Eft is oðer wise’ (text 3.2/1).
189I know of a numerical method to predict the gender of an unborn child (in Budge 1913: II.625), but I have not found any examples of a text resembling 3.2/1.
BC, signs were looked for which might help determine the sex of a child.\textsuperscript{190} She referred to Hippocrates’ \textit{Aphorisms},\textsuperscript{191} but this text provides us with two predictions only: ‘if a woman is going to have a male child she is of a good complexion; if a female, of a bad complexion’ (V.42); and ‘the male embryo is usually on the right, the female on the left’ (V.48).\textsuperscript{192} Incidentally, neither of these predictions are found in (1). Talbot mentioned texts such as (1), 3.1.1/1, and other birth prognostics as ‘material available in the fragments that surround’ the Hippocratic medical text \textit{De mulierum affectibus}.\textsuperscript{193} Even if Hippocratic medicine served as the origin of gender predictions, this does not explain how the gap of fifteen hundred years between Hippocrates and (1) is bridged, the more so because no Anglo-Saxon manuscript containing Hippocratic medicine has been discovered. The problem is aggravated by the fact that every scholar is quick to point out the link with Hippocratic gynaecology, but so far no one has ever evidenced this link by giving concrete examples. Arguably, Deegan’s reference to Hippocrates’ \textit{Aphorisms} is in aid of comparison rather than evidence, but Talbot’s statement lacks foundation. Rubin refers to (1) and 3.1.1/1 as ‘deriving from Hippocrates’, as does Swanton.\textsuperscript{194} In the case of 3.1.1/1, this ascription is incorrect, and in the case of (1), unfounded. I have studied the Hippocratic gynaecological treatises \textit{De muliebribus}, \textit{De genitura}, and \textit{De natura pueri}, none of which contain any reference to gender predictions.\textsuperscript{195} Cameron confessed that he knew ‘of no sources for either of these articles [viz. 3.1.1/1 and 3.2/1]’.\textsuperscript{196} Although 3.1.1/1 can be traced back to an identified source, i.e. Vindicianus’ \textit{Gynaecia},\textsuperscript{197} Cameron is justly cautious in not identifying a source for (1). I conclude that the connection between Hippocratic gynaecology and (1) is a scholarly illusion.\textsuperscript{198}

We are unfortunate in having no analogue to (1), particularly in view of the fact that we may have had one if we are to rely on the list of contents of Bald’s \textit{Leechbook}. In the list of contents of book II, chapter 60 is introduced as a group of gynaecological treatments, among others dealing with ‘many signs by which one can understand whether it will be a male or female child’.\textsuperscript{199} However, the treatments themselves – no less than ‘forty-one items’ –\textsuperscript{200} are absent in the manuscript.

Within the group of birth prognostics, the text which foretells the gender of an unborn child is unique in that, to my knowledge, it is the only non-temporal prognostic and the sole representative of gender prediction in the early Middle Ages. The similarity between Hippocratic medicine and (1) has often been proposed by scholars, but so far no one has provided any supportive evidence.

\textsuperscript{190}Deegan (1987: 22).
\textsuperscript{191}Deegan (1987: 25, n. 49).
\textsuperscript{192}Jones (1931: 169, 171).
\textsuperscript{193}Talbot (1967: 20).
\textsuperscript{196}Cameron (1993: 184).
\textsuperscript{197}See the description of the ‘Development of the Foetus’ (3.1.1) above.
\textsuperscript{198}Hoops (1889: 67) already pointed out that there are no classical writers whose works could have served as a basis for the contents of 3.2/1.
\textsuperscript{199}‘manigfeald tacn þæt mon mæge ongitan hwæþer hit hyse cild þe mæden cild beon wille’ (Cockayne 1864-66: II.172).
\textsuperscript{200}‘an 7 feowertig crafa’ (Cockayne 1864-66: II.172).
4 BLOODLETTING, TEMPORAL, DAY OF THE WEEK
LITERATURE: Thorndike (1923-58: I.679); Liuzza (2001: 187, n. 41)
BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION: observation of times: weekdays
TEXT:
L: 1. London, British Library, Sloane 475, fol. 135v
DESCRIPTION:
The part of the composite manuscript Sloane 475 containing (1) may have an English origin, which is why I have included this uniquely attested text in the Anglo-Saxon prognostic corpus. The text on bloodletting by weekday lists two or three hours on each weekday during which bloodletting is recommended.

Scholarship on this type of prognostic has remained close to the facts. Thorndike stated that we are ‘informed of the various hours of the days of the week when it is advisable to perform bloodletting’, and he referred the reader to (1). Liuzza observed that (1) is ‘a list of favourable hours in each day for bloodletting’. These two observations represent all the research that has been conducted on this bloodletting prognostic. The reason for the silence on this prognostic is simple: Thorndike and Liuzza are the only scholars so far who have discussed the manuscript in which (1) is attested, and (1) has no known analogues or sources at all. Neither Förster nor Henel, who both wrote extensively on prognostics of lucky and unlucky times, were aware of the existence of a prognostic like this. This bloodletting prognostic was not even incorporated in the pseudo-Bedan canon, whereas most others were.

Bloodletting prognostics are not unusual or rare in medieval manuscripts. Frequently encountered genres are bloodletting lunaries (ten Anglo-Saxon attestations), Dog Days (sometimes with moonbooks, twenty-seven), and Egyptian Days (forty-three). Including (1), bloodletting prognostics make up for over forty-seven percent of the entire Anglo-Saxon prognostic corpus, which, partly at least, can be accounted for by the importance bestowed on well-timed bloodletting in medieval medicine. With regard to medicine, the expertise in time-keeping provided by prognostics must have been a welcome addition to the lunar influences on the sublunar expounded in computi.

Within the group of bloodletting prognostics, (1) stands out in that it gives a list of auspicious times for bloodletting, e.g. ‘on Tuesday, the third, seventh and tenth hour are good’. This positivist approach is unique to (1). The Dog Days outline a period in which bloodletting should be avoided on account of attendant complications. Egyptian Days assign days on which bloodletting will prove fatal. Bloodletting lunaries, finally, tell the enquirer whether bloodletting is good or bad on a given phase of the moon. With the exception of (1), none of the above prognostic genres, however, reports auspicious times only.

The subject matter of (1) is shared by other bloodletting prognostics, but the structure must have come from elsewhere. The weekday approach is similar to month and year prognoses and to weekday

201 But see section 4.2.3.
204 Regimens are another genre which describe appropriate times for bloodletting, among others, but the genre is rare in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts (see sections 4.2.2.1, 4.2.3, 4.2.3.1).
205 See sections 7.2.1, 7.2.2.1.
206 See section 6.2.3.
207 ’Die martius. hora .iii. & .vii. & x. bonum est’ (text 4/1).
brontologies: the day of the week determines what will happen or when something should be undertaken. The focus in month and year prognoses and in weekday brontologies is different from (1), however. The latter narrows its scope to particular hours of a specific day, while the former give a forecast of the future beyond the weekday, sometimes predicting a sequence of events for an entire year. The combination of a weekday structure with a further specification by hour is encountered only in (1). Some texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days specify hours, but these are unusual redactions, and the hours are dangerous for bloodletting rather than beneficial.

The attestation of (1) raises more questions than it answers. The origins of this prognostic are not known. It has no identified sources or analogues, and (1) is uniquely attested. Unlike other bloodletting prognostics, this genre is characterised by its positivistic approach. Furthermore, (1) is unlike other prognostics in structure.

5 BRONTOLOGIES
ALIAS:
thunderbooks, thunder prognostics
DESCRIPTION:
Thunder was often used to predict the future in the Middle Ages. Förster stated that the genre of prognostics most widely disseminated in Anglo-Saxon England were the brontologies. This claim should be modified when the number of attested brontologies (ten) is compared to attestations of the Egyptian Days (forty-three), for instance. However, there are no less than six brontological genres known from Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, all of which make use of a different structural setup. In comparison to the lunaries, for example, which comprise seven genres that all employ the moon phases as a structural device, the brontologies display an unparalleled richness of temporal and non-temporal structures in the form of hours, weekdays, months, and compass directions. A sequence of a directional, month and weekday brontology appeared as the pseudo-Bedan text De tonitruis libellus ad Herefridum.

According to Liuzza, ‘divination by thunder was practised in the ancient world and continued into Christian culture as part of a larger interest in forecasting events by means of signs and portents’. Likewise, Förster remarked that predicting the future by thunder can be traced back to Babylonian origins. Although I am not fully convinced of a direct link between medieval brontologies and ancient practices, both are conceivably exponents of the desire to interpret the awe-inspiring event of a thunderstorm.

209Förster (1912b: 285).
210Two structures not known in Anglo-Saxon England are the day brontology listing predictions for each day in the year (Hellmann 1896a: 237-38) and the zodiacal brontology (Egerton 821, fols 2v-5r; Förster 1908a: 52; Svenberg 1936: 7; Eriksson 1956: 9-10). Beccaria (1956: 213) mentioned several brontologies which he did not identify any further.
211See the description of the weekday brontology (5.1.3) below.
5.1.1.1 BRONTOLOGY, TEMPORAL, CANONICAL HOURS (NIGHT OFFICE)

5.1.1.2 BRONTOLOGY, TEMPORAL, CANONICAL HOURS (DAY OFFICE)


BRANCHES OF SUPERSTITION: observation of signs: thunder; observation of times: canonical hours.

TEXTS:

5.1.1.1
OE: 1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 714

5.1.1.2
OE: 1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, pp. 714-715

DESCRIPTION:

These thunder prognostics are structured by the canonical hours of the night and day office. In CCCC 391, the manuscript which contains both texts, an uninterrupted sequence of brontologies occurs on pages 713-715. These brontologies deal with weekdays, the hours of the night office, the compass direction from which thunder is heard, and the hours of the day office.²¹⁴ The last three texts as a group are comparable to, but not to be equated with, the brontology by hour of the day (5.1.2). Research on the sequence of thunderbooks in CCCC 391 has focussed on the absence of sources and on the issue whether the last three prognostics should be regarded as one unit.²¹⁵

The canonical hour brontologies predict the course of certain events based on the time on which thunder is heard. In contrast to the other brontological genres, which focus on the weather to come and on the condition of crops and livestock, 5.1.1.1 and 5.1.1.2 specifically address human concerns and the spiritual state.²¹⁶ Of the eight predictions in the brontologies (three in 5.1.1.1/1, five in 5.1.1.2/1), seven deal with the following topics: the birth of a king or a bishop, the persecution of Christians, a visit by the Holy Ghost, peace, friendship, and dread. The last prediction of 5.1.1.2/1 is the only one not primarily concerned with mankind: 'If thunder comes at nocturns, it signifies rough weather and storms'.²¹⁷ It is perhaps fitting that prognostics which bridge the gap between superstition and religion in the form of using both thunder and canonical hours, attend to the human situation, and do so more than any other prognostic genre.

The brontologies under discussion distinguish themselves from the non-canonical hour brontologies (5.1.2) in their focus on the canonical hours of the Benedictine night and day offices. The hours mentioned are:²¹⁸

²¹¹Texts 5.1.3/1, 5.1.1.1/1, 5.2/1, and 5.1.1.2/1, respectively.
²¹³Both Auty et al. (1980-99: III.1251) and Epe (1995: 57) stated that brontologies focus primarily on human affairs, yet this is not correct. The canonical hour brontologies display an interest in the human situation, but the other brontologies have a wider scope, including meteorological phenomena and agricultural concerns.
²¹⁴'Gif þunor cymð æt þære .xii tide dæges hroðnnessa 7 stormas se becnad' (text 5.1.1.2/1).
²¹⁵On the hours, see Hampson (1841: II.201, s.v. hours, and hours, canonical), Knowles (1951: xvi-xvii), Symons (1953: xlii-xliv).
Old English | translation | canonical hours
---|---|---
5.1.1.1/1 | on forantniht | at dusk | compline
| on middeniht | at midnight | nocturns
| on dæg | at daybreak | matins
5.1.1.2/1 | æt þære þriddan tide dægæs | in the third hour of day | terce
| æt þære vi tide dægæs | in the sixth hour of day | sext
| æt þære ix tide dægæs | in the ninth hour of day | nones
| æt þære x tide dægæs | in the tenth hour of day | vespers
| æt þære .xii tide dægæs | in the twelfth hour of day | nocturns

table 3.6: canonical hours in brontologies 5.1.1.1/1 and 5.1.1.2/1

The entries for nocturns are duplicated, but the predictions are not identical: 5.1.1.1/1 announces ‘holy souls travelling over the world’, whereas 5.1.1.2/1 predicts ‘rough weather and storms’. Förster noted the absence of the hour of prime and explained this by pointing out the ambiguity of the Old English word ‘dæg’ in 5.1.1.1/1. He took this word to represent an erroneously conflated reading of two entries, one for matins (‘on dægræd’), and one for prime (‘æt þære forman tide dægæs’), leading to ‘on dæg’ in the text. The preferred reading according to Förster and Liuzza is ‘dægræd’ for ‘dæg’, i.e. ‘matins’. Einarsson, however, pointed out that ‘dæg’ can mean ‘matins’ without it being a reduced form of ‘dægræd’.

Nearly a century ago, Förster observed that no Latin analogues had been identified for 5.1.1.1/1 and 5.1.1.2/1. Förster’s observation is still valid as no sources or close analogues have appeared in the meantime. The canonical hour brontologies do not exist in a vacuum, however, and similarities with 5.1.2 (the non-canonical hour brontologies) are acknowledged:

(5.1.1.1/1) If thunder comes at dusk, it announces some deadliness impending.
(5.1.2/1) If [there is thunder] in the first hour of night, it signifies death.

and

(5.1.1.1/1) If it [i.e. thunder] comes at daybreak, it announces the birth of a king or a bishop.
(5.1.2/1) If [there is thunder] at daybreak, it signifies the birth of a king.

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219 ‘halie saule ofer worulde farende’ (text 5.1.1.1/1).
220 ‘hreohnnessa 7 stormas’ (text 5.1.1.2/1). Förster (1908a: 48) ignored the tenth hour in 5.1.1.2/1, and identified the twelfth hour as vespers. I follow Liuzza (2004: 20), who assigned the order noted above.
222 Förster (1908a: 49), Liuzza (2004: 19). In text 5.1.1.1/1, ‘hora matutina’ (‘matins’) is glossed as ‘on tide dægræd’.
223 Einarsson (1937: 183).
224 Förster (1908a: 45).
226 ‘Gif þunor cumeð on forantniht se cyðeð hwylc hwylcnesse towearde’ (text 5.1.1.1/1).
227 ‘Si prima noctis hora: significat mortalitatem’ (text 5.1.2/1).
228 ‘Gif he on dæg cumð sé kyðeð kininges gebyrd oððe bīcope’ (text 5.1.1.1/1).
229 ‘Si hora matutina significat natiuitatem regis’ (text 5.1.2/1).
The two examples above reveal correspondences in content and phrasing: both the canonical and non-canonical hour brontologies speak of death ‘on foranþniht’/’on forman nihte tide’, and the birth of a king ‘on dæg’/’on tide dægræd’. In addition to these verbal correspondences, 5.1.1.1/1 and 5.1.1.2/1, and 5.1.2 share some further features.

First, these brontologies are structured by hours. 5.1.1.1/1 and 5.1.1.2/1 list eight hours, and 5.1.2 fourteen. Most of these hours correspond, but next to every third hour, 5.1.2 lists hours such as the seventh and eighth, which are not present in 5.1.1.2/1. Second, the sequence of night and day hours is interrupted by a group of predictions dealing with the direction from which thunder is heard. In 5.1.2, these predictions are integrated into those for the hours, e.g. ‘If it has thundered in the eighth hour from the south, it signifies an abundance of bread and oil, and pestilence among herds and quadrupeds’. In the case of 5.1.1.1/1 and 5.1.1.2/1, the texts are separated by an independent directional brontology (5.2), e.g. ‘if it [thunder] is heard in the south, it signifies the death of the king’s wife’. Liuzza presented the sequence of brontologies in CCCC 391 as one unit, ‘clearly a single work’, but ‘the text may be an aggregate of several related but different and originally separate texts’. Indications for the separate nature of these texts in CCCC 391 can be seen in the fact that the directional brontology is not fully integrated into the canonical hour brontologies, because the genre boundaries can be clearly perceived. Moreover, there is a subtle difference in phrasing of the hours in 5.1.1.1/1 and 5.1.1.2/1. The first uses the preposition ‘on’ (as in ‘on middeniht’), the second employs ‘æt’ (as in ‘æt þære þriddan t ide dæges’). Both 5.1.1.1/1 and 5.1.1.2/1 use various verbs for the significance of the predictions: the first uses ‘cyðeð’ and ‘becnað’, the second ‘tacnoð’ and ‘becnað’.

This variety gives the impression of the brontologies in CCCC 391 not being a single text. The non-canonical hour brontologies, in contrast, display complete integration of the direction of the wind brontology, an absence of clear genre boundaries, and a uniformity in phrasing. The latter is evident from a consistent use of the preposition ‘on’ (e.g. ‘on tide seofoðan’), and the verb ‘getacnað’ for Latin ‘significat’.

The preceding remarks illustrate the similarities between the canonical and non-canonical hour brontologies. At the same time, differences between the brontological genres are evident. To try and establish textual precedence among the hour brontologies is impossible in view of the scant survivals and absence of sources which share more than the features outlined above. Liuzza concluded that the canonical and non-canonical hour brontologies were not derived from each other: ‘they can be

231 Liuzza (2004: 20) commented that ‘knowing which direction was which’ was essential to medieval time reckoning. Therefore, a text on the directions from which thunder is heard is not out of place in the brontological sequence in CCCC 391. Although I do not disagree with Liuzza, I would like to point out that neither hour brontologies (5.1.1.1, 5.1.1.2, and 5.1.2) nor the brontologies by direction of the wind (incorporated in 5.1.2, independent in 5.2) are attested in a computistical context. Rather, they are without exception found in prognostic sections. For a study of the contexts, see chapter 4.

232 Si hora .viii. tonauerit a parte meridiane. significat habundantiam panis & olei & cladem in armentis & quadrupedibus (text 5.1.2/2).

233 Gif he bid suð gehered sé becnað cininges wifes cwealm (text 5.2/1).


236 In 5.1.1.1/1, for instance, the thunder of midnight ‘becnað halie saule ofer worulde farende’ (‘signifies holy souls travelling over the world’ [my emphasis]).
described in the terms of traditional source study only as “analogues”.237

5.1.2 BRONTOLOGY, TEMPORAL, (NON-CANONICAL) HOURS


BRANCHES OF SUPERSTITION: observation of signs: thunder, compass directions; observation of times: hours

TEXTS:
L: 2. London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fols 9v-10v

DESCRIPTION:
The non-canonical hour brontology predicts the future with the help of the hours of day and night, and, for a limited number of hours, the direction from which thunder is heard. The subject matter and structure of the canonical and non-canonical hour brontologies show some overlap. A comparison between the two brontological genres has already been made.238 The origins of 5.1.2 are not known, but later redactions have been attested.239

The structure of the hour brontology is comparable to that of the canonical hour brontologies: predictions are made according to the hour on which it thunders. The entries in 5.1.2 represent fourteen out of the twenty-four hours in a day.240 In addition, the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth hour of day specify the direction from which thunder hails as follows: ‘from any part of the sky’, ‘from the southern part’, ‘from the north’, and ‘from the east’, respectively.241 The integration of three discrete texts into one, i.e. brontologies for the hours of night, the compass directions, and the hours of day, is carried off more successfully in 5.1.2 than in the bronzological sequence in CCCC 391. Nevertheless, Liuza found traces of the originally separate nature of the genres in 5.1.2.242

The Old English of (1) is a direct gloss of the Latin text of (1). Aside from some small mistakes in (2) not present in (1) (e.g. metathesis of ‘notauerit’ for ‘tonauerit’) and vice versa (e.g. ‘ruias’ for ‘ruinas’), the Latin texts (1) and (2) closely agree in content and phrasing. In view of the similarities, the texts are probably derived from a common source.243

5.1.3 BRONTOLOGY, TEMPORAL, DAY OF THE WEEK

LITERATURE: Brand (1849-55: III.245); Migne (1861-1904: I.609-14); Hellmann (1896a: 237; 1896b: 61); Förster (1903: 350-52; 1908a: 45, 46-47, 52; 1908c: 35-36; 1912b: 290); Jastrow (1905-12: II.705-48); Bezold and Boll (1911: 7-8); Thorndike (1923-58: I.679); Jones (1939: 45-47); Harmening (1979: 118-20); Auty et al. (1980-99: III.1251).

238See the description of 5.1.1.1 and 5.1.1.2 above.
240On the possibly mistaken order of some of the entries, see texts 5.1.2/1, 5.1.2/2. Identifying the hours is not straightforward. The hours most easily tagged are those which are numbered: the first, third, fifth hour of night, and the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth hour of day. ‘media nocte’ may be equated with midnight (i.e. the sixth hour of night), and ‘hora nouissima diei’ with the first hour of day. This leaves us with ‘hora uespertina’ (either first vespers = tenth hour of day, or second vespers = twelfth hour of day or first hour of night), and the sequence of ‘gallicantu’, ‘hora matutina’, and ‘hora ortus solis’. The latter group is troublesome because they all take place around sunrise, yet they must represent separate hours. Since they all precede the first hour of day, I take them to mean the tenth to twelfth hours of night.
241‘de quocumque parte celi’, ‘a parte meridiane’, ‘ab aquilone’, and ‘ab oriente’ (text 5.1.2/2).
The weekday brontology aims to foretell the future depending on the weekday on which thunder is heard first in the year. Like the year prognosis, which is structured along similar lines, the predictions pertain to human affairs (e.g. the death of a king or judge), with some attention to agricultural concerns, such as the condition of crops and livestock. No Latin analogue or source for the weekday brontology has been found in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript.

A redaction of the weekday brontology, together with a month brontology (5.1.4), a directional brontology (5.2), and a prefixed introduction, make up the pseudo-Bedan De tonitruis libellus ad Herefridum. This book about thunder is presumably addressed to Herefrid (d. 909), bishop of Auxerre. The thunderbook is the only prognostic to be included in the section Didascalia genuina in Migne’s edition of Bede’s works. This may be the reason why Jones is nowhere more stern in his rejection of Bede’s pseudo-oeuvre than in his denunciation of De tonitruis. De tonitruis was once considered an adaptation of a passage in the Greek treatise on thunder De ostentis, by the seventh-century Laurentius Lydus. As with more pseudo-Bedan prognostics, De tonitruis is first associated with Bede’s writings in the works of Noviomagus, in the sixteenth century. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, this attribution was discredited, but not entirely successfully: Thorndike still called De tonitruis ‘Bede’s translation of some work on divination from thunder’. Jones remarked that De tonitruis, probably written in the Cologne area, is uniquely preserved in a tenth-/eleventh-century manuscript, which he regarded as the first instance of the tract. Liuzza calls this observation into question on the basis of an early fourteenth-century manuscript in which a sequence appears comparable to the one in De tonitruis. It is hard to see what influence De tonitruis or a text like it could have had on the Anglo-Saxon brontologies in view of its rare attestations. Moreover, Jones’s example hails from the continent, while Liuzza’s dates from the fourteenth century. The only

244Text 5.1.3/1 states ‘gif hit þunreð ærest’ (‘if it thunders first’), 5.1.3/2 ‘Gif se forma þunor cymð’ (‘if the first thunder comes’), whereas 5.1.3/3 simply related ‘gyf hyt þunrie’ (‘if it thunders’). The scribe of the latter probably overlooked the reference to the first thunder of the year.

245Instead of thunder, the year prognosis uses New Year’s Day or Christmas to predict the future.

246Printed in Migne (1861-1904: I.609-14).

247Jones (1939: 45-47).

248Migne (1861-1904: I.609, n. a), Hellmann (1896a: 237-38), Förster (1903: 352), Bezold and Boll (1911: 7-8), Jones (1939: 45). De ostentis contains, among others, a day brontology, listing entries for each day in the year. Liuzza (2004: 9) remarked that ‘the work [viz. De tonitruis] bears no more than a structural resemblance to Lydus’ work’. There are no signs that the Anglo-Saxons were familiar with the day brontology which lists predictions for each day of the year.

249Jones (1939: 45). Noviomagus voiced reservations with regard to the status of De tonitruis as a Bedan tract, but these were excluded in later editions of Bede’s works (Jones 1939: 46).


251Jones (1939: 46). The attribution to Bede is not incomprehensible, because in the manuscript, De tonitruis is placed in Bede’s De temporum ratione, between chapters LXV and LXVI (cf. Jones 1939: 46).

brontological sequence in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript is the one in CCCC 391, which is not at all similar to *De tonitruis*. Therefore, there is no evidence that *De tonitruis* was known in Anglo-Saxon England.

Thorndike stated that ‘divination from thunder is another form of judicial astrology, if it may so be called, found in these early manuscripts’. 253 These early manuscripts are those from the ninth-century onwards containing computistical tracts, 254 but this is neither the context nor the age in which brontologies are encountered in insular manuscripts. 255 Several weekday brontologies in both Latin and the vernacular have been identified. 256 To my knowledge, no weekday brontologies are in existence from before the eleventh century.

The three Old English texts do not derive from a common exemplar, nor is there a Latin analogue close enough to be representative of a source text. 257 There may have been one Latin source for these texts, 258 but the Old English brontologies seem to be, or to have been copied from, independent translations. 259 The predictions show general agreement between the texts, yet the phrasing differs to such an extent that the texts cannot have been copied from each other. The entry for Tuesday, for instance, reads:

(1) If it [viz. thunder] is heard on a Tuesday, crops will dwindle. 260

(2) If it thunders on a Tuesday, it signifies the failure of crops. 261

(3) If it thunders on a Tuesday, then it signifies the failure of crops. 262

These three entries all predict a bad harvest, but the way this is described is not identical. The variation is partly due to small differences in phrasing, such as ‘þæt tacnað’ (2) versus ‘ponne tacneð þæt’ (3). However, the choice of vocabulary reveals that these texts are not copies from each other: the Latin phrase which may have been the source text, ‘fructus terra periclitabunt’, 263 is variously translated as ‘wæstmas beoð gewanode’ (1), ‘wæstma geswefrunge’ (2), and ‘westmas geswidunge’ (3). (1) employs a verb phrase, while (2) and (3) use noun phrases which do not feature identical nouns. It is possible

255The Anglo-Saxon brontologies date from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and are found in prognostic sections. On the manuscript context, see chapter 4.
256Migne (1861-1904: I.609-14), Förster (1908a: 46-47, 52; 1908c: 36; 1912b: 290), Thorndike (1923-58: I.679, n. 1), Liuzza (2004: 16, n. 52). Förster (1903: 351) referred to several vernacular and Latin redactions, but he did not differentiate between the weekday brontology and the month brontology, so that these references should be used with care.
257The predictions of the Latin text published by Förster (1908a: 47) coincide to a large extent with those of the Old English texts, but not enough for this Latin text to be representative of the source text.
258Förster (1908c: 36).
259There are indications that the texts are not original translations. E.g. the predictions for Sunday and Monday have erroneously changed places in 5.1.3/3, 5.1.3/2 reads ‘cymbearena’ for ‘cynebearn’, a typical minim problem, and the scribe of 5.1.3/1 garbles ‘becland begena’ into ‘becland begena’. These examples seem to imply that the texts were copied from earlier translations.
260’Gif on tiwesdæg bið gehered wæstmas beoð gewanode’ (text 5.1.3/1).
261’Gif hit on tiwesdæg þunrige, þæt tacnað wæstma geswefrunge’ (text 5.1.3/2).
262’Gif on tiwesdæg þunrið. þonne tacneð þæt westmas geswidunge’ (text 5.1.3/3).
263From a Latin analogue cited by Förster (1908a: 47).
to see many such differences in phrasing and grammar throughout the texts. There are, nevertheless, similarities between (2) and (3) which are not shared with (1). The prediction for Sunday, for example, is more detailed in (1), than in (2) or (3): ‘it means the death of kings or bishops, or many ealdormen will die in that year’, 264 versus ‘then it signifies the death of royal children’. 265 In the entry for Friday, (2) and (3) predict the death of ‘sædeora’ or ‘seodeora’, whereas (1) predicts the death of ‘nytena’. A Latin analogue has ‘oues & pecora peribunt’, 266 so (1) is likely to have preserved the correct reading because Old English ‘nytena’ means ‘cattle’. The nouns used in (2) and (3) on the other hand, refer to ‘sea-beasts’, which does not make much sense. 267 In view of the differences between the three texts, I conclude that none of the Old English weekday brontologies is copied from each other. The similar predictions in (2) and (3) seem to indicate that these two texts represent minor variants of one redaction, (1) being an entirely different redaction. 268

The weekday brontology is one of the few prognostic genres for which no Latin analogue has been identified in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript. None of the texts adduced by Förster and others is close enough to be representative of a source text. The Old English weekday brontologies are among the oldest examples of the genre, as is the pseudo-Bedan De tonitruis libellus ad Herefridum. The latter prognostic is a brontological sequence not often encountered, and dissimilar to the sole sequence known in any Anglo-Saxon manuscript, viz. in CCCC 391. The Old English weekday brontologies were not copied from each other, and they may represent independent translations. Two different redactions can be distinguished, which may ultimately derive from one Latin source text.

5.1.4 BRONTOLOGY, TEMPORAL, MONTH OF THE YEAR
LITERATURE: Migne (1861-1904: I.609-14); Waitz (1879: 585-86); Hellmann (1896a); Förster (1903: 350-52; 1908a: 45, 52; 1912b: 285-91; 1920: 55); Jastrow (1905-12: II.705-48); Holthausen (1908); Perry (1914: 114); Thorndike (1923-58: I.679); Jones (1939: 45-47); Harmening (1979: 118-20); Aty et al. (1980-99: III.1251); Hunt (1987: 170); Taavitsainen (1988: 52-53); Kieckhefer (1989: 86-87); Hollis and Wright (1992: 263); Epe (1995: 57); Liuzza (2001: 184; 2004: 8-14)

ATTRIBUTION: post-medieval: Bede
BRANCHES OF SUPERSTITION: observation of signs: thunder; observation of times: months

TEXTS:
L: 2. London, British Library, Royal 2.B.v, fol. 190rv

264’sé becnað kyninges oððe biscope deað oððe mænige ealdomen on þam geare sweltað’ (text 5.1.3/1).
265’ponne tacnā þet cynnebearna cwelm’ (text 5.1.3/2). The entries for Sunday and Monday were exchanged by the scribe of 5.1.3/3. In view of the Old English texts 5.1.3/1 and 5.1.3/2, and the Latin analogue cited by Förster (1908a: 47), I assume that the exchange of predictions in 5.1.3/3 is a scribal error.
266Förster (1908a: 47).
267The standard translation is ‘sea-monster’ or ‘sea-animal’ (cf. Cockayne 1864-66: III.169; Bosworth and Toller 1898: 809, s.v. sæ-deor; Liuzza 2004: 15, n. 50). Yet I find this unsatisfactory. How is it possible that a reference in Latin to ‘cattle’ (pecus) changes into ‘sea-beasts’ (seodeora) in Old English? A possible answer is that ‘sædeora’ and ‘seodeora’ are corrupted readings of the otherwise unrecorded compound ‘seamdeora’, where ‘seam’ means ‘burden’, or ‘the furniture of a beast of burden’ (Bosworth and Toller 1898: 852, s.v. séamere, séām-hor). In this light, I think ‘seamdeora’ (‘beasts of burden’) is a plausible translation of Latin ‘pecus’ (‘cattle’).
268The relationship between the texts was summarily discussed by Förster (1908c: 36), and in more detail by Liuzza (2004: 15-16, 19).
DESCRIPTION:
The month brontology foretells the future with regard to human affairs, agricultural concerns, and meteorological circumstances, depending on the month in which it thunders first. This is one of the few prognostic genres centred around calendar months. Kieckhefer remarked that the month brontology may have been particularly useful ‘in regions where thunderstorms are relatively rare’, but I am not convinced that this applies to England. As mentioned before, the month brontology is part of the pseudo-Bedan *De tonitrus libellus ad Herefridum*.

The *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* states: ‘The month itself does not play a big role in superstition, just as nowadays simple folks rarely use it in the calculation of time’. This statement is somewhat ambiguous as to the identity of these ‘simple folks’, but the observation that months play only a minor role in superstition is accurate as far as prognostics are concerned. Of the thirty-two genres studied in this chapter, just two prognostics are structured by months, three make use of months as an additional structuring element, and in one the events in each month are predicted. The calendar months, in contrast to weeks (which are fourths of the lunar sidereal month) or the thirty phases of lunaries (which represent the lunar synodic month), had become an arbitrary, theoretical system of time-keeping which no longer bore any relationship with observable temporal phenomena by the time Augustus had finished changing the Roman calendar. The limited use in prognostics of calendar months instead of lunar phases or weekdays may be occasioned by this arbitrariness of the calendar months.

Several month brontologies have been identified in Latin, Greek, and the vernacular, dating from medieval to modern times. All of these analogues date from the twelfth century onwards. Liuzza is the first to edit (2), which is an important text because it was added to the Regius Psalter at the end of the tenth century. This makes it the oldest month brontology attested so far. Förster assumed (1) to be a translation from the Latin on the basis of close similarities with a Latin text he printed. Liuzza identified another analogue, and he concluded that ‘only a thorough commitment to the

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270See the description of the weekday brontology (5.1.3) above. The month brontology in *De tonitrus* is far more elaborate than the ones under discussion here, but the predictions tend to agree in great lines (cf. Liuzza 2004: 11).
271‘Der M[onat] selbst spielt im Aberglauben keine grosse Rolle, zumal ihn der einfache Mensch auch heute noch selten als Zeitbestimmung gebraucht’ (Hoffmann-Krayer, Bächtold-Staubli et al. 1927-42: VI.469, s.v. *Monat*).
272The two genres which are structured month by month are the month brontology and the regimen (12). Months are used as an aid in structuring the twelve and twenty-four Egyptian Days (8.2 and 8.3, respectively) and the unlucky days (15). In the month prognosis (10), the events in each month are predicted.
273On time reckoning and prognostics, see section 4.2.2.1.
274Calendar months were extensively used in the computus, so that their hold on medieval time-keeping was considerable. The influence of calendar months is especially evident in regimens, which actually changed their structure from seasonal to monthly (see section 4.2.2.1).
275References are in Hellmann (1896a: 236-37), Förster (1903: 351-52; 1908a: 45, 52; 1912b: 288-89), Thorndike (1923-58: I.679, n.2), Liuzza (2004: 13, 14, n. 47). Editions are in Migne (1861-1904: I.609-14), Waitz (1879: 585-86), Förster (1903: 351; 1912b: 285-88, 291), Holthausen (1908), Perry (1914), Liuzza (2004: 10, 13-14). A facsimile of an illustrated month brontology is in Kieckhefer (1989: 87, fig. 8). The reference in Thorndike (1923-58: I.679, n.2) to Egerton 821, fols 2v-5r, pertains to a zodiacal brontology, which uses the twelve constellations rather than the calendar months and is therefore not a month brontology (see section 2.2.2). Förster (1908a: 52) listed another zodiacal brontology.
276Liuzza (2004: 8).
277Förster (1903: 351).
unidirectionality of Latin to English translation would lead anyone to speak of it as a “source”. I see no reason, however, to expect the genre of the month brontology to have been conceived in Old English and translated into Latin, especially in view of the fact that most prognostic genres I have studied are primarily transmitted in Latin rather than in the vernacular. Liuzza, moreover, found an older, Latin redaction which may be representative of the source text. (1) and (2) are not related; they form different redactions as the following example illustrates:

(1) In April, it [viz. thunder] announces a blissful year, and the death of evil men.

(2) If thunder occurs in the month of April, seeds are endangered, or ships.

The examples illustrate that (1) and (2) differ considerably in content. The analogues printed by Liuzza and Förster agree with (1) more closely:

If thunder is heard in the month of April, it signifies a happy and fruitful year, and the death of wicked people.

If in April, it will be a good year and fertile, and thieves will die.

Förster’s text shows more overlap with (1) than Liuzza’s. Liuzza’s analogue repeats the phrase ‘si tonitruus sonuerit’ in every entry, whereas Förster’s has the phrase ‘si tonat’ for January only, and (1) the phrase ‘gyf hit þunreð’ in the entries for January and February. Furthermore, the phrase ‘gyf hit þunreð’ is a translation of ‘si tonat’ (‘if it thunders’), not of ‘si tonitruus sonuerit’ (‘if thunder is heard’). It is not unlikely that (1) is translated from a source text resembling the one printed by Förster.

The month brontology occupies a separate niche in the prognostic corpus for two reasons. First, it is one of a few genres which make use of calendar months. Second, (2) is not only the oldest month brontology, it is also one of the oldest prognostics to have been attested in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript. Texts (1) and (2) are not related. Although Liuzza is hesitant to conclude that (1) is translated from a Latin source text, I see no objections.

5.2 BRONTOLOGY, NON-TEMPORAL, COMPASS DIRECTION

LITERATURE: Migne (1861-1904: I.609-14); Jastrow (1905-12: II.705-48); Förster (1908a: 45, 47-48; 1912a: 63-64); Thorndike (1923-58: I.679); Jones (1939: 45-47); Harmening (1979: 118-20); Aury et al. (1980-99: III.1251); Kieckhefer (1989: 86); Hollis and Wright (1992: 263); Epe (1995: 57); Liuzza (2001: 184; 2004: 19-20)

ATTRIBUTION: post-medieval: Bede

BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION: observation of signs: thunder, compass directions

TEXT:

OE: 1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 714

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280‘On april: hit bodeð blisful gear. 7 yfelre manna deað’ (text 5.1.4/1).
281‘Si tonitruus erit in mense aprilis semina periclitantur ael nabies’ (text 5.1.4/2).
282‘Si tonitruus sonuerit mense Aprilis, iocunditatiam et fructiferium annum et iniquorum mortem significat’ (Liuzza 2004: 13).
283‘Si in Aprili, annus bonus erit et fertilis et fures peribunt’ (Förster 1903: 351).
DESCRIPTION:
The brontology by compass directions predicts future events based on the direction from which thunder is heard. This genre appears in the pseudo-Bedan *De tonitruis libellus ad Herefridum*,\(^{284}\) in the non-canonical hour brontology (5.1.2),\(^{285}\) and as an independent text in a sequence of brontologies in CCCC 391. No source has been identified for (1). I suspect that (1) and the other brontologies in CCCC 391 were collected from various older Old English exemplars in view of the differences in vocabulary and phrasing in the texts. As with all brontologies, the predictions in (1) focus on human affairs and agricultural concerns.

With regard to (1), Liuzza astutely observed that 'time-keeping, whether by the sundial or the stars, depended on knowing which direction was which'.\(^{286}\) Despite the importance of the directions in the computus, however, they played a minor role in structuring the prognostics, even though these texts are often found in computi.\(^{287}\) Förster edited a modern directional wind prognostic, a genre I have not found in medieval manuscripts, but which has a long history according to Förster.\(^{288}\)

Not many directional brontologies have been attested, so it is hard to find material that can be compared to (1). Förster printed a directional brontology which constitutes an independent text, like (1) does.\(^{289}\) Other references are to texts incorporating directional brontologies, such as *De tonitruis*.\(^{290}\) A comparison between (1) and the analogues reveals that none of the latter are representative of the Latin source of (1). The compass directions they list are as follows:\(^{291}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>5.1.2/1</th>
<th><em>De tonitruis</em></th>
<th>Förster’s analogue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>of eastdæle</td>
<td>ab oriente / fram eastdæle</td>
<td>ab orientali</td>
<td>ab oriente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suð</td>
<td>a parte meridiane / fram dele middæges</td>
<td>meridiana</td>
<td>ab austro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>west oððe norð</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>norðpunor</td>
<td>ab aquilone / fram norðdæle</td>
<td>boreæ</td>
<td>ab aquilone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mycel east oððe nordæast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| table 3.7: compass directions in directional brontologies |

Förster’s analogue and *De tonitruis* make use of all the cardinal points, but these are not uniformly designated. In 5.1.2/1, the west is omitted, but an unspecified ‘de quacumque parte celi’ is added, which is useless in view of the fact that thunder always comes from some direction, so the addition has

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\(^{284}\)See the description of the weekday brontology (5.1.3) above.

\(^{285}\)See the description of the non-canonical hour brontology (5.1.2) above.

\(^{286}\)Liuzza (2004: 20).

\(^{287}\)However, none of the Anglo-Saxon brontologies appear in a computistical context.

\(^{288}\)Förster (1912a: 64). The directional wind prognostic is based on the direction from which the wind blows on New Year’s Eve.

\(^{289}\)Förster (1908a: 48).

\(^{290}\)Migne (1861-1904: I.609-14), Thorndike (1923-58: I.679, n.3).

\(^{291}\)From texts 5.2/1 and 5.1.2/1, Migne (1861-1904: I.610-11) and Förster (1908a: 48), respectively.
Interestingly, a Babylonian text exists which also mentions lightning from all four cardinal directions at the same time as a possibility, cf. Jastrow (1905-12: II.725).


See the description of the non-canonical hour brontology (5.1.2) above.

The compass directions are not the only factor in which the directional brontologies differ from each other. The level of textual independence and the direct prognostic context varies. Both (1) and the directional brontology in De tonitruis can be read as independent texts, while the one in 5.1.2 is inextricably embedded in a non-canonical hour brontology. In De tonitruis, the directional brontology is followed by a weekday and month brontology. (1), on the other hand, is flanked by two canonical hour brontologies. (1) and the directional brontology in 5.1.2 are attested in similar contexts, but whereas (1) may be read as a text in its own right, the directional brontology in 5.1.2 is integrated in the surrounding hour brontology to such an extent that it cannot be read independently, for instance:

(1) Thunder from the north signifies the death of sheep and calves and youths.

(5.1.2/1) If it has thundered in the ninth hour from the north, it signifies changes in nations [migrations?] and the clash of arms and new concourses of people.

The entry in 5.1.2/1 cannot be split up into a temporal and directional component: both are meaningful and necessary parts of the prognostic. The entries of (1) and 5.1.2/1 have little in common beyond the fact that they pertain to thunder from the north. The prediction in the entry of 5.1.2/1 is not a combination of the entry for nones in a canonical hour brontology plus that for the north in a directional brontology. This means that directional brontologies as independent texts developed separately from integrated directional brontologies. If (1) and 5.1.2/1 are dissimilar, how do the predictions of (1) relate to De tonitruis and Förster’s analogue? North thunder in De tonitruis predicts deaths and the wrongful behaviour of Christians. Förster’s analogue reports ‘the killing of a king and discord among relatives’. These predictions concern human affairs rather than the agricultural misfortunes related in (1). In conclusion, there are considerable differences between the directional brontologies discussed above. These differences manifest themselves on a structural level in the variation of the compass directions, and in the content of the predictions.

The use of compass directions in the directional brontology is a unique enrichment of the structural features available for prognostics. The search for sources and analogues has not yet yielded a brontology that shows enough correspondences in either structure or content to be related to (1).

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292Interestingly, a Babylonian text exists which also mentions lightning from all four cardinal directions at the same time as a possibility, cf. Jastrow (1905-12: II.725).


294See the description of the non-canonical hour brontology (5.1.2) above.

295See the description of 5.1.1.1 and 5.1.1.2.

296’s nordunor becnað scepa deað 7 cealfra 7 geogoðe’ (text 5.2/1).

297’si hora ix. tonauerit ab aquilone mutationes gentium & armorum strepitus & nouos concursus populorum significat’ (text 5.1.2/2).


299’s iugulacionem regis & discordiam inter proximis’ (Förster 1908a: 48).
6 DOG DAYS


ATTRIBUTION: post-medieval: Bede

ALIAS: hare dagas, Dies Caniculares

BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION: observation of signs: Dog-star, astrometeorology

TEXTS:


DESCRIPTION:

It is remarkable that such a genre as the Dog Days, which is represented abundantly in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, has received relatively little attention. Förster, who laid the foundations for the study of almost every prognostic genre known in Anglo-Saxon England, not once referred to the Dog Days. Most of the manuscripts listed above feature calendars in which Dog Days were noted. By the eleventh century, Dog Days had become a standard ingredient of Anglo-Saxon calendars, so that the neglect of this genre in studies on prognostics is undeserved.

The Dog Days signify the period in which the Dog-star is visible on the horizon. Although the

308Thorndike (1923-58: I.728), who discussed many prognostic genres, only briefly referred to the existence of moonbooks and Dog Days, for instance.

309Günzel (1993: 31, n. 4) claimed that Förster discussed moonbooks and Dog Days in his important article ‘Die alten engischen Verzeichnisse von Glücks- und Unglückstagen’ (1929), but these are precisely the dangerous days he did not discuss.

302See section 4.2.1.
Dog-star may refer both to Sirius in the constellation Canis Major and to Procyon in Canis Minor, the observance of Dog Days in Anglo-Saxon England was linked with the appearance of Sirius rather than Procyon, as an entry in the Harley glossary attests to ‘Canis or canicula, the star which is called Sirius’. An annotated version of Cicero’s *Aratea*, a work on the constellations popular in late Anglo-Saxon England, studies the features of Sirius and Canis Major, and includes a portrait of the constellation. Knowledge of the Dog Days was transmitted through texts dealing with the Days and their import; texts discussing the medical aspects; and entries in the calendar. Texts on the Dog Days are sometimes followed by a moonbook, i.e. a paragraph enumerating a series of lunar phases on which bloodletting is particularly dangerous. Moonbooks should not be confused with lunaries.

In Old English, the Dog Days are called ‘hare dagas’, ‘dies caniculares’ in Latin. The Dog-star is called ‘hara steorra’ in Old English, ‘canicula’ in Latin. The gloss in Harley 3376 reads in full: ‘Canis . uel canicula . stella quae sirius uocatur . se hara steorra’. The meaning of the word ‘hara’ is not clear. It has been interpreted as a form of the adjective ‘har’ (‘hoary, grey’). Meritt, however, concluded that the element ‘canis’ of the Canicular Days related to ‘canus’, which was in turn etymologically linked with Latin ‘candor’ (both ‘brightness’ and ‘heat’). Meritt did so on the basis of Isidore’s *Etymologiae*, and if we compare Isidore’s account of the Dog-star with that of the Harley gloss, it is clear that the gloss must have derived from the description in the *Etymologiae*: ‘Canis . uel canicula . stella quae et Sirius dicitur’ (Isidore). If Meritt is correct, therefore, ‘hara’ must be interpreted as ‘shining’ rather than ‘grey’. In other words, the adjective pertains both to the intense brightness of the Dog-star (‘candidus’), and to its heat-intensifying properties, with ‘flammae candorem’ as Isidore and Hyginus wrote. The etymology of ‘canis’ must have been known to more than one scribe/glossator, because the glossators of the calendar in CCCC 422 (4) and the gloss in Harley 3376, and the scribe of (1) all employ the translations ‘hára steorra’ or ‘hare dagas’. The post-Conquest *Peri didaxeon* states: ‘therefore the days are called “cinotici”, that is

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303Cf. Gundel (1907: 127).
304 ‘Canis . uel canicula . stella quae sirius uocatur’ (Oliphant 1966: 50/241). Texts 6/12 and 6/20 link the appearance of the Dog-star with Arcturus, the brightest star in the constellation Bootes: ‘Incipiente ortu canis. uel arcturi adq. uel sirius uocatur. se hara steorra’ (Harley). The role of Arcturus in this passage is unclear to me since Canis Major and Bootes rise in different parts of the sky, and at different times. Gundel (1907: 140-50) did not mention the existence of a link between Arcturus and Sirius in classical sources.
306On the use of the terms ‘moonbook’ and ‘lunary’, see the description of lunaries (9) below.
307The entry for the start of the Dog Days in the calendar in 6/4 reads: ‘DIES CANICVLARES’ with the gloss ‘haredagas’.
309Bosworth and Toller (1882-98: 510, s.v. hárt).
312Lindsay (1911: I, III.lxxi.15), Viré (1992: 84, II.35). The Dog-star’s heat-bringing qualities are discussed below.
the canicular days'. The translation ‘caniculares’ for ‘cinotici’ (from Greek ‘κύων’, i.e. ‘dog’) shows knowledge of the Days being Dog Days (‘canis’), an alternative to the aforementioned Dazzling Days (‘canus’).

The period in which the Dog Days fall, was in Anglo-Saxon England set to the period between 14 July and 5 September. In (1), for instance, the Dog Days number fifty-three days which commence ‘eighteen days before Lammas (1 August) and end thirty-five days after Lammas’, i.e. from 14 July to 5 September. Calendars occasionally report the appearance of the Dog-star in addition to the period of the Dog Days, e.g. <14 July> ‘DIES CANICVLARES’ / ‘haledagas’; <17 July> ‘ORTVS CANICVLE’; <5 Sept.> ‘FINIVNT DIES CANICVLARES’ / ‘her geendidod þa haredagas’.

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The latitude of the monastery in which the texts were copied was not taken into account, despite the fact that Anglo-Saxon computists were aware of the influence of the latitude of the observer on observations on earth: witness the frequent inclusions in calendars and computi of the length of shadows at given times, and the comments on the amount of daylight and latitude, in Bede’s Ecclesiastical History (I.1), for instance.

The Dog-star Sirius was already observed in ancient times. In Egypt, Sirius appeared with the flooding of the Nile, and its presence was considered a providential sign of fertility. From the classical period onwards, the Dog-star was renowned for its nefarious influence on life on earth, especially for its disease-bringing capabilities. This notoriety may be explained in two ways. First, Sirius is the brightest star in the sky and it was thought to reinforce the heat from the sun. Isidore wrote of the Dog-star that ‘in conjunction with the sun its heat is doubled, and bodies are dissolved and vapori sed’. In the Corpus glossary, Sirius is called ‘the most fiery constellation’. (1) describes the Dog-star as follows: ‘it [the Dog-star] is of a fiery and raging nature. It is through the sun’s and the star’s heat doubled to such an extent that it shines as strongly at midnight as at noon’. The second reason why Sirius was feared, is that the star rises when the summer is hottest, i.e. when hygiene is at its lowest. The account in Bald’s Leechbook illustrates this:

The wisest doctors taught that in this month [i.e. the Dog Days] no one should drink any [medicinal] potion or bleed his body in any place, except when it is necessary, and then one should remain inside at noon, because the air is most mixed [i.e. impure].

Therefore, the Romans and all southern nations made themselves earthen houses, because of the
boiling heat and the venomousness of the air.\textsuperscript{325}

The composer of Bald’s \textit{Leechbook} took great care in making his account of the Dog Days interesting for an Anglo-Saxon audience by not only revealing a precedent in the teachings of the wisest doctors, but also explaining the customs of the Mediterranean peoples. To us, this insight is particularly interesting because it links the visible presence of the Dog-star and its heat with an awareness of its influence on hygiene. The above examples elucidate that the factors of heat and lowered hygiene account for the dreaded appearance of the Dog-star.

In classical times, the Dog-star was used for a great variety of predictions, including weather, birth, and illness prognostications.\textsuperscript{326} The Dog Days in medieval texts had only one function: to caution people, especially the weak and those stricken with illness, not to undergo surgical procedures, such as bloodletting, or to take medication. The passage from Bald’s \textit{Leechbook} given above testifies to the belief in the harmful effects of medicine and bleeding. (1) stresses the dangerous aspects of bloodletting:

\begin{quote}
therefore every man will be the weaker who is bled on these days, and some will not escape with their lives. And let no one who knows the truth bleed anyone in that period. And bloodletting is forbidden to all Christians in that period.\textsuperscript{327}
\end{quote}

The rationale behind these injunctions against bloodletting is that bleeding might lead to wound infections. The closing of a vein which has been bled might pose problems as well. After the account of the Dog Days, Bald’s \textit{Leechbook} gives advice on the best times for bleeding, and on remedying some of the dangers attendant upon bloodletting:

\begin{quote}
If someone’s bleeding wound grows bad, take then mallow, boil in water and bathe with it, and pound the lower part and apply. If you want to stop the bleeding in an incision, take kettle soot, rub it to dust, put on the wound…. If you cannot stop a bleeding wound, take a fresh horse turd, dry in the sun or by a fire, rub it to dust very well, put the dust very thick on a linen cloth, tie up the bleeding wound with it during the night.\textsuperscript{328}
\end{quote}

In this quotation, the complications of bloodletting are revealed and remedies provided. Presumably, such complications could arise at any time, but they must have been especially feared during the season of the Dog Days, when heat and bad hygiene provided ideal situations for infections surrounding bloodletting. It is to be noted that the ingestion of medicinal potions is expressly forbidden during the Dog Days, but the application of external medication such as powders and compresses is not. The influence of the Dog Days on the balance of the humours is not yet an issue in Anglo-Saxon England.

\textsuperscript{325}Læcas lærdon þa þe wisoste wæron þæt nan man on þam monþe ne drenc ne drunce ne ahwær his lichoman wanige butan hís nydþearf wære: 7 þon þe sio lyft biþ þon swiþost gemenged. Romane him forþon 7 ealle suðfolc worhton eorþhus for þære lyfte wylme 7 æternesse’ (text 6/3).

\textsuperscript{326}Wissowa \textit{et al.} (1894-1978: 2nd III.1.346-51, s.v. \textit{Sirius}).

\textsuperscript{327}Forþam byþ æghwilc man þe unhalre þe him (blod læte on þissum) dagum 7 hit sume heora feore ne gedigað. And nele nan man (æt nanre) tide þe riht cann in þa tid mannum blot lætan. And callum criste(n)mannum on þa tid is blotlætincg forboden’ (text 6/1). On the reference to Christians as an authenticating strategy, see section 6.2.1.

\textsuperscript{328}Gif monnes bloddlhol yfelige gením þonne geornenleaf awylle on wætre 7 beþe mid. 7 gnawa niþowearde lege ðon. Gif þu wille on snide blot forlætan. ním ceteles hru þe riht cann in þa tid mannum blot lætan. And callum criste(n)mannum on þa tid is blotlætincg forboden’ (text 6/3).
because the theory of the humours, though known, had not yet reached England full-fledged. Texts incorporating the Dog Days in medical tracts which also deal with the humours are either continental, or date to the post-Conquest period.

There are twenty-seven attestations of the genre of Dog Days in Anglo-Saxon and early post-Conquest manuscripts. The occurrence of texts on the Dog Days in other medieval manuscripts has hardly been documented. The Dog Days have been transmitted in three different formats. The relationship between the formats and their contextual development is studied in more detail elsewhere. For now, it is sufficient to know that a distinction can be made between (1) an account of the Dog Days as part of a larger medical tract which deals with bloodletting, hygienic and dietary rules, or the humours; (2) a stand-alone text on the Dog Days not in a larger medical tract; and (3) Dog Days as a bare set of dates in the calendar:

| embedded in medical tracts | dates in calendar | stand-alone text |

Formats (2) and (3) developed out of (1). This development resulted in a move of the Dog Days from an originally medical context into the computus, and in the case of the stand-alone format, into prognostic sections as well. Moonbooks are sometimes attached to Dog Days of formats (1) and (2). A moonbook lists a series of lunar phases inappropriate for bloodletting and usually a number of good times as well, for instance:

How one should avoid bloodletting on each of the six fives in a month, and when it is best. Doctors teach also that no one should let blood on the five nights’ old moon, and again on the ten nights’, and fifteen, and twenty, and twenty-five, and thirty nights’ old moon, but between each of the six fives.

Moonbooks assign a regular series of lunar phases. The bad ones are series of five and multiplications thereof. Appropriate times are those in between bad phases, or they form another regular sequence, as the following excerpt attests to:

329See section 4.2.2.1.
330E.g. Sloane 475, fols 7v-8r (continent, s. xii, see section 2.2.1), Peri didaxeon (England, s. xi, see section 2.2.1), St. John’s College 17, fols 1-2 (Thorney, 1110-1111, see section 2.2.1), and CUL Gg.5.35, fols 425v-426v (Canterbury, c. 1100, see section 2.2.2), Sloane 2839, fols 107r-110v (England or continent, s. xii, see section 2.2.2).
331Some redactions in Middle English are listed by Voigts and Kurtz (2000: s.v. dies caniculares). Of all medieval manuscripts on medicine in French libraries, Wickersheimer (1966: 51 [XXXVII.3], 157 [CIV.2]) mentioned only a few texts on the Dog Days. Beccaria listed a few more (1956: 122 [8.19], 204 [51.7], 206 [52.6], 211 [55.9], 392 [139.4]).
332See section 7.2.3.
333Hu món scule blodlæse ón þara six fifa ælcúm on monðe forgan 7 hwnne hit betst sie. Læcas lærað eác þ þær nan mán on þone fíf nihta ealdne monan 7 eft. x. nihta 7 fiftynne 7 twentiges 7 fift 7 twentiges 7 þritiges nihta ealdne monan ne læte blod ac betwexo þara sex fifa ælcúm’ (text 6/3).
334For a list of phases, see table A3.9.
How a vein is to be opened at the right time. The fourth moon is good, and fourteen, and twenty-four. On moon five, or ten, or fifteen, or twenty, or twenty-five, or thirty, it is dangerous to accept a potion or to let blood according to [the opinion of] doctors of old.\[335\]

Here, the sequence of good times comprises phases with a four in it. As with the Dog Days, moonbooks prohibit bloodletting and medicinal potions.\[336\] Not all medical tracts and stand-alone texts incorporate moonbooks.

The number of attestations of Dog Days per text format is as follows: four in medical tracts (2, 3, 24, 25); six as stand-alone texts (1, 12, 14, 18-20); and seventeen in calendar entries (4-11, 13, 15-17, 21-23, 26, 27). The formats are now discussed in turn. First, Dog Days in medical tracts are always part of a larger medical context. \(3\) appears in Bald’s \textit{Leechbook}, \(2\) in the \textit{Peri didaxeon}, \(24\) and \(25\) in the first medical section of St. John’s College 17. Within this medical context, the Dog Days are embedded in a tract addressing issues such as bloodletting, dietary and hygienic guidelines, or the humours. In addition to the Dog Days these tracts may include moonbooks (3, 25). In the manuscript, \(24\) and \(25\) are sequenced, but they nevertheless form separate texts as the title of \(25\) seems to introduce a new text.\[337\] The period in which the Dog Days are visible according to these texts varies: \(3\) and \(25\) have acceptable dates, but \(2\) and \(24\) are problematic. 17 July to 5 September \(3\) and 18 July to 5 September \(25\) fall within the range of dates usually attested. 14 June to 24 September \(2\) seems to pertain primarily to the period in which ‘yellow bile is growing inside’, i.e. it covers the period in which one of the humours is active.\[338\] This period happens to encapsulate the Dog Days, which is presumably why they are mentioned as well. Likewise, \(24\) focusses on the humours with only a secondary interest in the Dog Days.

In view of the many differences between the four texts, I conclude that they are unrelated to each other. Nevertheless, \(3\) and \(25\) share certain features, as do \(2\) and \(24\). The former two include a moonbook and are concerned mainly with bloodletting. \(3\) opens with the line ‘at what time bloodletting is to be foregone, at what time it is to be practised’;\[339\] and \(25\) is entitled ‘DE FLEBOTOMIA’.\[340\] \(2\) and \(24\), on the other hand, have no moonbooks, and deal with the humours, devoting space only cursorily to the Dog Days.

No sources have been identified for the Old English texts \(2\) and \(3\). \(2\) is a late twelfth-century tract on the humours with only a passing reference to the Dog Days. In \(2\), the days are said to have been called ‘cînotici’, hence ‘caniculares’.\[341\] This Greek term is not found in any of the other texts under discussion. \(3\) is integrated in its context with care, a feature which distinguishes Bald’s


\[336\]The word ‘catarticum’ (i.e. καταρτικόν) is glossed ‘spiwdrenc’ (‘emetic’) in text 6/20. This medical term features in the Harley glossary as well: ‘Catartica . nomen medicine’ (Oliphant 1966: 60/524), which is a gloss for Isidore’s \textit{Etymologiae}: ‘Catartica Graece, Latine purgatoria dicuntur’ (Lindsay 1911: I, IV.ix.8).


\[338\]’sa ruwa gealle byð wexenda. on þan innoþe’ (text 6/2).

\[339\]’On hwilce tid blod sie to forganne on hwilce to lætene’ (text 6/3).

\[340\]From text 6/25.

\[341\]See the discussion of the etymology above.
Leechbook as a whole from other medical compilations.\textsuperscript{342}

The second format, that of the stand-alone texts, is attested six times (1, 12, 14, 18-20), only one of which is in Old English (1). The texts are found in three manuscripts: Vitellius E.xviii (1), Titus D.xxvi, xxvii (12, 14), and Harley 3271 (18-20). These manuscripts probably all hail from New Minster, Winchester.\textsuperscript{343} Except for (1), which dates to 1062, the stand-alone texts were written down in the early 1030s. In view of the date and place of origin, the stand-alone texts form a close-knit group with strong ties. The stand-alone texts on the Dog Days developed out of the medical format by shifting the focus to the effects of the Dog Days on people’s health, and the prohibition of bloodletting and administering medication. As a rule, moonbooks accompany the Dog Days in the stand-alone format because they fit in with the injunctions against bleeding. (1) is the sole stand-alone text which lacks a moonbook. Henel suspected that the moonbook of (1) was lost due to extensive fire damage near the margins of the text in Vitellius E.xviii,\textsuperscript{344} but this cannot be established from the final line: ‘dagas dies ca ·····g···i···eð ····· þa hwi(le) ·····’.\textsuperscript{345} The Latin stand-alone texts all feature a moonbook. The shift from a medical to a stand-alone format of the Dog Days enabled these texts to move to other manuscript contexts. In Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, this meant that the stand-alone texts migrated to computi (1, 14) and, more frequently, to prognostic sections (12, 18-20).

Concerns with bloodletting and dangerous days as main themes are evident from the immediate surroundings of some Dog Days texts. (14, 18, 19) are encountered in a fixed sequence with texts on the three and twenty-four Egyptian Days.\textsuperscript{346} It is to be noted that the β-sequence which contains (19) is an improved version of the preceding sequence containing (18).\textsuperscript{347} (12) is followed by a text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days, and preceded by a γ-sequence.\textsuperscript{348} In the pseudo-Bedan treatise \textit{De minutione sanguinis, siue de phlebotomia}, a number of bloodletting texts are collected in a way I have not encountered in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. \textit{De minutione} boasts a tract on the humours with a moonbook and the Dog Days, texts on the three and twenty-four Egyptian Days, a bloodletting lunary, and yet another tract on the humours with a moonbook and the Dog Days.\textsuperscript{349} Bloodletting lunaries, in particular, are not found in such a context in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. They are most commonly attested either in a collection of lunaries (the α-sequence) or preceding the calendar.\textsuperscript{350} Jones identified several texts of \textit{De minutione}.\textsuperscript{351} He did not find any pre-eleventh-century analogues for \textit{De minutione}, which is not to say the individual texts did not exist by then.\textsuperscript{352} Singer thought that the Anglo-Saxon

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[343] Titus D.xxvi, xxvii and Vitellius E.xviii are from New Minster, Winchester. On the place of origin of Harley 3271, which I think is New Minster, see sections 2.2.1, 5.2.2.1.
\item[344] Henel (1934-35: 333).
\item[345] From text 6/1.
\item[346] I.e. the β-sequence discussed in section 3.2.2.
\item[347] See section 4.2.2.3.
\item[348] The γ-sequence contains texts on the three Egyptian Days and the three miraculous birthdays, see section 3.2.2.
\item[350] See the description of the bloodletting lunary (9.2.3) below.
\item[351] Jones (1939: 89).
\item[352] \textit{Ibid.} However, the first part of \textit{De minutione} has been attested in the ninth-century manuscript Laon 426bis (Beccaria 1956: 134 [15.3]; Wickersheimer 1966: 40 [XXVIII.3]). Payne (1904: 16-20) also discussed the contents of \textit{De minutione} and the spurious attribution to Bede, and reported a Middle English translation of the tract in Add. 5467.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
bloodletting prognostics were taken from *De minutione*.\textsuperscript{353} On rational grounds, it is possible to reject the Bedan attribution on account of Bede’s preference for Theodore’s system of bloodletting rather than for the erratic days and lunar phases assigned in prognostics.\textsuperscript{354}

The dates assigned by the stand-alone texts are 14 July to 5 September (1), and 18 July to 5 September (12, 14, 18-20). Both variants claim to measure the Dog Days from the appearance of the Dog-star, but in the case of (1) the first date pertains to a calendric conception of the Dog Days. As I already pointed out, calendars sometimes distinguish between the start of the Dog Days and the appearance of the Dog-star several days later.\textsuperscript{355} (12, 20) introduce the Dog-star as follows: ‘Incipiente ortu canis’,\textsuperscript{356} (14, 18, 19) state that the Dog Days start ‘ab exortu canicule’.

It is possible to distinguish three redactions: Old English (1), which contains information about the heat of the Dog-star not found in the Latin texts; Latin (12, 20), and Latin (14, 18, 19). A detailed comparison of the phrasing and content of the latter three texts is unnecessary, because even a quick look at the texts themselves suffices to reveal that the texts are almost identical. (12) and (20) are not entirely the same, but they show enough overlap to be regarded as variants within one redaction. The phrasing of the good phases in the moonbook differs, but the phases assigned coincide: ‘phase four is good, and fourteen and twenty-four’,\textsuperscript{358} versus ‘phase four will be very wholesome, and phase fourteen will be good, and twenty-four is acceptable’.\textsuperscript{359} In the account of the Dog Days, (12) and (20) differ in phrasing, but not in meaning. In view of the short time-span in which these stand-alone texts were transmitted, I conclude that this format enjoyed a sudden burst of popularity in eleventh-century Winchester.

The third and final format of the Dog Days are the entries in the calendar (4-11, 13, 15-17, 21-23, 26, 27). A considerable amount of research into Anglo-Saxon calendars has been carried out, to discover which saints were venerated where for instance, or to find out where calendars were copied and for whom.\textsuperscript{360} Besides saints and festivals, calendars harbour a wealth of interesting meteorological, seasonal, and prognostic knowledge. Dog Days as calendar entries are a terminal stage in the development of the genre, because it is impossible to reconstitute a body of knowledge from such entries if one is not already familiar with the dangers on these Dog Days. The user of a calendar must be aware of the meaning of the Dog Days if the pertinent calendar entries are to be of any value for him.\textsuperscript{361}

Like so many texts, calendar entries on the Dog Days show some variation, depending on how the entries are phrased, and where they are placed.\textsuperscript{362} The most complete set of entries is one listing the beginning and end of the Dog Days, and the appearance of Sirius. Two calendars have this: (4) and (8). Nine calendars list the beginning and end, one the beginning only. Four calendars feature the

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\textsuperscript{353} Bonser (1963: 296-99) features a rambling account on bloodletting prognostics.

\textsuperscript{354} Singer (1917: 110).

\textsuperscript{355} See section 6.2.3.

\textsuperscript{356} See above.

\textsuperscript{357} From text 6/12.

\textsuperscript{358} From text 6/14.

\textsuperscript{359} ‘iii. Luna bona xiii. xxiii.” (text 6/12).

\textsuperscript{360} E.g. Piper (1862), Atkins (1928), Henel (1934a), Wormald (1934), Baker and Lapidge (1995: xxxiv-lx).

\textsuperscript{361} See section 7.2.3.

\textsuperscript{362} See section 4.2.2.2.
beginning and the appearance of the Dog-star, one the appearance of the Dog-star and the end of the Dog Days. The beginning of the Dog Days is entered on 11 July (which must be a mistake), 17 or 18 July (which is an acceptable date when the appearance of the Dog-star is not mentioned separately), and, most frequently attested, 14 July. The appearance of the Dog-star is placed on either 17, 18, or 19 July. The end is on 5 September, sporadically on 4 September.

The variation displayed in the dates is mirrored in the phrasing of the entries. Most regular, because rare, is the appearance of Sirius, which is entered as ‘ortus canicule’, or ‘canicula oritur’. The beginning of the Dog Days is listed as ‘dies caniculares (incipiunt(ur))’, once as ‘dies caniculares hic incipiunt’, and once as ‘dies caniculares .l.’. The end is entered as ‘finiunt dies caniculares’, ‘dies caniculares finiunt(ur)’, and ornately as ‘hic est finis dierum canicularum’ or ‘hic finiunt dies caniculares’. If one combines the above range in entries with the relevant dates, one arrives at a large number of configurations, many of which have actually been attested.\(^{363}\)

The Dog Days probably are the prognostic genre most widely known in Western Europe from the classical period onwards. It is strange, therefore, to discover that Anglo-Saxon texts on the Dog Days have been neglected to such an extent that even Förster is silent on the topic. The Dog Days are supported by a long tradition by the time they are introduced into English manuscripts. In some cultures, the appearance of Sirius is interpreted favourably, but in medieval cultures, Dog Days were synonymous with heat, ill health, and bad hygiene. Texts on the Dog Days are attested in three formats: in a primarily medical tract on bloodletting, diet, hygiene, or the humours, as stand-alone texts, and as entries in the calendar. The latter have remained largely unobserved. Anglo-Saxon manuscripts feature all formats, with a decided preference for calendar entries.

7 DREAMBOOK

LITERATURE: Schindler (1858: 245-48); Steinschneider (1863); Cockayne (1864-66: III.ix-xiv); Birch (1878: 481-83; 1892: 258-59); Meyer (1884: 144-45); Graffunder (1906); Förster (1903: 356-57; 1908b: 302-05; 1908c: 32, 35, 36-37; 1910; 1911; 1916; 1921; 1925-26: 60-62, 64-65); Stoop (1909); Dred (1921; 1922; 1923; 1925; 1926); Thorndike (1923-58: II.290-302); Hélin (1925); Gardiner (1935: I.7-23); Svenberg (1936: 142-43); Best (1940); Blum (1943); Oppenheim (1956); Suchier (1957); Önnerfors (1960; 1977: 32-57); Bühler (1962); Pack (1963); Pongracz and Santner (1963); Schmitt (1965; 1966); Turville-Petre (1968); Lewis (1976); Martin (1977; 1979; 1981); Harmening (1979: 95-117); Oberhelman (1981); Fischer (1982a; 1982b; 1983; 1989); Tolles (1983); Braswell (1984: 348); Grub (1984); Hunt (1987: 180, n. 127); Taavitsainen (1988: 57); Berriot (1989); Kieckhefer (1989: 85-86); Hollis and Wright (1992: 264-65); Günzel (1993: 33-34); Miller (1994); Epe (1995); Liuzza (2001: 188-89); Wit (2002)

ALIAS: Somniale Daniellis

ATTRIBUTION: medieval: Daniel

BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION: observation of signs: dreams, oneiromancy, *somnimancy

TEXTS:

2. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 42rv
3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, fols 150v-152v


L: 5. London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fols 11v-16r

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\(^{363}\)Within the calendar entries, (9, 15, 21) and (7, 10) seem to form two redactions because they agree in the dates and part of the phrasing. The other calendar entries are exceedingly hard to analyse despite the fact that the calendars containing some of them are related (e.g. CCCC 422, Arundel 60, Titus D.xxvii, Vitellius E.xviii, cf. Henel 1934a; 1934-35: 335).
Dreambooks pertain to dreams of revelatory content, i.e. dreams which carry meaning with regard to events in the future of the dreamer’s life. Dream interpretation with the help of such dreambooks has been the subject of many studies. In this respect, it is strange to see that dream interpretation is only cursorily treated in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens, under the contrived designation ‘somnimancy’. The Lexikon des Mittelalters refers the reader to lunaries without wasting even one word on dreambooks. The entry for lunaries relates the existence of specific lunaries, including dream lunaries, but dream lunaries and dreambooks are two different prognostic genres altogether. Rather than repeating a considerable body of scholarship, I refer the reader to the aforementioned works for a detailed discussion of dreambooks.

Dreambooks are lists of dream subjects with interpretations. The entries in a dreambook are simple sentences introducing the dream subject and its significance, e.g. ‘to catch birds in a dream signifies gain’. Sometimes, entries take the form of ‘if you see/it seems that... then’ constructions: ‘if you see a dragon flying over you, it signifies treasure’, and ‘if it seems that he is bathing or washing himself in the sea, it means happiness’. Entries may be phrased as ‘if you dream of... then’ constructions: ‘if you dream that you see two moons, it means joy and happiness’, and ‘if you dream that you have much power, it is a mark of distinction’.

The dream *topoi* in most medieval dreambooks are presented in alphabetical order, though this order rarely extends beyond the first letter. The order of the entries for the letter ‘a’ in the glossed...

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367 Of particular relevance are the works of Förster (1908b: 302-05; 1908c: 32, 35, 36-37; 1910; 1911; 1916; 1921), Thorndike (1923-58: II.290-302), Önnerfors (1960; 1977: 32-57), Pongracz and Santner (1963), Schmitt (1966: 181-200), Martin (1977; 1979), Grub (1984: xxi-xxxvii), and Epe (1995). Fischer (1982a) deserves separate mention as he has benefited extensively from the work of Schmitt (1966), so much so that Fischer translated almost literally many notes from Schmitt’s work without acknowledgement. Two instances will illustrate this. (1) ‘Die Astrologie zählte man zusammen mit der nicht scharf von ihr geschiedenen Astronomie zu den “Freien Künsten”, sofern sie nicht, wie es sehr häufig der Fall war, mit magischen oder mantischen Vorstellungen in Verbindung trat’ (Schmitt 1966: 182, n. 3) versus ‘Astrology, which figured together with astronomy in the *artes liberales*, was censured only when dealing with forbidden topics or processes, such as magic or soothsaying’ (Fischer 1982a: 163, n. 2). (2) ‘Im Zuge des im Spätmittelalter epidemisch wachsenden Hexenwahns wurden Zauberei und Hexerei von kirchlicher Inquisition und weltlicher Gerichtsharkeit als Ketzerei verfolgt’ (Schmitt 1966: 182, n. 4) versus ‘During the judicial secularization of the Church in the later Middle Ages, magic and witchcraft were branded as heresy by both ecclesiastical and lay courts’ (Fischer 1982a: 163, n. 3).

369 Aues in somno capere. lucrum significat’ (text 7/5).

370 ‘Si uideris draconem super te volantem thesaurum significat’ (text 7/4).

371 ‘Si him þince þæt he hine on sæ baþige oþþe ðwea. þæt þiþ þe bliss’ (text 7/1).

372 ‘Si somniaueris te duas lunas uidere. gaudium & libertiam significat’ (text 7/4).

373 ‘Gif man mæte þæt he micel rice hæbbe þæt byð wurðmynt’ (text 7/2).

374 Byzantine dreambooks are the first to order the entries alphabetically, an arrangement which has been retained in medieval dreambooks. Dreambooks ordered by topic have been attested, also in Byzantine texts, but the Greek *Danielis* tradition followed by medieval compilers presented the entries in alphabetical order. For an example of dreambooks following other structures than the alphabet, see that of Achmet ben Sirin (Drexel 1925), and the late medieval text of...

Fischer (1982a) arranged entries from more than twenty medieval dreambooks according to their dream subjects in alphabetical order. It is immediately apparent that the alphabetical order is restricted to the initial letter. This gives rise to a sequence with only a limited attempt at gathering entries on the same *topos*: the *Asinos* dreams have been put together, but not without an *Arma* dream slipping in. The *A bestiis* dream is not in place in the *a* sequence of the dreambook, if it had been made by a modern editor. It would have been more appropriate with the *Bestias* dreams under the letter *b*. However, medieval dreambooks rely on a strict alphabetical order of the first letter, as a dream with the subject *Cum mortuo fabulare* appears under *c* rather than under the letter *m* with the *Mortuum* dreams. Likewise, entries starting with the preposition *in* are listed under *i*, and not under the first letter of the dream subject. While the Latin dreambooks, which are translations from the Greek, are ordered alphabetically, translations in the vernacular are not. Thus, the first seven entries in (1) pertain to *earn* (‘eagle’), *beon* (‘bees’), and *fugelas* (‘birds’), which reflects the Latin *a* sequence ‘aquilam’, ‘apes’, ‘aues’.

Aside from the order of the entries, the entries for the letter *a* reveal a tendency for dreambooks to include series of dreams on one *topos*. If it is possible to see a ring in a dream, for example, it is equally possible to receive a ring, or to give someone a ring. Many dream subjects feature this kind of diversity: one can ride a horse which is white, black, yellow, bay, or brown. The colour of the horse determines the meaning of the dream. The variety in dream *topoi* can be quite extensive: water dreams may be constructed from the following building blocks: (a) to see/drink from/wash oneself/swim/fall into (b) a bath/fish pond/well/sea/river/flood, while the water can be (c) cold/hot/clean/dirty. Each combination leads to another dream interpretation. The range of *topoi* introduced in dreambooks is huge. Pongracz and Santner made a useful division into the human body, people, actions, animals, the outside world, nature and the cosmos. Comprehensive lists of dream subjects have been published.

Dreambooks have existed in many cultures from the third millennium BC onwards. Mesopotamian clay tablets form the oldest written evidence of dream interpretation, followed by Egyptian, Greek, Arabic and Latin dreambooks, and those in the European vernaculars in the Middle Ages. Even today, dreambooks are published for an eager public of DIY dream interpreters in the

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375Cf. text 7/4.
376Fischer (1982a) arranged entries from more than twenty medieval dreambooks according to their dream subjects in alphabetical order.
377From text 7/4.
380Part of the range is the result of variation introduced like that in dreams about water and horses, i.e. based upon an existing subject. Martin (1977: 153-65; 1981: 79-85) and Fischer (1982a: 11-13) distinguished a number of mechanisms which account for some of the variation, including instances of sloppy copy, substitution, and simplification.
383Thornik (1923-58: II.290-302) and Pongracz and Santner (1963: 13-102) provided an overview of dreambooks throughout the ages. Oppenheim (1956) studied dream interpretation in the ancient Near East, and published and
long wake of Freudian and Jungian dream explication for psychoanalytical purposes.\textsuperscript{384} It is hard, or even impossible, to find a direct link between Assyrian and Anglo-Saxon dreambooks, but strikingly they have some dream \textit{topoi} in common, thereby bridging a period of several millennia. Thus, dreams of animals, blindness, incest, water, the dead, and kissing are attested in both dream traditions.\textsuperscript{385} This seems to indicate that such dream \textit{topoi} are either part of the Jungian collective subconscious, or that the knowledge preserved in dreambooks was somehow transmitted from one era and culture to the next. Förster perceptively remarked: ‘how else should an alphabetical dreambook in Welsh, printed in 1910, take into account that a twentieth-century Welsh farmer’s wife was capable of dreaming of sleeping with an Ethiopian, the typical eunuch of the Byzantine court?\textsuperscript{386} It may be hard to demonstrate the transition from Assyrian to Anglo-Saxon dreambooks, but an analogous process is evident in the transition from Greek to Latin to vernacular dreambooks.

Greek dreambooks, which represent the art of dream interpretation of the late classical and Byzantine period, comprise a number of distinct texts attributed to various people, including Achmet ben Sirin, Artemidoros, Astrampsychos, Daniel, Germanos, and Nikephoros.\textsuperscript{387} These dreambooks are thought to have come into existence between the second and tenth centuries AD.\textsuperscript{388} The manuscript evidence for some dreambooks however, is of a much later date. The oldest Greek dreambook of Daniel, for instance, dates from the fifteenth century, but it is assumed that this type was developed in an earlier period. The dreambooks that gained an audience in the Middle Ages represent the \textit{Somniale Danielis} tradition. This is confirmed by the correspondences in dream \textit{topoi} between the Greek \textit{Danielis} dreambooks and the Latin texts, and the titles of medieval dreambooks, which often refer to Daniel, e.g. ‘\textit{De somniorum diuersitate secundum ordinem abcdarii danielis prophete}’.\textsuperscript{389} The attribution of dreambooks to the prophet Daniel has led scholars to name this type of prognostic \textit{Somniale Danielis}.\textsuperscript{390}

Alphabetical dreambooks were tremendously popular in the Middle Ages, witness the many attestations in Latin and the vernacular from the ninth century onwards. No Latin dreambooks prior to the ninth century have been found. The oldest Latin dreambooks are incorporated in Uppsala, University Library, C.664 and Harley 3017.\textsuperscript{391} The latter is a continental manuscript dating from the ninth century which contains a computus related to that of Fleury, and which features many

\textsuperscript{384}Pongracz and Santner (1963: 103-13).
\textsuperscript{385}See the dreams on these \textit{topoi} in 7/4, for instance, and Oppenheim (1956: 258-59, 275, 280, 283, 287). Remarkably, the variety in water dreams (see above) in Anglo-Saxon dreambooks is paralleled in the Assyrian dreambook.\textsuperscript{386}‘Wie sollte sonst z.B. ein um 1910 gedrucktes neukymrisches Traumbuch noch mit der Möglichkeit rechnen, daß eine wallische Bauernfrau des 20. Jahrhunderts träumen könne, mit einem ‘Äthiopier’, dem typischen Haremseunuchen des byzantinischen Hofmilieus, im Bette zu liegen?’ (Förster, 1925-26: 61-62).
\textsuperscript{390}Cf. Martin (1977: 70-71).
prognostics. The earliest Anglo-Saxon attestations of dreambooks (1, 2, 4, 5; in Tiberius A.iii and Titus D.xxvi, both from the eleventh century) are of different redactions than the Uppsala and Harley manuscript. Numerous dreambooks survived: Martin listed seventy-three manuscripts, Fischer twenty-three, Grub and Epe thirty-three each. These numbers are not mutually exclusive, but they are not exhaustive either, which means that there may be as many as a hundred medieval dreambooks extant. Recently, Maartje de Wit made an inventory which contains 104 alphabetical dreambooks, 95 of which are from before 1500. The six Anglo-Saxon instances represent only a fraction of the attestations. Despite a majority in Latin, vernacular texts are found in Old English, Middle English, Icelandic, German, French, Irish, and Welsh. The Old English dreambooks are the earliest in the vernacular, and date from the first half of the eleventh century and after.

The first taxonomy of medieval dreambooks was proposed by Martin, who revealed that Förster’s rudimentary classification of the Latin dreambooks into two groups was deficient. Martin distinguished several redactions: distinct a and b redactions; several versions of a hybrid a/b; the earliest redaction of Harley/Uppsala, which includes material not found in a or b; and the lengthy late medieval redaction in All Souls College 81. Epe has recently reexamined the classification with an eye to the Old English dreambooks. It is interesting that the earliest Latin redactions follow geographic boundaries in that the a redaction is found in English and b in continental manuscripts. According to Martin, the b redaction is thought to have arrived in England only after the Conquest, but Epe classed the Old English dreambooks (1-3 and the second supplement of 4) among the hybrids. These texts antedate the Norman Conquest, which would suggest that a b redaction already circulated in England in Anglo-Saxon times. The two main distinctions between a and b pertain to differences in the predictions of the entries, and to entries attested in one redaction but not in the other. Variation in content among texts of the a redaction is greater than among those of b. Both a and b seem to have been based upon a single Latin translation of a Greek dreambook, a probably being closer to the original than b.

The Latin dreambooks (5, 6) are representative of redaction a. (4) consists of an extensive original

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392See section 2.2.2.
394Wit (2002: 70-142).
395Latin dreambooks have been published by Martin (1977; 1979; 1981), Grub (1984), among others. On texts in the vernacular, see Martin (1977: 148-49). Middle English dreambooks are published by Förster (1911) and Bühler (1962); Icelandic by Turville-Petre (1968); German by Graffunder (1906) and Fischer (1982b); French by Hélin (1925), Suchier (1957) and Berriot (1989); Irish by Best (1940); Welsh by Förster (1921).
396Martin (1981: 4-12).
397Förster (1911: 51), Martin (1981: 3).
402Martin (1981: 4-5).
403Martin (1981: 5-6).
404Martin (1977: 52-53; 1981: 7-9). He did not wish to offer a definitive answer in the matter of Latin translations and originals of the a and b dreambooks, but he did provide a useful discussion of the matter, which seems to support the view that a and b derive from one translation.

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a series of 249 entries (4a), a first supplement of twenty-one entries of redaction a (4b), and a second supplement of thirty-two entries of a hybrid showing close affinity with a (4c).\textsuperscript{405} Martin has shown that none of the texts of redaction a can have served as an exemplar for any of the others.\textsuperscript{406} Therefore, (4-6) have been transmitted independently and do not derive from a common exemplar. (4a-b) is the longest extant instance of redaction a: it comprises 270 entries.\textsuperscript{407} There are indications for the scribe of the interlinear Old English gloss of (4) to have used an existing gloss. Förster adduced errors in which the glosses do not correspond to the Latin text and vice versa, and spelling mistakes.\textsuperscript{408} The three dreambooks in Old English (1-3) are hybrids.\textsuperscript{409} Although (1) and (2) are found in the same manuscript, they are not directly related, nor do they together represent a complete version of a dreambook. (3), which postdates the dreambooks in Tiberius A.iii by more than a century, shows close affinity with (1), despite the fact that (3) has fewer entries than (1), and that (3) has several entries not present in (1). It is likely that (1) and (3) share a common exemplar, the more so because the two manuscripts probably hail from the same foundation, viz. Christ Church, Canterbury, and both share an agenda lunar in the vernacular not attested in any other English manuscript.

The alphabetical dreambooks written by Anglo-Saxon scribes form part of a tradition of dream interpretation that goes back to the third millennium BC; a tradition that includes Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Greek, Arabic, and Latin dreambooks. No other prognostic genre known in the Middle Ages can lay claim to such a long codified heritage. The Anglo-Saxon texts make up only a fraction of the many medieval dreambooks that have come down to us. The oldest dreambooks in Latin hail from the ninth century, the first Anglo-Saxon instances from the eleventh. The Anglo-Saxon texts are of two different redactions, one of which is typically insular (4a-b, 5, 6), the other a vernacularised hybrid version (1-3, 4c).

8 EGYPTIAN DAYS

ALIAS: Dies Egyptiaci, Dies mali

DESCRIPTION:
The genre of Egyptian Days takes a prominent place among the prognostics on account of its enduring popularity from the early Middle Ages onwards.\textsuperscript{410} There is no other genre of unlucky days that is so frequently attested in medieval manuscripts as the Egyptian Days.\textsuperscript{411} In the English language, Egyptian
Days are perpetuated in the adjective ‘dismal’:

Mentioned in 1256 as the English or Anglo-French name for Fr. *les mals jours*: whence it appears to be OF *dis mal* = L *dies mali* evil days, unlucky days. It was thus originally a substantive of collective meaning; when ‘day’ was added, making ‘dismal days’... its attributive use passed into an adjective, and, its original application being obscured, it was finally before 1600 extended from *day, days*, to be a general attribute.

The collective designation ‘Egyptian Days’ comprises three subgenres that can be distinguished by the number of days they mention: either three, twelve, or twenty-four days. Classical and medieval commentaries on the Egyptian Days usually pertain to the twenty-four days. The three days fall on three Mondays in the year, which means they do not fall on the same date every year. The twelve and twenty-four Egyptian Days are fixed dates in the calendar. Bloodletting, the application of medication, and the consumption of goose meat prove fatal on any of the Egyptian Days, because of their malevolent properties. For this reason, the days are also known as *Dies mali*. The genre of Egyptian Days is first attested in a Western source in the calendar *Fasti Philocaliani*, dated 354 AD. There is no trace of the Egyptian Days between 354 AD and their re-emergence in the ninth century, when the genre appears in a variety of formats. The following introduction presents late classical and medieval views on the Egyptian Days to show how these days were received and interpreted. The subgenres of Egyptian Days are discussed individually.

The lack of primary source material for the Egyptian Days in the early Middle Ages is compensated for by the presence of narrative and historic sources that comment on the use of Egyptian Days from its first appearance to the present day. It is a strange irony to observe that the year 354 AD did not only witness the first written evidence of the Egyptian Days but also the birth of St. Augustine of Hippo, who was to comment upon Galatians 4:10-11 (‘dies obseruatis et menses et tempora et annos, timeo uos ne forte sine causa laboruerrorim in uobis’):

Therefore, let the reader choose which of the two meanings he wishes, as long as he understands that the superstitious observation of times leads to such grave danger to the soul, that the apostle has remarked on this topic: ‘I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain’ [Gal. 4:11]. Although these words are read with such renown and authority in churches all over the world, our congregations are still filled with people who accept from astrologers the times when to do things. So much so, that often even those who, as the saying goes, do not know where they are walking, do not hesitate to warn us not to start...
any building or work of that kind on days which they call Egyptian.\textsuperscript{417}

Of all the wrongs which can be perpetrated through observation of times, Augustine singles out the Egyptian Days. That the observation of times was considered a grave offence is also demonstrated in Augustine’s \textit{Enchiridion}.\textsuperscript{418} Augustine’s teacher, St. Ambrose – whose father, incidentally, died in 354 AD – concerned himself with Galatians 4:10-11 as well:

\begin{quote}
But you will agree that it is a different thing to observe in a pagan fashion what things should be started at which moon, that the fifth day, for instance, should be avoided and nothing started on that day, and also that various lunar cycles recommend or advise against certain days for doing business, just as many are accustomed to shunning the unlucky or Egyptian Days.\textsuperscript{419}
\end{quote}

Despite the censorial attitude of these church fathers towards the Egyptian Days, it was at times considered noteworthy to stress that someone adhered to the days, as Proclus Diadochus (411-485) is said to have done according to his biographer, Marinus of Neapolis:

\begin{quote}
and he observed the unlucky days of the Egyptians more diligently than those peoples did [the Romans and Phrygians], and, moreover, he singularly gave himself to fasting on certain days because of some apparitions.\textsuperscript{420}
\end{quote}

From the commentaries of Augustine, Ambrose, and Marinus, the Egyptian Days appear to be known under this name in early times. Moreover, the Egyptian Days are explicitly referred to as unlucky days on which not to undertake something new or to conduct business, but their evil health-impairing properties are not explicitly stated. There is a marked difference in attitude towards these days between Augustine and Ambrose on the one hand, who denounced the observation of Egyptian Days, and Proclus on the other, who is said to have observed the Egyptian Days carefully. The Egyptian Days, then, were initially considered a pagan custom.

Why the name ‘Egyptian Days’ was given to this prognostic genre has not been resolved. Augustine and Ambrose remain silent on this point. Marinus called them ‘the unlucky days of the Egyptians’, thereby implying that the Egyptians themselves invented them. Thorndike remarked that ‘there seems to be no doubt that these Egyptian Days were a relic of the unlucky days in the ancient Egyptian calendar’.\textsuperscript{421} Loiseleur even claimed that some specific days go back to Chaldean times,

\textsuperscript{417}Ergo eligat lector utram uolet sententiam, dummodo intelligat ad tantum periculum animae pertinere superstitiosas temporum observationes, ut huic loco subiecerit apostolus: ‘Timeo uos, ne forte sine causa laboruerim in uobis’. Quod cum tanta celebritate atque auctoritate per orbem terrarum in ecclesiis legatur, plena sunt conuentuca nostra hominibus, qui tempora rerum agendarum a mathematicis accipiunt. Iam uero ne aliquid inchoetur aut aedificiorum aut huiusmodi quorumlibet operum, diebus quos aegyptiacos uocant saepe etiam nos monere non dubitant nescientes, ut dicitur, ubi ambulant’, Augustine, \textit{Expositio ad Galatas} 35.1-3 (Divjak 1971: 103).

\textsuperscript{418}Enchiridion XXI.79 (Evans 1969: 93).


\textsuperscript{420}Translated from the Latin translation by Boissonade (1814: 46): ‘Aegyptiorum nefastos dies diligentius observabat, quam illi ipsi, ac insuper certis diebus peculiariter ieiuniis vacabat propter aliquas apparitiones’. The original text in Greek is in Masullo (1985: 75-76).

\textsuperscript{421}Thorndike (1923-58: I.686).
though any concrete evidence for this supposition is lacking.\textsuperscript{422} The system of Egyptian Days does not correspond to the Egyptian system of lucky and unlucky days, which were much more prolific than twelve or twenty-four days per year. The lucky and unlucky days of the Egyptians vary from seven to fifteen days per month in one Egyptian calendar.\textsuperscript{423} It is easier for us to see how the subgenre of three Egyptian Days came into being, because these days – three Mondays in April, August and December, respectively – correspond to the seasonal changes in Egypt.

Texts on the Egyptian Days rarely attempt to explain the origin of the name. The texts on the twelve Egyptian Days, which are uniquely attested in two computistical manuscripts connected with Byrhtferth's computus, try to interpret the name of the genre: 'these days, too, must be observed every month, on which the people of the Egyptians are cursed together with Pharaoh'.\textsuperscript{424} Some texts have a justification to the effect that Egypt is a term for darkness: 'if the darkness is called, with a Greek term, Egypt, then we rightly call the days of death dark'.\textsuperscript{425} Likewise, Honorius of Autun (c. 1080-1156) wrote:

\begin{quote}
The days are called Egyptian because they are invented by the Egyptians. And because Egypt means darkness, they are called dark as they are maintained to lead the incautious to the darkness of death.\textsuperscript{426}
\end{quote}

The Franciscan Bartholomaeus Anglicus (c. 1190-1250) claimed that the Egyptian Days commemorate the plagues sent upon the Egyptians:

\begin{quote}
Of those days one is Egyptian, the other is not. That day is Egyptian, on which God sent some kind of plague over Egypt. Hence, as there are twenty-four Egyptian Days, it is clear that God sent more plagues over the Egyptians than the ten which are more famous than the others. They are placed in the church calendar, not because something should be left undone on those days more than on others, but so that we be reminded of the miracles of God.\textsuperscript{427}
\end{quote}

Bartholomaeus' assertion that there were fourteen additional plagues, which somehow did not make it into Exodus, dispensed with the discrepancy between the ten plagues recorded in the Bible and

\textsuperscript{422}Loiseleur (1872: 246).

\textsuperscript{423}Cf. Chabas (1865), Budge (1899: 224-28), Dawson (1926: 263). Papyri containing Egyptian calendars of lucky and unlucky days date back to c. 1500 BC. The days in these Egyptian calendars were subdivided into three parts. Each individual part of the day is either good or bad, so a day can be entirely lucky or unlucky, or a combination of these elements (cf. Thorndike 1923-58: I.686). A similar phenomenon is found in some texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days, in which certain hours are especially dangerous, though these versions are not as frequently attested as the hourless texts (see the description of the twenty-four Egyptian Days (8.3) below). There is also a twelfth-century Syrian version of the Egyptian Days, translated from Greek; in this case there are thirty-three unlucky days per year (cf. Budge 1913: II.557). Two Greek texts are in Salmasius (1648: 816-18).

\textsuperscript{424}‘Isti quoque dies obseruandi sunt in singulis mensibus. in quibus diebus maledictus est populus egyptiorum cum pharaone’ (text 8.2/1).

\textsuperscript{425}‘Si tēnēbra egyptus greco sermóne uocántur. / Inde dies mortis tenebrosos iure uocamur.’ (text 8.3/23).

\textsuperscript{426}‘Dies Aegyptiaci ideo dicuntur, quia ab Ægyptiis sunt inuenti. Et quia Ægyptus dicitur Tenebræ, ipsi tenebrosi inde nominantur, eo quod incautos ad tenebras mortis perducere affirmantur’, Honorius of Autun, \textit{Imago mundi} II.108 (1583: 126).

\textsuperscript{427}‘Dierum autem alius est egypiacus, alius non. Egyptiacus est dies ille in qua misit deus plagam aliquam in egyptum. Vnde cum sint uigintiquattuor dies egypiaci, patet quod plures misit deus plagas super egyptios quam decem que inter ceteras magis sunt famose. Ponuntur autem in calendario ecclesie, non quia aliquid sit in illis plus quam in aliis ommittendum sed ut miracula dei ad memoriam reductur’, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, \textit{De rerum proprietatibus} IX.20 (1485).
twenty-four Egyptian Days. Whereas Ambrose and Marinus called these days unlucky, and Augustine and Ambrose regarded them as pagan, Bartholomaeus asserted that they are a token of God’s miracles. Bartholomaeus, however, does agree with Augustine and Ambrose in that one should not refrain from doing something on an Egyptian Day. It should also be noted that Bartholomaeus explicitly referred to the entry of Egyptian Days in church calendars.428

With regard to Exodus 11:1 (‘et dixit Dominus ad Mosen adhuc una plaga tangam Pharaonem et Agyptum et post haec dimittet uos et exire compellet’), Peter Comestor (died c. 1178) also noted the connection between the biblical plagues and the Egyptian Days:

It should be noted that there were more plagues in Egypt than the ten which Exodus enumerates; but they happen not to have been so devastating and that is why no mention is made of them. Hence, some days are called Egyptian, because on those days Egypt suffered. We keep only two of them in every month in our memory, although there were actually more. It should not be believed that the Egyptians, experienced though they were in astronomy, considered those days as unlucky for starting a task, or a journey or bloodletting.429

Not only did Peter remark that the ten biblical plagues were more magnificent than the others, but also that there might have been even more than twenty-four plagues in all. Bartholomaeus, in contrast, was quite specific about the number twenty-four. Furthermore, Peter negated the idea that the Egyptian Days were regarded unlucky by the Egyptians themselves.

The English monk Joannes de Sacrobosco (died 1256), famed for his Sphaera mundi, wrote a treatise on the computus in which he expounded on the Egyptian Days:

It should be noted that in every month there are two days which are called ill(-natured), evil, and Egyptian. Ill(-natured) because of their effect, for according to the opinion of some people, if someone falls ill on these days, he will hardly recover or never at all. Evil because it is bad to start any task on these days, on account of their evil constellations. Egyptian because they were invented by the Egyptians.... Many evils [i.e. plagues] have befallen them [the Egyptians], whence twice in every month, as is noted in the calendar, some even sacrificed human blood to Pluto on these days. Therefore, it is forbidden that anyone lets blood on these days lest he seems to sacrifice to a demon.430

428 Of the thirty texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days, eighteen are attested in calendars (see the description of the twenty-four Egyptian Days (8.3) below). Trevisa’s translation of Bartholomeus’ De rerum proprietatibus elaborates upon the calendar reference by giving the cognomen ‘evil days’ for the Egyptian Days: ‘De days egipciaci beþ iset in þe calendar of holy chirche and ben iclepid dies mali “euel dayes”’. John Trevisa, De rerum proprietatibus IX.21 (Seymour 1975: I.535).


To my knowledge, Joannes is the only author to have drawn attention to the various names of the Egyptian Days. The opinion that the Egyptian Days are in the calendar to warn people not to let blood in order not to raise the suspicion that they are sacrificing to a demon, is not encountered elsewhere either. Vincent of Beauvais, William Durandus and Arnaldus de Villanova expanded upon the nature of the Egyptian Days even more.  

Two final quotations serve to illustrate the later medieval perspective on the Egyptian Days. The first is from the twelfth-century Decretum Gratiani, which contains a complete section devoted to the practice of observing Egyptian Days and many other kinds of superstition, entitled ‘Dies Egiptiaci, et Ianuarii kalendae non sunt observandae’:

> Do not observe those days which are called Egyptian, or the Kalends of January.... Indeed, those who place belief in them, and either go to their [i.e. astrologers] houses or allow them into their own houses to ask them questions, should know that they have violated the Christian faith and baptism and that this is pagan and apostate, i.e. relapse and hateful to God, and that they have gravely incurred the wrath of God in eternity, unless he, healed through ecclesiastical penance, is reconciled with God.

Despite this stern disapproval of the Egyptian Days, it is a fact that many medieval church calendars contain entries on the Egyptian Days, as was also noted by Bartholomaeus and others. The twelfth-century commentary Summa Simonis Bisinianensis expanded upon the above passage from the Decretum to explain the potential problem with Egyptian Days in the calendar:

> Do not observe the Egyptian Days. The following argument may be brought against this: if it is illegal to observe those days, as Augustine seems to suggest, why then does the church respect the Egyptian Days and why does it have them written down in the martyrologies? Solution: the church has them not in order to observe them, but to disapprove of them, as we read above in d. 37 [c. 9], or rather to show at which times and hours the Egyptians were punished by the Lord. They are called Egyptian Days, either on account of Egypt, where this idolatry was invented, as we read above in c. 26, q. 2 [c. 9], or on account of the Egyptians because they were punished in those times, or on account of darkness. For Egypt may be interpreted as darkness, for, according to an erroneous opinion, he who on those days weakens himself is moving towards darkness and failure.

In addition to the Decretum, which only condemned the observation of Egyptian Days, the Summa Simonis provides some more background information. The Summa Simonis refers to the interpretations

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431Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum naturale XVI.83 (1486: I); William Durandus, Rationale diuinorum officiorum VIII.iv.20 (Davril, Thibodeau and Guyot 1995-2000: III.148); Arnaldus de Villanova, De regimine sanitatis (1514: 90r).

432‘Non obseruetis dies, qui dicuntur Egiptiaci, aut kalendas Ianuarii.... Qui autem talibus credunt, aut ad eorum domos euntes, aut suis domibus introducunt, ut interrogent, sciant, se fidem Christianam et baptismum prevaricasse, et paganum, et apostatam, id est retro abeuntem et Dei inimicum, iram Dei graviter in eternum incurrisse, nisi ecclesiastica penitencia emendatus Deo reconcilietur’, Decretum Gratiani causa 26, q. 7, c. 16 (Richter and Friedberg 1879-81: I.1045-46).

of the biblical plagues, the days as an Egyptian usage, and the argument of 'Egypt' meaning 'darkness' – the latter also present in Honorius' *Imago mundi* and continental texts on the Egyptian Days. The novelty in the *Summa Simonis* is that the Egyptian Days are said to be present in the calendar not to commemorate the miracles of God, as Barthsolomaeus Anglicus and Vincent of Beauvais argued, but to be disapproved of.

From the above survey of the Egyptian Days in secondary sources, it emerges that the Egyptian Days were widely known in the Middle Ages through the works of the church fathers, the encyclopedic writers and canonical law. One issue that cannot be resolved, however, is how the Egyptian Days earned their name and what they signified in the first place. All quotations postdate the first calendar to contain Egyptian Days, so they are interpretative in hindsight. Some arguments, such as the biblical plague motif and the days as an Egyptian invention, seem to have enjoyed special favour, but whether they really explain the name of the genre is not clear.

### 8.1 EGYPTIAN DAYS, THREE DAYS PER YEAR

**LITERATURE:** Worm (1626: 59); Hampson (1841: II.107-09, s.v. *Egyptian Days*); Migne (1861-1904: I.955, 959-62); Birch (1878: 472-74; 1892: 252-53); Camus 1918: 211); Förster (1903: 352-54; 1929: 270-77); Payne (1904: 16-20); Steele (1919); Smith (1919-33: I.70); Thorndike (1923-59: I.685-88, I.695-96); Henel (1934-35: 345); Jones (1939: 88-89); Grattan and Singer (1952: 43); Keil (1957: 50-58); Bonser (1963: 296-99); Rubin (1974: 64); Taavitsainen (1988: 53); Hollis and Wright (1992: 268-29); Cameron (1993: 165); Günzel (1993: 31); Epe (1995: 59); Wallis (1995: 121); Liuzzi (2001: 185)

**ALIAS:** *plhtlice dagas*

**ATTRIBUTION:** post-medieval: Bede

**BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION:** observation of times: weekdays

**TEXTS:**

**OE:**
1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 718
2. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 721
4. London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.xvii, fol. 15r
5. London, British Library, Harley 585, fol. 190rv

**L:**
6. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 422, p. 49
7. London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fol. 3v-4r
8. London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.xii, fol. 44rv
9. London, British Library, Harley 3271, fol. 121r
10. London, British Library, Harley 3271, fol. 122v
11. Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 17, fol. 3va

**Cont.**

**DESCRIPTION:**
Three subgenres belong to the prognostic genre of Egyptian Days. Of these, the three Egyptian Days ranks second in popularity, with eleven attestations in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, and two texts from the continent which probably were in England in Anglo-Saxon times. This genre is rarely discussed independently. Henel, for instance, mentioned the three Egyptian Days in his study of the twenty-four Egyptian Days, while Loiseleur’s ‘Les jours égyptiens’ ignores the three days altogether.\(^{455}\)

The earliest texts on the three Egyptian Days are from the continent and date from the ninth

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\(^{434}\) Digby 63, was brought to England in the ninth century (see section 2.2.1).

\(^{455}\) Henel (1934-35: 335-46), Loiseleur (1872).
The three Egyptian Days also form part of the pseudo-Bedan treatise *De minutione sanguinis, sive de phlebotomia*, which contains a number of bloodletting texts, and have been included in the Bedan corpus under the title *De tribus diebus periculosis*. The spurious nature of the attribution of both texts was pointed out by Jones, but prior to this *De minutione* and *De tribus diebus* were sometimes taken to be Bede’s. On this basis, the emergence of the genre of the three Egyptian Days was assigned to the seventh century. Förster referred to Greek redactions of the three Egyptian Days, but he did not date the texts. In a later article, he identified another Greek text, from the fifteenth century. Therefore, Förster placed the origin of the genre in Byzantium rather than in Rome. Since the Greek text postdates the Latin ones by about six centuries, I am not convinced that Förster is right. The first Anglo-Saxon instances date from the beginning of the eleventh century. It is remarkable that there are no fewer than five texts in the vernacular, because translations of texts on the three Egyptian Days are not often encountered, although some later English texts have been identified.

The designation ‘Egyptian Days’ was already known in Middle Ages, as the incipits and titles of the texts indicate: ‘hic notantur dies egiptiaci qui obseruandi sunt per omnia ne quis sanguinem audiat in eis minuere’; ‘DE DIEBVS EGYPTIACIS’; and ‘DE TRIBVS DIEBV S AEGYPTIACIS’. One Old English redaction even goes so far as to provide a translation of the name ‘Egyptian Days’: ‘there are three days in the year that we call ‘egiptiaci’, which is in our language “dangerous days”’.

The three Egyptian Days are days on which it is dangerous to bleed both a human being and cattle, as well as to take medicinal potions, because doing so will be lethal. The same injunction is found in texts on the Dog Days and the twenty-four Egyptian Days. Death does not strike instantly. Bloodletting is fatal within three to seven days, whilst Digby 63 promises death within fifteen days. Consumption of a medicinal potion leads to certain death within fifteen days. Some texts also report that people who are born on one of the three Egyptian Days will die an evil death.

Occasionally, the consumption of goose meat (Latin ‘auca’) is prohibited: ‘whoever has eaten goose on these three days will die within forty days’. This prohibition is usually ignored or misrepresented.
in studies of the Egyptian Days. Thorndike, for instance, misread ‘aqua’ for ‘auca’, and was consequently unable to shed light on this curious prohibition and translated: ‘if one drinks water on those three days, he will die within forty days’. When Keil discussed the injunctions in texts on the Egyptian Days, he erroneously adduced Thorndike’s mistranslation as evidence of the injunction against taking potions. Cameron, who usually approaches medicine in a rational way, lost an opportunity when he printed (5) without any further comment on goose meat. Grattan and Singer, on the other hand, gave their imagination free rein:

The latter [i.e. text 5] is of interest because in the last sentence there is an odd warning against goose flesh after blood-letting. As goose taboo is Celtic it may well be that the A.S. lore of lucky and unlucky days for bleeding was introduced by Irish missionaries.

Aside from the calendar of 354 AD, the first attested texts are ninth-century and continental, not from Bede’s England. Lacking any evidence whatsoever, Grattan and Singer’s bold assumption should be rejected. Steele claimed he had found the prohibition in English manuscripts only, yet this claim is wrong. Birch attempted to interpret the injunction using Anglo-Saxon sources. Förster commented that a Greek text on the three Egyptian Days mentions a swine rather than a goose. For now, it is impossible to identify how and where the prohibition against goose meat came to be associated with the Egyptian Days, and what the rationale behind it is. I suspect the prohibition may go back to classical medicine, because it fits in with the dietary and hygienic concerns of tracts on the humours, which also appoint appropriate times for certain foods, including meat.

The prohibition against goose meat came to be incorporated in another form in texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days. Here, some days in the year are mentioned on which the consumption of goose meat is very dangerous:

Moreover, one should take heed not to consume goose meat on the last day of March, nor on the last day of December. Goose meat is always unhealthy for the weak, just as more other meats that we cannot list here.

448 Thorndike (1932-58: I.685). This misreading is sometimes found in medieval times as well: ‘si de aqua in istis tribus diebus manduauerit ante xl dies morietur’ (Wickersheimer 1966: 141 [XCII.3]).
450 Cameron (1993: 165).
451 Grattan and Singer (1952: 43). The statement is accepted by Rubin (1974: 64). The goose taboo is mentioned in Caesar’s De bello Gallico V.12. The issue of whether this taboo was known among all the Celtic tribes is wisely ignored by Grattan and Singer.
452 See the description of the Egyptian Days (8) above.
453 Likewise, Bonser (1963: 298), a follower of Grattan and Singer, cited a text on the three Egyptian Days from the Welsh medical compendium Meddygon Myddfai. This text includes a reference to the consumption of goose meat, but the content of the text did not originate in Wales because it is a translation of a Latin text on the three Egyptian Days.
454 Steele (1919: 120-21).
455 See, for instance, Wickersheimer (1966: 33-34 [XXII.10], 59 [XLVIII.6]).
456 Birch (1878: 473-74, n. 3).
457 Förster (1903: 353).
458 See, for instance, text 6/24.
459 gyf her to ecacan is to warnienne þet man ne þiege goselfæsc on þâne æftemestan dæi hlydan monþes ne on þâne æftemestan dæig december monþes goselfæsc byþ æfre unhalwende þam untruman swa swa ma oþra metta þe we ne magan her scggan.’ (text 8.3/3).
Latin texts make mention of the first day of August in addition to the two listed in the Old English goose prohibition. Furthermore, the Latin texts speak of Mondays near these dates. Three Mondays linked to three dates in the year make the goose prohibitions in texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days resemble abbreviated texts on the three Egyptian Days, in which everything but the dates and the injunction not to eat goose meat has been omitted. For this reason, Henel regarded the goose prohibition in texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days as corrupted representatives of the three Egyptian Days. It is unlikely that texts on the three Egyptian Days are amplified goose prohibitions with the addition of guidelines on bleeding and medication taken from the twenty-four Egyptian Days, because the goose prohibition in texts on the three Egyptian Days occupies a marginal position at the end of the text, while it is sometimes not even present at all. It is, therefore, probable that Henel’s supposition is correct, and that the goose prohibition in the text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days is an abbreviated version of the three Egyptian Days.

The three Egyptian Days fall on three Mondays each year, related to three dates in the calendar. The Latin texts show a high degree of agreement in that they all assign Mondays after the same dates: ‘That is the Monday after 25 March, likewise the first Monday of August, and the last Monday of December’. The only text to deviate, (6), was added in the twelfth century to an eleventh-century manuscript: ‘the first is on 25 March, and on the first day of August, and the last is on 29 November’. This text might hail from an entirely different redaction as compared to the others, because not only does one of the dates differ, but it also fails to mention that the days fall on Mondays. The Old English texts vary from the Latin ones, which may be due to the inability to express a calendar date in Old English. (1, 2, 4) read: ‘that is the last Monday of April before it ends, and the first Monday of August, and the last Monday of December, before it ends’. However, (3, 5) contain a small but significant variant reading for December: ‘the third is the first Monday after the end of the month December’. This variant is not encountered in the Latin texts on the three Egyptian Days, and is therefore likely to have come into existence in the process of translation, probably as a mistake.

It is possible to distinguish an indeterminate number of redactions in Latin, and two in the vernacular. The Latin texts all exhibit variation to such an extent that it is hard to establish different redactions. This difficulty is occasioned by the phrasing of the texts, and the level of completeness of the information provided. (9) and (10) are certainly related, because they are found in the same manuscript and are based on one exemplar, and (10) is part of an improved copy of the β-sequence which contains (9). The two redactions in Old English can be distinguished on account of the dates

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460See, for instance 8.3/16.
462The dates are also listed in table A3.10.
463‘Id est vii kl aprilis illo die lunis. intrante agusto illa dies lune similiter. exeunte decembris illa dies lune’ (text 8.1/7).
465It is also one of the few prognostics not copied in Canterbury, Ramsey, Winchester, or Worcester. 8.1/6 is from Sherborne, a centre which has produced no other prognostics but the two added texts in CCCC 422.
466‘þat is se æftemæste monandæg on Aprils ær he gangge of tune 7 se forma monandæg on AGUSTUS monað 7 se æftemæste monandæg on decEMBER monað. ær he gangge of tune’ (text 8.1/1).
467‘þonne is se þrida. se æresta monandæg æfter utgange þæs monës decembris’ (text 8.1/3).
468See section 4.2.2.3.
they contain, viz. (1, 2, 4), and (3, 5). Moreover, the gloss ‘þæt is on ure geðeode plihtlice dagas’ as a translation for ‘Egyptian Days’ is present in (3, 5), but not in (1, 2, 4).\(^{469}\) Many variants in phrasing and vocabulary distinguish the two redactions, e.g. ‘Se ðe et goseflæsc on þisson .iii. dagan’ versus ‘se ðe on þys(um) ylczvir þrym dagum goselflæsces onbyrgð’; and ‘gif he drinc drincoð to læecerefre’ versus ‘gif he hwylcne drenc drincoð’\(^{470}\). This variation suggests that the two redactions are independent translations from the Latin source. As to the relationship between (1) and (2): (2) is an incomplete rendering of (1) by the Tremulous Worcester hand. The texts are found in close proximity: (1) is on p. 718 of CCCC 391, (2) on p. 721. The Tremulous hand probably used the Old English text (1) for his version (2).

8.2 EGYPTIAN DAYS, TWELVE DAYS PER YEAR

LITERATURE: Liuzza (2001: 186)

BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION: observation of times: dates

TEXTS:
L:
1. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C.i, fol. 7rb
2. Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 17, fol. 40va

DESCRIPTION:
Under the section dealing with twenty-four Egyptian Days, Liuzza listed the usual hexameter verses and stand-alone texts,\(^{471}\) as well as the two texts on the twelve Egyptian Days.\(^{472}\) Liuzza called the latter prognostic genre unusual, which it is, but it is even stranger that he listed it under the twenty-four Egyptian Days.

The twelve days can be identified as belonging to the Egyptian Days through their introductory line: ‘these days, too, must be observed every month, on which the people of the Egyptians are cursed together with Pharaoh’\(^{473}\). The text then proceeds to list one Egyptian Day per month: ‘In mense ianuarii .iii. dies est primus’, ‘In februario .ii.’ etc.\(^{474}\) If the dates are compared to those of the twenty-four Egyptian Days, it is evident that they do not coincide even once.\(^{475}\) Therefore, it is unlikely that the twelve Egyptian Days evolved out of the twenty-four Egyptian Days. Among the many types of unlucky days, no other genre uses the same one-day-per-month set-up as do the twelve Egyptian Days.\(^{476}\)

As far as I know, (1 and 2) are the only copies of the twelve Egyptian Days. No sources or analogues have been identified. The two texts derive from a common exemplar, as many of the prognostics do in the manuscripts Tiberius C.i + Harley 3367 and St. John’s College 17.\(^{477}\) This exemplar is connected with the notebook which Byrhtferth used in compiling his computus. In view

\(^{469}\)From text 8.1/3.

\(^{470}\)From texts 8.1/1 and 8.1/3, respectively.

\(^{471}\)See the description of the twenty-four Egyptian Days (8.3) below.


\(^{473}\)‘Isti quoque dies obseruandi sum in singulis memibus, in quibus diebus maledictus est populus egyptiorum cum pharaone.’ (text 8.2/1). The plague motif as an explanation for the existence of Egyptian Days is discussed in the description of the Egyptian Days (8) above.

\(^{474}\)Ibid. See table A3.11 for a list of dates.

\(^{475}\)See tables A3.11 and A3.12.

\(^{476}\)On the many types of unlucky days, see Loiseleur’s ‘Les jours égyptiens’ (1872), Keil’s ‘Die verworfene Tage’ (1957), and Thorndike (1923-58: I.688-89).

\(^{477}\)See also sections 4.2.2.2, 5.2.2.1.
of the absence of any further copies of the twelve Egyptian Days, and their dissimilarity to any other type of unlucky days, it is hard to place the genre in its proper historical and cultural background. The genre may have been conceived by the compiler of the exemplar of the manuscripts containing (1 and 2), and may therefore be the only prognostic devised by an Englishman. On the other hand, it might also have originated on the continent and have been taken to England in the computistical works that Abbo brought with him. It is impossible to decide which of the two possibilities is the more likely one, but the unique appearance of the genre in two related insular manuscripts would seem to favour the first option.

8.3 EGYPTIAN DAYS, TWENTY-FOUR DAYS PER YEAR

LITERATURE: Worm (1626: 54-64); Salmasius (1648: 814-20); Muratori (1723-58: II.2.1023-41); Gebelin (1773-82: IV.186-93); Hampson (1841: II.76-77, 107-09, s.v. Dies mala and Egyptian Days, respectively); Daunou (1842-48: IV.31-32); Brand (1849-55: II.44-51); Migne (1861-1904: I.759-86, 955-56, 959-62); Mommsen (1863: 374); Loiseleur (1872); Schmiz (1877: 307-20); Birch (1878: 475-76, 504-05; 1892: 253-55, 276-77); Caisard (1882); Meyer (1884: 210); Skeat (1888: 2-3); Payne (1904: 16-20); Budge (1913: II.557-59); Sudhoff (1916); Singer (1917: 110); Smith (1919-33: 1.70); Steele (1919); Smith (1919-33: I.70); Wildhagen (1921: 97); Thordike (1923-58: I.685-89, I.695-96); Förster (1929: 265-70); Henel (1934-35: 335-46); Svenberg (1936: 6, 141); Jones (1939: 73, 88-89); Grattan and Singer (1952: 42-43); Södergård (1954); Keil (1957); Bonser (1963: 296-99); Alauzier (1970-71); Martin (1977: 21, 25); Harmening (1979: 165-69); Stuart (1979); Taavitsainen (1988: 53); Kieckhefer (1989: 86-87); Salzman (1990: 13, 33, 242); Hollis and Wright (1992: 268); Cameron (1993: 163-64); Günzel (1993: 30, 31); Epe (1995: 58); Stevenson (1995: 51); Wallis (1995: 117-128, 120-21); Hirsh (1997); Liuzza (2001: 185-86); Cordofier (2003: 234, 238)

ATTRIBUTIONS: medieval: Hippocrates, Hucbald, Isidore; post-medieval: Bede

BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION: observation of times: dates

TEXTS:

2. London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.xvii, fol. 15rv
3. London, British Library, Harley 3271, fols 90v-91r
4. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 422, pp. 29-40
5. Cambridge, Trinity College, O.7.41, fols 1v-7r
6. Cambridge, Trinity College, R.15.32, pp. 15-26
7. Cambridge, Trinity College, R.15.32, p. 37
8. Cambridge, University Library, Kk.5.32, fols 50r-55v
9. London, British Library, Additional 37517, fols 2v-3r
10. London, British Library, Arundel 60, fols 2r-7v
11. London, British Library, Arundel 155, fols 2r-7v
14. London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fol. 5r
15. London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvii, fols 3r-8v
17. London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.xx, fols 72r-77v
18. London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.xviii, fols 3r-8v
19. London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.xviii, fols 2r-7v
20. London, British Library, Harle 863, fols 1r-6v
21. London, British Library, Harley 3271, fol. 120v

478See section 5.2.3.
479These attributions are not attested in Anglo-Saxon sources, but in continental manuscripts, cf. Beccaria (1956: 378 [133.30]), Wickersheimer (1966: 57 [XLVIII.4], 156 [CIV.1], 139-40 [XC]).
DESCRIPTION:

No system of unlucky days can compare to the twenty-four Egyptian Days, which were generally feared in medieval Western Europe. Knowledge of the Egyptian Days was transmitted through texts dealing with them, and through studies of the genre and its origins. Nowadays, most people live in ignorance of these unlucky days, but ever since the fourth century AD, Egyptian Days have been subjected to commentary and study.

The first modern scholars who brought together information on the calendar and the unlucky days are from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, among whom are Ole Worm – translator of Abdul Al-Hazred’s *Al Azif* –, Salmasius, Muratori, and Gebelin. The prognostic genre of Egyptian Days is the only one that can claim such a long tradition of scholarship. In this description I will address the history of the genre of the twenty-four Egyptian Days, the dates mentioned in the English texts and the formats and redactions known in England.

The twenty-four Egyptian Days are first attested in a calendar of 354 AD. This date is considerably earlier than the first attestations of the three and twelve Egyptian Days, which are from the ninth and twelfth centuries, respectively. Despite the unusually early attestation in the calendar, the origins of the twenty-four Egyptian Days are unknown. The days do not resemble the lucky and unlucky days of Egyptian calendars. It may be that the twenty-four Egyptian Days came into being in the Roman civil calendar, a supposition which is strengthened by the first attestation and by the fact that early commentaries upon the Egyptian Days discuss these days in the light of time reckoning.

After their first sign of existence, the twenty-four Egyptian Days disappear for over 500 years to emerge once more in the ninth century. The text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days in Harley 3017 is among the earliest attestations, as is the text in the Leiden manuscript fragment Voss. Lat. F.96A. The first Anglo-Saxon attestation (24) are calendar entries dating from the second half of the ninth century, the immediate source for which may have been continental because the manuscript was partly composed on the continent before being taken to England by its scribe. The first translation into Old English dates from the first quarter of the eleventh century. Wickersheimer mentioned some further early texts
on the twenty-four Egyptian Days in Laon 426 bis. Incidentally, this manuscript also contains the first part of the pseudo-Bedan De minutione sanguinis, siue de phlebotomia, which contains a number of bloodletting texts including the twenty-four Egyptian Days. The contents and the spurious nature of this treatise have already been discussed. In addition to the inclusion of the twenty-four Egyptian Days in De minutione, the genre was also represented in Bede’s corpus as the independent text De Ægyptiacis diebus and in a calendar.

After the ninth and tenth centuries, texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days are more frequently encountered in insular manuscripts. It is perhaps not entirely appropriate to speak of a vogue, but in the eleventh century and after, texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days feature in surprisingly large numbers for a prognostic. This is confirmed by the Anglo-Saxon corpus: of the thirty attestations, twenty-eight are from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This example illustrates that not only do the later texts far outnumber the earlier ones, but also that the texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days from the eleventh and twelfth centuries contribute extensively to the size of the prognostic corpus of 171 texts. The continental textual evidence provides a different picture: the number of texts listed by Beccaria and Wickersheimer from medieval medical manuscripts is fairly stable for the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. This may indicate that the genre experienced a later start in English manuscripts as compared to continental ones.

In speaking of the Egyptian Days, medieval commentators on the Egyptian Days, such as Bartholomaeus Anglicus, Peter Comestor, and Vincent of Beauvais commonly referred to the subgenre of twenty-four days rather than that of the three or twelve days. This would suggest that the medieval designation ‘dies egyptiaci’ was a generic name which pertained mainly to the twenty-four-day genre, despite the fact that the three and twelve Egyptian Days were also known as Egyptian Days. In calendars, Egyptian Days are entered as ‘dies egyptiacus’, ‘dies mala’, ‘dies’, or abbreviations thereof. Texts dealing with the Egyptian Days rarely identify these days with a title, but (22) does: ‘VERS VS AD DIES AEGYPTIACOS. INVENT A “NDAS.”’. The texts themselves sometimes state that they deal with the Egyptian Days, but more usually they present a set of injunctions comparable to that of the three Egyptian Days:

About the Egyptian Days in the year which are cursed. On these days people should not bleed themselves, nor accept a [medicinal] potion, nor start any kind of work.
and

Do not kill nor be bled, nor let vineyards be planted, nor let the harvest be collected, nor let wine be bought or sold, nor animals be tamed, nor anything that shall pertain to progress be begun, because these days are cursed by the Lord.500

These quotations reveal that the twenty-four Egyptian Days were simply regarded unfavourably because they are cursed. In other words, despite the elaborate scholastic commentaries upon the Egyptian Days, notably by Vincent of Beauvais, the texts themselves do not reveal what the days stand for beyond their cursed nature. It is because of their nefarious aspects that the days have been named Egyptian Days.

In comparison with the three Egyptian Days, the number of prohibitions for the twenty-four days is larger. The first quotation illustrates that the customary injunctions against bleeding and medicinal potions apply, but the second quotation includes a series of prohibitions which are more reminiscent of agenda lunaries than of unlucky days.502 Texts on the three Egyptian Days usually mention the length of time within which the breach of an injunction proves fatal, e.g. ‘if someone drinks a medicinal potion, he will die within fifteen days’.503 The twenty-four Egyptian Days merely report the prohibitions, not the consequences of ignoring them. As I discussed before, the twenty-four Egyptian Days sometimes also contain an injunction against eating goose meat.504 This injunction is rare, because it only occurs in two types of texts, viz. the translation into Old English (1, 2, 3), and a Latin redaction (16, 21, 22). Steele argued that the attachment of goose prohibitions and medical concerns to the Egyptian Days hailed from Greek texts on unlucky days.505 The Old English texts feature a warning resembling a moonbook,506 but lacking the regularity of the moonbook series:

Now again about the moon: much is to be warned that one does not let blood on the fourth night of the old moon, or on the fifth night, as the books tell us, before the moon and the sea are in agreement.507

A moonbook is a regular series of lunar phases on which something is forbidden or encouraged. Standard moonbook series are sequences of the numbers four or five and multiplications of each, e.g. the fifth, tenth, fifteenth, twentieth, twenty-fifth or thirtieth lunar phase. In the quotation from the text

500 Non interficias nec sanguis relaxetur. nec uinea plantetur. Nec messis incipiatur colligere. Nec uinea ematur. nec uendatur. nec animalia domentur. nec ulla que ad profectum pertinere debeant incipiatur. quia isti dies maledicti sunt a domino’ (text 8.3/13).
501 See the description of the Egyptian Days (8) above.
502 See the description of the agenda lunary (9.2.1) below.
503 ‘gif he drenc drincð to læcecræfte. ær fiftyne dagan he sceal swyltan’ (text 8.1/4).
504 See the description of the three Egyptian Days (8.1) above.
505 Steele (1919: 112). Steele’s sources for this notion are the texts on the three Egyptian Days, and a text on the unlucky days of the month in Budge’s Syriac Book of Medicines (1913: II.557) which is thought to be of Greek origin. Although Steele is right in assuming a later attribution of medical consequences to the Egyptian Days – the early formats of calendar entries and hexameter verses lack these injunctions – these attributions may have come from a variety of medical sources, particularly regimens, which sometimes also contain information on Dog Days and Egyptian Days (see Stuart 1979).
506 See the description of the Dog Days (6) above.
507 ‘Nu eft be þam monan is mycclum to warnienne þet man on .iii. nihta ealdne monan. oþþe on .v. nihta menn blod ne læte swa us bec seggað æþam þe se mona 7 seo sê beon anræde’ (text 8.3/1).
on the twenty-four Egyptian Days, the basic numbers of the moonbook series are mentioned, but not the fact that these should be multiplied. The passage is given both a learned and a computistical twist by the phrases ‘as the book tells us’ and ‘before the moon and the sea are in agreement’. In fact, the reference to the relationship between the moon and the sea may well have been inspired by Ælfric.\footnote{See below and sections 6.2.1, 6.2.3.} In both his homily ‘Octabas et circumsici Domini’ and the computistical tract De temporigibus anni, Ælfric commented upon the influence of the moon upon the sublunar, but he was careful to distinguish between computistical knowledge and prognostic use of time reckoning. It is certain that the translator of the twenty-four Egyptian Days made use of Ælfric’s homilies, while Ælfric was familiar with some prognostic genres.\footnote{Ibid.} Therefore, it is not entirely unlikely that the translator also used Ælfric’s works to justify the rudimentary moonbook in his text.

The twenty-four Egyptian Days fall on fixed dates in the calendar, which is why they lend themselves well to inclusion in calendars. Each month has two Egyptian Days, but there is some variation in the dates on which they fall.\footnote{The full list of dates per text is displayed in table A3.12.} Gebelin thought that this variation was governed by the culture and climate of the place where the texts and calendars were copied.\footnote{Gebelin (1773-82: IV.191).} Loiseleur refuted this notion, but he acknowledged that a variant set of dates may be adhered to in a location once it has come into being.\footnote{Loiseleur (1872: 244).} It is obvious that Gebelin’s claim does not hold if we look at the dates in the insular texts, which show more variation than is warranted by the cultures and climates of the island:\footnote{Numbers in bold type represent the basic series which is attested most frequently. An ‘x’ in the list means that the date in question is lacking and cannot be extrapolated from known data. In this table I have regularised the findings, though it should be noted that some calendars have three dates for one particular month (8, 15, 18), which is, presumably, an error since there are only two Egyptian Days per month.} These dates are taken from Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. If continental texts are taken into consideration, the range is even bigger.\footnote{For lists, see Worm (1626: 55, 57, 61), Gebelin (1773-82: IV.191, 192), Loiseleur (1872: 214, 249), Schmitz (1877: 320), Steele (1919), Keil (1957: 46-47, 49), Stuart (1979: 240).} Examining the rationale behind all variant dates may prove impossible, but there is a logical and reasonable explanation underlying the variation of the set contained in the Old English texts (1, 2, 3). These three texts follow the basic series for January to November, while the dates for December seem to differ per text:\footnote{The asterisk pertains to a spurious variant as explained below.}

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Table 3.9: Egyptian Days, dates
The month December appears to contain as many variants as there are Old English texts. This led Förster, the eminent scholar of the Old English prognostics, to remark on his edition of (1, 2): ‘[daß] die Zahlen öfter nicht stimmen, wird den Kenner mittelalterlicher Kopistenfehler nicht weiter in Erstaunen setzen’ (‘that the numbers often do not coincide will not surprise someone who is familiar with the mistakes of medieval scribes’). Furthermore, in his edition of (1), Förster noted for the first date for December (the seventh): ‘the exemplar may well have read twelve’. Rather than to dismiss variation as error, it is more fruitful to discover how the variants came into being in the first place.

The first observation is that Förster himself made an essential mistake in his edition of (2) – ‘[es] wird den Kenner moderner Kopistenfehler nicht weiter in Erstaunen setzen’. (2) is found in Vitellius E.xviii, a manuscript extensively damaged by the Cottonian Fire of 1731. The fire has burnt the outer margins to a dark crisp, and it is, therefore, exceedingly hard to read the text in these places. When Förster edited (2) from photographs of the manuscript, he copied the dates for December as follows: ‘On December the twelfth and ær his ende se seofe(ða)’ (‘In December the twelfth and before its end the seventeenth’). The second date, written on the damaged right-hand side of the recto page, is barely legible, which explains Förster’s conjecture. However, even on microfilm one can read with some effort: ‘On December the twelfth. 7 ær his ende se seofenteoða’ (‘in December the twelfth and before its end the seventeenth’). Inspection of the manuscript confirms my findings. This means that one of the variants, the spurious 12 and 25 December, has never existed at all, so we are left with the basic set 12 and 15 December (2, 3) and the variant set 7 and 22 December (1).

In addition to (1), six texts feature the dates 7 and 22 December (5, 11-13, 20, 28). If the variant set is aberrant, I would not expect it to show up so frequently. None of the texts shows affinity in content, except for (12) and (13). (13) is dated to the twelfth century and (12) to the eleventh. Nevertheless, (13) cannot possibly be a copy of (12) because the latter lacks half a line of text which is present in (13). What is more interesting, however, is that (1) is preceded in the manuscript by a Latin text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days which has not been noticed by previous editors, viz. (12). In view of the vicinity of (12), on fols 129v-130r, one page before (1), on fols 130v-131r, there cannot be any doubt as to what influenced the variant set of dates for December in (1). The three Old English texts (1, 2, 3) derive from a single redaction which is not related to that of (12). It is thus impossible that (1) is an independent translation from the Latin text (12) preceding it. What distinguishes (1) from (2, 3) is the variant set of dates for December, the source for which can be found in (12), the prognostic preceding (1). In isolation, (1) might have exhibited Förster’s ‘Kopistenfehler’. This perspective, however, necessitates the conclusion that the supposed error in (1) is a continuation of Förster’s earlier conjecture.

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516Förster (1929: 269).
517’die Vorlage las wohl xii.’ (Förster 1929: 268).
519Förster (1929: 268). The round brackets indicate Förster’s reconstructed reading of the damaged text.
520Neither Henel (1934-35) nor Förster (1929) mention this Latin text. If Förster had seen it, he would most certainly not have made his remark about sloppy copies (1929: 269).
521See below.
of a certain reading in (12), in which case we had better speak of a deliberate emendation on the part of the scribe.

The change from the basic set 12 and 15 December to the variant 7 and 22 December has up to now been unaccounted for. It seems puzzling how one set could have developed out of the other, yet there is a possible mechanism which might explain this development. The key to the shift in dates lies in a certain format of texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days: the hexameter verses. Some texts list the dates formulaically: the first date is counted from the beginning of the month and the second date from the end of the month, as in ‘In the month of December, the seventh and before it ends the tenth day’. The format of hexameter verses makes use of this formula in a series of enigmatic verses. The verse for December typically reads: ‘Dat duodena cohors septem inde decemque decembri’. Two sets of dates can be derived from this line, depending on how it is read: either ‘the twelfth cohort hence gives seven December and ten [from the end]’, or ‘the twelfth cohort hence gives seventeen December [from the end]’. The first yields the basic set 12 (‘duodena’) December and 15 (‘septem... decemque’) – seventeen days from the end of the month. Alternatively, the set is 7 and 22 December – ten days from the end of the month. The variant set can be arrived at as follows. Three numbers, instead of two, present themselves in the Latin verse: the distributive ‘duodena’ which modifies the feminine noun ‘cohors’, and the numerals ‘septem’ and ‘decem(que)’. First, the adverbial split in ‘septem inde decemque’ causes ambiguity. Rather than reading the phrase as one numeral (‘seventeen’), it might be construed to consist of two (‘seven and ten’). Second, most numbers in the hexameter verses are numerals; the distributive is hardly used in these verses. This might cause ambiguity in that ‘duodena’ might not be taken to be the first date, but a modifier of ‘cohors’ or a reference to December being the twelfth month. The adverbial split and the occurrence of a distributive could easily have given rise to the notion that the first date is ‘septem’ and the second ‘decem(que)’, i.e. 7 and 22 December. Once the variant reading was recognised by readers of the hexameter verses, it may have been incorporated into other text formats, such as calendars and stand-alone texts like (12). Then, it may have overruled the basic series of dates in the Old English translation of the twenty-four Egyptian Days of (1) because the scribe had just copied (12), which contained the variant set of dates.

This somewhat lengthy example provides an illustration of how texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days may come to incorporate different sets of dates. Moreover, I have shown how a variant set of dates can be extracted from the basic set. I am not suggesting that such processes underlie all variant dates, but I do think they provide a rational basis for variants that might otherwise be rejected as instances of sloppy copy.

To both the hexameter verses and some stand-alone texts certain constraints are said to apply that have become exceedingly metaphysical in the sense that scholars have tried to fit the Egyptian Days into a spurious mathematical framework. Hexameter verses and some stand-alone texts mention the two dates per month for the Egyptian Days in a formulaic manner, in which the first date is counted from

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522 The text formats and the mechanisms of enumerating the Egyptian Days are discussed in detail below.
523 Mense December vii Et antequam exeat die x’ (text 8.3/12).
524 See texts 8.3/5, 7, 10, 16, 17, 19-22, 25, 27. Distributives are found in four instances only: the second date of April (‘undeno’), of June (‘quindenum’), of September (‘denam’), and the first date of December (‘duodena’).
525 That this has been actually happened is attested by an Egyptian Days text in London, British Library, Royal 15.B.xix (s. x, Rheims), fol. 126r, which has the verse lines flanked to left and right by columns of first and second dates per month. The line for December reads as follows: ‘.vii. Dat duodena cohors septem inde decemque decembri .x.’.
the beginning of the month, and the second from the end of the month.\footnote{Steele (1919: 110) called this the ‘Bononian method’. I have not been able to discover why he named it this way.} The hexameter verse for January, for instance, reads: ‘Iani prima dies et septima fine timetur’ (‘in January the first day, and the seventh from the end is feared’). A stand-alone text may read: ‘mense ianuario i & antequam exeat die vii’ (‘in the month of January, the first and before it ends the seventh day’). Both give the following Egyptian Days: the first of January, and the seventh before its end, i.e. the twenty-fifth. Working with a small text corpus, some scholars have assumed that the Egyptian Days must fall between certain fixed dates. Mommsen, for one, remarked: ‘of the Egyptian Days of any month, the first falls between the second and seventh, the last between the eighteenth and twenty-fifth of the month’.

Mommsen’s rule is premature as Schmitz has shown,\footnote{Schmitz (1877: 308).} for it is founded solely on his knowledge of the Egyptian Days as presented by the calendar of 354 AD. A single attestation is slender evidence for constructing a mathematical rule that would be applicable to all texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days. Table 3.9 illustrates that the Egyptian Days for August are 1 and 30, dates which fall outside Mommsen’s range, but which occur in almost all texts on the Egyptian Days.

There are many more texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days than the entries in the fourth-century calendar, and the variation in dates among these texts, though not immense, is considerable. Nevertheless, some scholars adhere to Mommsen’s argument, or have slightly adjusted the formula, as Thorndike has done:

Eleven days is the farthest removed that any Egyptian Day is from the first of the month and twelve the most from the close, so that they never fall in the middle of a month nor on the very first or last day.\footnote{Thorndike (1923-58: I.685).}

Likewise, Keil wrote:

Again, these rules do not apply: the basic dates for February – the fourth, and the third from the end of the month – exemplify that the first date can be removed further from the beginning of the month than the second is from the end of the month. Moreover, whereas it is true, to my knowledge, that the second date never falls on the last day of the month, the first date has already been shown to be able to fall on the first day of the month. What Keil meant by the dates not being close together in the middle of the month is a matter of debate. The basic set for December, the twelfth and the fifteenth, are quite close to each other in my opinion. The previous example also disproves Thorndike’s rule that the limit for the first date is eleven days from the beginning of the month, and for the second date twelve days

\footnote{Eleven days is the farthest removed that any Egyptian Day is from the first of the month and twelve the most from the close, so that they never fall in the middle of a month nor on the very first or last day.\footnote{Thorndike (1923-58: L685).} Likewise, Keil wrote:

in every month there are two [days], of which the first unlucky day of the month is not removed further from the beginning of the month as the second one is from the end of the month. Therefore, the days cannot be close to each other in the middle of the month. It also does not occur that the days fall on the Kalends or the day ‘pridie kalendas’, i.e. on the first or last day of the month.\footnote{Keil (1957: 27). Again, these rules do not apply: the basic dates for February – the fourth, and the third from the end of the month – exemplify that the first date can be removed further from the beginning of the month than the second is from the end of the month. Moreover, whereas it is true, to my knowledge, that the second date never falls on the last day of the month, the first date has already been shown to be able to fall on the first day of the month. What Keil meant by the dates not being close together in the middle of the month is a matter of debate. The basic set for December, the twelfth and the fifteenth, are quite close to each other in my opinion. The previous example also disproves Thorndike’s rule that the limit for the first date is eleven days from the beginning of the month, and for the second date twelve days}
from the end of the month.

Joannes de Sacrobosco and Vincent of Beauvais mentioned that the Egyptian Days stem from the constellations known in Egyptian astronomy,\(^5\) which implies that a system underlying the Egyptian Days was already sought for in the Middle Ages. William Durandus quelled any doubts about the systematic nature of the dates by stating: 'however, it does not avail us to know the points of their constellations due to the error in our time reckoning.'\(^5\) The urge to justify the rationale behind the dates of the Egyptian Days is therefore not new to modern scholarship.

The foregoing mathematical rules have probably come into existence through misinformation based on too small a corpus of texts. The variation in dates is extensive considering the large number of texts that have come down to us.\(^5\) Nevertheless, some regularities can be observed. First, the rule that the first date is counted from the beginning of the month, and the second date from the end applies to hexameter verses and some stand-alone texts. Second, I have not yet encountered a text that has an Egyptian Day on the last day of the month. Third, there is no text in which the Egyptian Days for one month are on consecutive days. Fourth, there is a tendency for the Egyptian Days not to fall on immovable feasts.\(^5\) Despite these regularities, it would be a vain exercise to devise a mathematical formula that captures a system supposedly underlying the Egyptian Days.

I already alluded to the existence of text formats for the twenty-four Egyptian Days. There are three main text formats, some of which show further divisions:

(I) Egyptian Days entered into the calendar on specific dates.

(II) Egyptian Days listed in verses. This format appears to be a mnemonic device in which the dates are mentioned per month in verse lines which are easy to memorise. There are twelve- and twenty-four-line verses in which the dates are linked to symbols of violence stressing the evil nature of the Egyptian Days.\(^5\) These verses may appear in various places: (a) at the top of each month in the calendar; (b) in isolation (as stand-alone verses); or (c) with a short introduction.

(III) Egyptian Days in stand-alone texts. These texts usually have an introduction to the subject matter of Egyptian Days and enumerate the days. They may do so in various ways: (a) by listing the days with the help of hexameter verses and an interlinear formulaic reiteration; (b) by listing the days in the formulaic manner; (c) by listing the days using Roman dates. Stand-alone texts may incorporate additional warnings, such as the rudimentary moonbook and the goose prohibition.

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\(^5\)See the description of the Egyptian Days (8) above.


\(^5\)In the course of nearly three centuries of research on the Egyptian Days, many texts have been found in medieval manuscripts, one of the most extensive reviews of this subject is Steele (1919). More texts, mainly continental, can be found in Muratori (1723-58: II.2.1023-41), Loiseleur (1872), Schmitz (1877: 307-20), Keil (1957), Wickersheimer (1966), and Stuart (1979). A select index of manuscripts containing Egyptian Days is found in Thorndike (1923-58: I.695-96).

\(^5\)By this I mean major feasts such as Christmas, Epiphany, and Assumption Day. It is impossible for the Egyptian Days not to fall on Saints’ Days as the latter are omnipresent in the Christian calendar. Text 8.3/15 has three Egyptian Days for December, the last of which is December 25. I dismiss this reading because there are only two Egyptian Days per month, and because Christmas Day is highly unlikely to be an Egyptian Day.

\(^5\)Additionally, two- and four-line verses exist, but these have not been attested in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and seem to have been a scholastic invention. See, for instance, Vincent of Beauvais’ Speculum naturale, William Durandus’ Rationale diuinorum officiorum, Joannes de Sacrobosco’s Libellus de anni ratione, seu, ut vocatur vulgo, computus ecclesiasticus. I intend to write an article on the formats of texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days, in which I will devote some attention to the two- and four-line verses.
The threefold format of texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days outlined here may serve to provide a tentative reconstruction of the development of this genre. The twenty-four Egyptian Days started out as a calendric genre (I). How the Egyptian Days found their way into the calendar is explained elsewhere. Calendars sometimes also have hexameter verse headings to list the Egyptian Days (IIa). Some calendars contain either entries or hexameter verses, and some have both, which makes it unlikely that the hexameter verses were designed to replace calendar entries. Instead, these verses were intended as an aid to memorise the Egyptian Days more effectively. With the development of hexameter verses, the Egyptian Days were able to exist independent of the calendar (IIb). Then these verses were elaborated upon with a short introduction (IIc). Moreover, by associative attraction additional items appeared, such as formulaic reiteration, or a prohibition to eat goose meat (IIIa). With the foregrounding of formulaic reiteration and additional items, the verses disappeared from these embellished hexameters, and what remains is the stand-alone text with formulas (IIIb). Alternatively, the disappearance of the verses gave the opportunity to reformulate the days using Roman dates, or these dates may have been extracted from the calendar (IIIc). I do not claim that any one of these formats gained in popularity over the others at any point in time. After all, calendar entries are found well after the first texts proper came into being. Nevertheless, the outline reveals a diachronic development – in the sense that one format may have developed out of another –, which implies that at a certain period in time there was a choice of various formats, whereas in the beginning the genre was found in calendars only. The distribution of formats is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Format</th>
<th>Attestations</th>
<th>Texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calendar (I)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>(4-6, 8-11, 15, 17-20, 24-27, 29, 30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verses in calendar (IIa)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(5, 10, 17-20, 25, 27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verses in isolation (IIb)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verses + intro (IIc)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stand-alone + verses, formulaic reiteration and extras (IIIa)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(16, 21, 22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stand-alone + intro and formulas (IIIb)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(1-3, 12, 13, 28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stand-alone + intro and Roman dates (IIIc)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(14)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.11: Egyptian Days, distribution of formats

It is immediately apparent that there is a marked preference for the inclusion of Egyptian Days in the calendar, both as entries on the days themselves, and as verses. This may be occasioned by the fact that Egyptian Days fall on fixed dates in the year, which makes the calendar a good vehicle of presenting these days. Entries on the relevant days are listed as 'dies egyptiacus', 'dies mala', 'dies', or abbreviations. These entries are commonly outlined on the right-hand side of the page rather than written immediately after the date. An exception is the entry for 1 August, which is sometimes written in the left margin, i.e. preceding the date (10, 20). Most Egyptian Day entries in the calendar are rubricated. Therefore, they are easily spotted by a trained eye, even though the entry is sometimes no longer than a simple ‘D’ (8-10, 15, 20). Scribes who inserted entries on the Egyptian Days must have been aware of what the days signified, as some calendars alternate between ‘dies egyptiacus’ and ‘dies mala’ (24-26),

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536 As concrete evidence is lacking, this reconstruction is my interpretation of the findings.
537 See section 4.2.1.
which is a sign that the Egyptian Days were associated with evil. Calendar (27) even glosses the entry for 25 January: ‘Dies egyptiaca id est mala’.\(^\text{538}\)

Among the eighteen calendars incorporating Egyptian Days, it is hard to find even two which are similar. This has at least five causes. First, it is possible that mistakes occur when scribes copy twenty-four entries. When the entry is not written immediately next to the appropriate date but in the margin, transpositions of one or more days can happen. The second date for October, for instance, is 22, but some calendars have 23 (26, 28). Second, many calendars do not contain a full set of Egyptian Days. Only six calendars feature the full set (5, 6, 15, 18, 20, 26). The completeness of the set of dates depends upon scribes not missing even one ‘D’ or ‘D M’ in the margin of their exemplar. In this respect, it is revealing that there are two calendars which lack, among others, the Egyptian Day entry for 1 August (4, 9). It is likely that the exemplar contained an entry for the Egyptian Day for 1 August in the left-hand margin, which is easily overlooked. Four calendars feature less than half the number of entries (8, 24, 25, 27). Third, some calendars are over-complete in that they contain three instead of two entries for one particular month (8, 15, 18). Calendar (8) lists 1, 27 and 28 March as Egyptian Days. It is probable that the scribe made a mistake of the type mentioned above in that he erroneously entered the second date for March under 27 instead of the usual date 28, and corrected it without erasing or expunging the faulty reading. (18) has entries for 7, 12, and 15 December. The entry for 12 December was erased. A preference for 7 over 12 December may have arisen out of the ambiguity displayed by the hexameter verses, as discussed before. The most improbable triple sequence is in (15), viz. 12, 15, and 25 December. 12 and 15 December represent the basic set, while 25 December, Christmas Day, is impossible because Egyptian Days and church feasts do not coincide. Fourth, there are many ways in which Egyptian Days can be entered into a calendar; ‘dies egyptiacus’, ‘dies mala’, dies’, ‘d eg’, ‘d m’, ‘d’, etc. The chances of finding two calendars which have identical phrasing are almost negligible. Fifth, while most calendars display the basic series of Egyptian Days, some display incidental variations on the set. Others, however, differ significantly. Aside from mistakes and incompleteness, variation occurs of the type visible in the Old English texts explained above, i.e. 7 and 22 rather than 12 and 15 December (5, 11, 20). Such variation is attested more than once. Some calendars seem to make use of dates utterly unlike the basic series (4, 9, 24, 30). These calendars employ dates that do not resemble the basic or variant series known in Anglo-Saxon England, and which are not attested more than once. Instances are: 12 and 23 instead of 1 and 28 March (4); 13 and 20 instead of 3 and 21 September (9); and 4 and 11 instead of 10 and 20 April (30). (24, 30) are the earliest instances of Egyptian Days in England, so these may be representative of some kind of continental usage which did not gain currency in England. Calendars (4, 9), however, are problematic because they are attested at the same time as calendars which feature the basic series. Moreover, they hail from Canterbury and New Minster, Winchester, centres which produced more calendars containing Egyptian Days but which do not differ as much in the dates (6, 8, 10, 11, 15, 19, 29).

If these provisions are taken into account, it appears that four calendars exhibit sets which cannot be correlated to the basic or variant series (4, 9, 24, 30). Of the fourteen remaining calendars, three follow the variant set (5, 11, 20), and eleven feature the basic series when errors and incompleteness are disregarded (6, 8, 10, 15, 17-19, 25-27, 29). Of the three instances of the variant set (5, 11) list the

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\(^{538}\)From text 8.3/27.
dates as 'dies egyptiacus' throughout, but (11) is incomplete and hails from Christ Church, Canterbury, whereas (5) is complete and hails from Colchester. No direct links between these calendars have been identified. Calendar (20) lists the dates as 'dies mala' and 'dies', and has no ties with (5, 11). The basic series is featured eleven times, in calendars from St. Augustine’s and Christ Church, Canterbury, Crowland, Salisbury, Thorney, Wells, New Minster, Winchester, and Worcester. The date of these calendars varies from the first quarter of the eleventh century to the first quarter of the twelfth. Only four calendars contain a complete set of dates (6, 15, 18, 26). Three calendars are over-complete in that they have three dates in one month (8, 15, 18). Two calendars contain dates that required emendation (19, 26). The phrasing of the calendar entries varies from 'dies egyptiaca', 'dies egyptiacus', 'dies mala', 'dies', and several abbreviations. The many differences between the texts make it impossible to discover concrete relationships between them. The closest links are between (10, 19). Both are in calendars from New Minster, Winchester, dating from around the Norman Conquest and containing calendar entries and hexameter verses on the Egyptian Days. (10, 19) are not complete, but they do not lack the same dates. Furthermore, the second date for October in (19) is 24 instead of 22. While (10) lists the entries as 'dies', throughout, (19) feature both 'dies' and 'dies mala'. In short, even calendars from one place and produced around the same time may show considerable variation. It is, therefore, academic to try to identify relationships between instances of the twenty-four Egyptian Days in calendars.

Verses on the twenty-four Egyptian Days are designed to function mnemonically through the use of meter or rhyme. Verses come in a variety of shapes, the most common in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts being twelve-line hexameter ones. These verses typically run as follows:

Iani prima dies et septima fine timetur.
Ast februi quarta est precedit tertia finem.
Martis prima necat cuius sic cupside quarta est.
Aprilis decima est undeno a fine minatur.
Tertius est maio lupus est et septimus anguis.
Iunius in decimo quindenum a fine salutat.
Tredecimus iulii decimo innuit ante kalendas.
Augusti nepa prima fugat de fine secundam.
Tertia septembris uulpis ferit a pede denam.
Tertius octobris gladius decimo ordine nectit.
Quinta nouembris acus uix tertia mansit in urna.
Dat duodena cohors septem inde decemque decembri.

These hexameter verses have been attested from the ninth century onwards, and have been wrongfully ascribed to Bede. I explained before that the hexameter verses make use of a formula in which the first date is counted from the beginning of the month and the second from the end of the month, e.g. 'Iani prima dies et septima fine timetur' signifies 1 January and the seventh from the end, i.e. 25 January. In addition, hexameter verses mention the relevant month and usually include a reference to violence, death or danger, e.g. 'timetur' (January), 'necat' (March), 'lupus' (May), 'gladius' (October). Remarkably, all Anglo-Saxon instances of the hexameter verses are of the type I reproduced above, with some minor textual variation here and there. In continental medieval manuscripts, entirely different
verses are attested next to the one discussed here. Steele printed several examples which employ leonine verse, for instance ‘Prima necat Iani, nocet astans septima finis’, ‘Prima dies Iani, timor est et septima uani’, and ‘Prima dies mensis et septima truncat ut ensis’. The first leonine verses in an English manuscript are found in the calendar of the famous late thirteenth-century manuscript Digby 86.

Some verses also incorporate particularly dangerous hours on the Egyptian Days, the so-called Egyptian Hours: ‘Dat prima undenam Iani pede septima sextam’, which means the eleventh hour on 1 January and the sixth hour on 25 January. Some leonine verses were expanded from twelve- into twenty-four-line verses through the inclusion of the hours. One line then deals with the month and dates, the other with the hours: ‘Prima dies Iani, timor est et septima uani / Nona parit bellum sed quinta dat hora flagellum’. Alternatively, one line pertains to the first date and its dangerous hour, the other with the second date and its hour: ‘Prima dies nona sit Iani scorpius hora / Vulnera seua nimis fert horis septima quinis’, and ‘Nona prote Iani uae sibilat hora diei / Septima fine dies in quinta paruulus est serps’. Besides leonine verses, the twelve-line hexameter verses were sometimes also expanded to include dangerous hours; this might run up to four lines per month: ‘Iani prima dies & septima fine timetur / Prima dies nona fit iam Scorpius hora / Vulnera seua nimis fert horis septima quinis / Principium iam sentiat tropicus Capricornus’. Here, the first lines reveals the Egyptian Days, the second and third the Egyptian Hours, and the fourth the course through the zodiac. The genesis of the hours is dated to the tenth century by Steele. Despite this early date and the influx of continental science in Benedictine Reform England, verses including hours have rarely been found in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. In fact, none of the continental verses, whether they are twenty-four or twelve-line, hexameter or leonine, with or without hours, occur in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts beyond the twelve-line hexameter verse introduced above and the twenty-four-line verse introduced below.

An uncommon type of verse are twenty-four-line verses dealing with the twenty-four Egyptian Days and providing zodiacal information. These verses were not known to Steele. I have found only one instance of this type (18), heading the months in the calendar of Vitellius A.xviii: ‘Vicenam quintam iani primamque cauto. / Rorat aquarius hanc. manet altae sub capricorno’. Here, end-rhyme is used, and the passage through the zodiac is mentioned. In addition, the representation of dates in a formulaic way has been abandoned, though not consistently, as the verse for March illustrates: ‘Prima necat martis. quartamque a fine timemus’.

A number of the continental verses discussed above contain the variant set of dates for December attested in the Old English texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days. In the pseudo-Bedan calendar printed by Hervagius, a two-line verse presents itself for December: ‘Hora scilicet prima septimti diei, ut plurimum / Et etiam hora octaua decimi diei, cauenda’. This verse also has the hours on which

546 Muratori (1723-58: II.2.1035).
547 Steele (1919: 114).
548 From text 8.3/18.
549 Ibid.
550 Hervagius (1563: II.264).
the Egyptian Days are especially dangerous, i.e. the first hour of 7 December, and the eighth hour of 22 December. Steele found yet another pseudo-Bedan variant: ‘Frontis septenam notat ultimis ordi decenam’; 551 I have not been able to locate this reading in Hervagius’ or Migne’s edition of the works of Bede. Other examples of the variant set of dates are: (a) ‘Septima fit pestis, idens et dena decembris’; (b) ‘Vulnerat in primis horis septena decembris / Septimus in senis decimus sit causa doloris’; (c) ‘Septimus exanguis, riuosus denus ut anguis’; (d) ‘Septima dies cum dena dies decimi mensis dat vulnera plena / Prima hora parat luctum, nullam dabit altera fructum’; (e) ‘Septima dat prima sextam pede dena Decembris’. 552 Several of these verses also mention the dangerous hours of the Egyptian Days 7 and 22 December.

Verses listing the twenty-four Egyptian Days are attested thirteen times in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts: eight in calendars (5, 10, 17-20, 25, 27), one in isolation (7), one with an introduction (23), and three in stand-alone texts (16, 21, 22). Of these texts, all are twelve-line verses closely resembling the one introduced before, except for the twenty-four line zodiacal verse in (18). The development of the verse format has already been discussed. It is striking that the verses proved very popular in calendars (format IIa), and even in stand-alone texts (IIIa), whereas the number of verses in isolation (IIb) or with an introduction (IIC) is negligible. Apparently, the text required a context to exist in. The only twelve-line hexameter verses with an introduction are in the supposedly English part of the composite manuscript Sloane 475, 553 and in Egerton 3314. Here, the verses are enveloped by an introduction and a conclusion which explain the name of the Egyptian Days, how many there are, that one hour is particularly dangerous on each Egyptian Day (‘In quibus una solet mortis libus hora timéri’), 554 and that one should refrain from bloodletting and undertaking something new. This redaction is often referred to as the ‘Si tenebrae’ verse after the opening lines ‘Si ténebre gýptus greco sermóne uocántur. / Inde dies mortis tenebrosus iure uocam us.’. 555 Migne included the ‘Si tenebrae’ in Bede’s works under the title De Ægyptiacis diebus. 556

The twelve-line hexameter verses from Anglo-Saxon sources belong to one redaction, irrespective of whether they are found in calendars, in stand-alone texts, or independently. Textual variation limits itself to minor differences in vocabulary, none of which affect the meaning of the text. For instance, the verse for May ‘Tertius est maio lupus est et septimus anguis’ may also be phrased as ‘Tertius in maio lupus est et septimus anguis’ (5, 17, 27). The only instances of significant variation are: ‘Ast februi quinta est undenaque seruiet umbris’ (7) and ‘AST FEVRVI QUARTA EST SED SEPTIMA SERVET VMBRIS’ (27) for ‘Ast februi quarta est precedit tertia finem’; and ‘Prima necat iunii quindena a fine minatur’ (20) for ‘Iunius in decimo quindenum a fine salutat’. 557 Despite these different readings, the fact that twelve attestations of the twelve-line hexameter verse achieve such agreement in phrasing is a sign that the mnemonic qualities of the text are indeed considerable.

Stand-alone texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days are prose works which may contain an

551 Steele (1919: 112).
552 Steele (1919: 114, 117), Schmitz (1877: 310), and Loiseleur (1872: 248), respectively.
553 See section 4.2.3.
554 From text 8.3/23.
555 Ibid. The ‘Si tenebrae’ format is rarely attested in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The texts in Sloane 475, fols 216v-217r (see section 2.2.1) and Egerton 3314, fol. 50rv (see section 2.2.2) are exceptions.
556 Migne (1861-1904: I.955-56).
557 From texts 8.3/7, 27 and 20, respectively.
introduction on the nature of the Days, and sometimes a metrical component in the form of hexameter verses (IIIa). These verses have an interlinear prose reiteration in the formulaic manner of counting the dates from the beginning and end of the month. If there are no verses, the introduction is followed by the formulas for each month (IIIb), or a straightforward list of Roman dates (IIIC). These formats have little in common besides the fact that they can exist as stand-alone texts, have a large prose component, and mostly include an introduction.

I will start with the rarest prose format: the Roman dates (IIIC). As far as I know, there is only one instance of this type in Anglo-Saxon sources, in Titus D.xxvi (14). The introduction of this text prohibits bloodletting, the planting of vineyards, harvesting, and the undertaking of something new. Steele claimed a Greek origin for this introduction on the basis of two Greek texts quoted by Salmasius. However, the date of the Greek texts was not mentioned by Salmasius, so it is impossible to determine which version came first, the Latin or the Greek one. The Latin versions came into being in the ninth century, as Steele’s examples illustrate. Birch exultantly took (14) for an English invention when he wrote that this prognostic is ‘proof of the existence of vineyards in England, which has been so often denied, so often explained away’. Unfortunately for Birch, the reference to vineyards must be ‘explained away’ as representing the classical origins of the text. There is no reason to posit an insular genesis for the text format of (14). A ninth-century continental redaction which closely resembles the introduction of (14), which is an eleventh-century text, is given by Steele, so the Roman date format will not have originated in England. Another redaction of the Roman dates, which has a different introduction but which includes a list of dates is ascribed to Hippocrates and is known as the Epistola de diebus Ägyptiacis after the opening line: ‘Incipit epistola Ypocr atis de diebus egiptiatiis [sic]’. This redaction is found in continental manuscripts from the ninth century onwards.

After the introduction, (14) continues with a long but incomplete list of Roman dates:

A list such as this offers numerous opportunities for mistakes and omissions. Indeed, the dates for November and December are missing. Of the twenty dates mentioned, only three coincide with the basic series. Comparison with similar lists of dates for the twenty-four Egyptian Days in other manuscripts reveals that there are large differences between the lists. The misplacement or omission of an ‘i’, ‘v’ or ‘x’ is easily done, which makes this format an unreliable vehicle for the transmission of Egyptian Days.

Next are the stand-alone texts with verses and formulaic reiteration (IIIa). I have found three
IANI PRIMA DIES. 7 SEPTIMA FINE TIMETVR.

It is dangerous to be bled in the beginning of January on the first day, which is the kalends of January, and before its end the seventh day, which is the eighth kalends of February. 565

After the last verse raisonné, the text continues with a goose prohibition. 566 The three texts of this format have much in common: they belong to one redaction; they form part of the β-sequence of Egyptian Days and Dog Days in the manuscripts which contain them; they probably all hail from New Minster, Winchester; and they were copied in the period 1023–32. The three texts survive in two manuscripts: Titus D.xxvii (16), and Harley 3271 (21, 22). These manuscripts were composed in a clearly defined period in the eleventh century. Titus D.xxvii is from Winchester, which is probably also the place of origin of Harley 3271. 567 The β-sequence is a group of two prognostics on the twenty-four Egyptian Days, the Dog Days, and in the case of Harley 3271, an additional text on the three Egyptian Days. 568 (16, 21, 22) represent one text redaction, which is evident from the identical way of phrasing from beginning to end. The only differences of any significance are the presence of a title in (22); the inclusion of the phrase ‘Periculosum est flebotomari’ in the prose reiteration for January in (16) but not in (21, 22); and the names of the months which preface each verse line in (21, 22) but not in (16). (21, 22) are copies from the same exemplar, the β-sequence which contains (21) was so badly executed that the entire sequence was repeated on the next page. 569 The source for (21, 22) must have been the same as, or closely related to, the one for (16).

The final stand-alone format contains an introduction, a list of Egyptian Days in the formulaic manner, and sometimes a rudimentary moonbook (IIIb). The formulaic lists which mention the first date from the beginning of the month and the second date from the end proved quite popular. I have found six instances in Anglo-Saxon and about twenty in continental manuscripts. 570 In Anglo-Saxon sources, this format has appeared in three distinct redactions: one in Old English (1-3) and two in Latin (a: 12, 13; b: 28). One of the Latin redactions (12, 13) has an introduction which is just as elaborate as the one listing the Roman dates (IIIc). The prohibitions mentioned pertain to bloodletting, the planting of vineyards, the taming of animals, and the undertaking of something new. This all-encompassing nefariousness is not encountered in any of the other formats or redactions in insular manuscripts. After the introduction, this redaction continues with the formulaic list of dates, e.g. ‘Mense Ianuario die .i. 7 antequam exeat die .vii.’ (‘in the month of January, the first day and before

565 See the description of the three Egyptian Days (8.1) above.
566 See the description of Harley 3271 in section 2.2.1.
567 See section 3.2.2.
568 See section 4.2.2.3.
570 Salmassius (1648: 816-18), Schmitz (1877: 307-08, 312-18), Wickersheimer (1966: 31 [XXII.6], 40 [XXVIII.6], 51-52 [XXXVIII.1], 53 [XL], 58-59 [XLVIII.6], 141 [XCI.3], 155-56 [CII.2, 3], 158 [CVIII.1], 174-75 [CXIV.2]), Stuart (1979: 241-43).
it ends the seventh day’).\textsuperscript{571} (12, 13) are identical. The two texts were copied in different foundations and a century apart, which makes it unlikely that they share a common exemplar.

The second redaction of the Latin stand-alone format withformulaic dates (28) contains the usual injunctions against bloodletting, medicinal potions, and the commencement of something new. The formulas are phrased slightly differentlyfrom (12, 13): ‘\textit{Ianuatio .i.} die. 7 in fine .vii.‘ (‘In January the first day and in the end the seventh’).\textsuperscript{572} In addition to ‘die n et antequam exeat die n’ and ‘n die et in fine n’, the formulas are sometimes expressed as ‘intrante die n exeunte dies n’. The latter, however is not encountered in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts despite the fact that this formula was already used in the ninth century in some of the oldest texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days.\textsuperscript{573} It is also the formula used for the twenty-four Egyptian Days in the pseudo-Bedan \textit{De minutiONE sanguinis}.\textsuperscript{574}

The most interesting redaction for Anglo-Saxonists is the text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days in Old English. This redaction is attested three times (1-3). The Egyptian Days in these texts have already been discussed in view of the variant dates for December in (1). (1-3) contain more information than any other redaction or format. They open with an introduction which refers to medical experiment:

\begin{quote}
The doctors of old wrote in Latin books that there are always two days in each month on which it is very hurtful to drink any [medicinal] potion or to let blood, because there is a time on each of these days that if one opens a vein on this time, it will cause death or protracted pain. A doctor knew this and bled his horse on such a time, and it lay dead immediately.\textsuperscript{575}
\end{quote}

This opening may have come into being in the translation of the text, because the reference to the doctor who bled his horse to test the validity of the theory is not found anywhere in the Latin texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days.\textsuperscript{576} Mention is made of the Egyptian Hours (‘an tid is on ælcum þara daga’), but they are not listed.\textsuperscript{577} After the introduction follows a formulaic list of dates: ‘the first day in March, that is the month ‘hlyda’, and the fourth day before its end’.\textsuperscript{578} The translation stands out in that it does not begin with the month of January, but with March. The reader is not left in the dark as to the reason for this change, for the list is followed by this paragraph:

\begin{quote}
We put the month of March, which is called ‘hlyda’, first in this account, because it [the month] forms the beginning after proper reckoning of the entire year, and almighty God created all creatures in this month.\textsuperscript{579}
\end{quote}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{571}From text 8.3/13.\textsuperscript{572}From text 8.3/28.\textsuperscript{573}For instance, in Digby 63, fol. 36r (see section 2.2.1), Laon 426bis (Wickersheimer 1966: 40 [XXVIII.6]).\textsuperscript{574}Migne (1861-1904: I.959-62).\textsuperscript{575}\textit{Da ealdan laces gesetton on ledonbocum þet on ælcum monðe beod æfre twegen dagas þa syndon swiðe d’ e rigendlice ænigne drenc to drincanne. oþþe blod to lætenne forþam þe an tid is on ælcum þara daga gif man ænige æddran geopenað on þara tide þet hit bið (his) lifefast. oððe langsum sar. þæs cunnede sum læce 7 let his horse blod on þære tide. 7 hit læg sona dead’ (text 8.3/1).\textsuperscript{576}Because of this reference to horse bleeding, Smith (1919-33: I.70) drew attention to this passage in his exhaustive opus \textit{The Early History of Veterinary Literature and its British Development}.\textsuperscript{577}The same applies to the ‘Si tenebra’ redaction of the hexameter verses.\textsuperscript{578}\textit{Se forma dag on martio. þet on hlydan monðe. 7 se feorða dag æþr his ende’ (text 8.3/1).\textsuperscript{579}\textit{We gesetton on forweardan pissere endehyrndnesse þone monðmartius þe menn hatad hlyda. forþam he is annginn æfter rihtan geteale ealles þæs geare. 7 se ælmhtiga god on þam monðe gesceop ealle gesceafte.’ (text 8.3/1)}
\end{flushright}
The reference to the vernacular name of March, the concern with time reckoning (‘rihtan getele’), and the theological justification for the proper start of the year are strongly reminiscent of the work of Ælfric.\textsuperscript{580} Ælfric’s homily ‘Octabas et circumcisio Domini’ attempts to counter all kinds of wrongful customs on the first of January with the help of doctrine and the computus by pointing out that these superstitions were for foolish people, and by observing that the first of January is not the first day of the year at all.\textsuperscript{581}

After this Ælfrician justification for the choice of March as the first month in the list, the Old English texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days continue with a rudimentary moonbook, which I discussed above. The influence of Ælfric’s \textit{De temporibus anni} is felt in this moonbook as well. The moonbook is followed by yet another injunction against bloodletting, which ends with the following statement: ‘nis þis nan wiglung. ac wise menn hit afunden þurh þone halgan wisdom swa heom godælmightig gediehte’ (‘this is no divination, but wise men discovered it through the holy wisdom as the almighty God revealed to them’).\textsuperscript{582} These words echo a phrase from Ælfric’s homily ‘Octabas et circumcisio Domini’: ‘nis þis nan wiglung ac is gecyndelic þing þurh gesceapenysse’ (‘this is no divination, but it is a natural thing through creation’).\textsuperscript{583} The phrase ‘þis nis nan wiglung’ also figures in Ælfric’s \textit{De auguriis}, but not in any other text in Old English.\textsuperscript{584} Similarly, the phrase with which the days are introduced, ‘Nu synd hit þas dagas swa swa seicgaþ bec’ (‘now these are the days as the book tells us’), is found almost exclusively in Ælfric’s writings.\textsuperscript{585} In short, the translator of the twenty-four Egyptian Days was thoroughly familiar with the computistical and homiletic works of Ælfric, while Ælfric was at home in some prognostic genres, including the Egyptian Days.\textsuperscript{586} The order of the formulaic list of dates, the explanation for starting with March, the rudimentary moonbook, and the additional injunction against bloodletting are not encountered in the Latin Egyptian Days and must, therefore, have originated in the process of translation. Text (3) ends with a goose prohibition which is not included in (1, 2). This prohibition is presumably a condensed version of the three Egyptian Days, and is not encountered in this form in Latin texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days.\textsuperscript{587} In view of the many indications that the translator modified the source text and added a considerable amount of new material partly based on Ælfric’s works, (1-3) represent the only instance where we can actually say that the Anglo-Saxons did more with the text of prognostics than plain translation.

The Old English texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days survives in three manuscripts: (1) in Caligula A.xv, from Christ Church, Canterbury, c. 1076; (2) in Vitellius E.xviii, from New Minster, Winchester, 1062; and (3) in Harley 3271, presumable from New Minster, Winchester, before 1032. They form one redaction, but they deviate in certain ways from each other. First, (3) contains a goose prohibition which (1, 2) lack. Second, (3) has a title (‘\textit{DE DIEBVS MALIS}’) which (1, 2) lack. Third,

\textsuperscript{580}An excellent analysis of the influence of Ælfric on the Old English translation of the twenty-four Egyptian Days is provided by Henel (1934-35: 341-46).
\textsuperscript{581}Clemoes (1997: 224-31).
\textsuperscript{582}From text 8.3/1.
\textsuperscript{584}Skeat (1881-1900: I.370/87).
\textsuperscript{585}A proximity search in Healey and Venezky (2000) on ‘swa’, ‘us’ and ‘bec’ revealed that the phrase is attested frequently in Ælfric’s works, but hardly anywhere else except in 8.1/3 and the \textit{Anglo-Saxon Chronicle} entry for 1009.
\textsuperscript{586}I will pursue this matter more fully in the future.
\textsuperscript{587}See the description of the three Egyptian Days (8.1) above.
the text of (3) was copied in the wrong order: the introduction and the list of dates follow the justification for March, the rudimentary moonbook, the second injunction, and the goose prohibition. Fourth, the dates for December are from the variant set in (1) and from the basic series in (2, 3). Fifth, there are some differences in phrasing, notably the following.\footnote{From texts 8.3/1, 2, 3, respectively.}

(1, 2) Nu syndon hit þas dagas swa swa hit her onsegð.
(3) Nu synd hit þas dagas swa swa us seicgaþ bec:

and

(1) On maius monðe se þridda dæg is derigendlic. 7 se seofeða ær his ende.
(2) On þam monðe þe we maius hatað. se þridda dæg is derigen(dlic) ’7 se st(e)ofoða ær his utga(nge.)´
(3) eft is on þan monþe þe we maios hatet se þridda dæg dergendlic: 7 se seoueþa ær his ende.

and

(1) nis þis nan wiglung. ac wise menn hit afunden þurh þone halgan wisdom swa heom god ælmihtig gedïhte.
(2) (Nis þis n)an wilung. ac wise menn hit afundon þurh þone halgan wisdom. ‘swa swa him dihte god:–’
(3) Nis þis nan wiigelung ac wise men hit afundan þuruh þene halgan wisdom swa swa him gedïhte godd.

These verbal differences may be the result of omissions, variation in word choice, and auto completion mistakes (‘halgan gast’ instead of the not so usual collocation ‘halgan wisdom’). It is highly improbable that (1-3) are independent translations of a Latin exemplar, especially in view of the aforementioned additions which reveal an Ælfrician influence in the vernacular, and which came into being in the process of translation. Within the extensive corpus of texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days in insular and continental manuscripts, the translation exemplified by (1-3) occupies a unique place in being a literary creation in its own right rather than a straightforward translation.

I have tried to trace the history of genre and to reveal its manifestations in medieval manuscripts. From the earliest appearance in a calendar of 354 AD, Egyptian Days have interested church fathers and the clergy, scholastics and scholars. The popularity of the Days in the Middle Ages is therefore hard to overestimate, witness the many texts attested in medieval manuscripts. When texts on the Egyptian Days appear in the ninth century, the Days are associated with death and evil, mainly through their bad influence on bloodletting and medication. At the same time, the number of prohibitions is expanded to include among others evil if something new is undertaken, or if goose meat is consumed. I have shown that there is some variation in the dates on which the Egyptian Days fall, but that there is a basic series. The Old English translations of the twenty-four Egyptian Days do not all adhere to the basic series. It has appeared that the variation in one of the Old English texts is motivated by the text on the preceding page. The variant reading, moreover, did not originate with the Anglo-Saxon scribe, but may have derived from a different interpretation of the hexameter verses. There are three main formats of texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days, to wit calendars entries, verses, and stand-alone texts.
9 LUNARIES

ALIAS: moonbooks, selenodromia

DESCRIPTION:
In classical and medieval times, the moon was one of the planets which was believed to exercise a far-reaching influence on the sublunar sphere, i.e. our planet earth. This influence pertained to the natural world, time reckoning, and prognostication. The moon was held to be important for the tides and the durability of timber (nature), for the calculation of Easter (computus), and for the future (prognostication). That the natural world and time reckoning were dependent upon the moon is, in Ælfric’s words, ‘gecyndelic þing þurh gesceapenysse’ (‘a natural thing through creation’). The effects of the moon upon the future, however, are representative of ‘wiglung’ (‘divination’). ‘Wiglung’ is far from ‘gecyndelic’ and constitutes, therefore, an unacceptable use of the lunar phases.

Ælfric may have objected, but the moon was a thankful asset for prognostication in classical and medieval times. This is not so illogical if it is kept in mind that the moon was being studied for so many other things, notably for time reckoning and the Easter cycle. A focus on, and general awareness of, lunar time must have facilitated the transmission of lunar prognostics. Indeed, many lunaries are found in computi in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

Aspects of the moon are employed as a structural feature in a number of prognostic genres:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Apuleian Spheres</th>
<th>lunaries</th>
<th>month prognosis</th>
<th>moonbooks</th>
<th>moon colour</th>
<th>unlucky days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lunar aspect</td>
<td>all phases</td>
<td>all phases</td>
<td>phase of new moon</td>
<td>regular series of phases</td>
<td>colour</td>
<td>selected phases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>structural level</td>
<td>secondary</td>
<td>primary</td>
<td>secondary</td>
<td>primary</td>
<td>primary</td>
<td>primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attestations</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.12: lunar aspects in prognostic genres

That the moon is a popular ingredient is seen by the sixty-seven attestations of prognostics which contain a lunar element. Of the six prognostic genres which feature the moon as an ingredient, five use lunar phases, against one which depends upon the colour of the moon. Only two genres employ all the lunar phases, while three use a selection in the form of a regular series (moonbooks of the six fives, for instance); a single phase (the weekday on which new moon falls for the month prognosis); or an arbitrary selection comparable to the dates used in texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days (the two unlucky days per month fall on predetermined lunar phases). The structural level on which the lunar component is employed differs: as a primary means of structuring, the lunar aspects are essential because they shape and give meaning to a prognostic; as a secondary means, the aspects support the structure but do not define its shape or meaning. For instance, in the month prognosis, the future is predicted by the weekday on which new moon occurs. The structure of the text is determined by the

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591 The issue of natural versus divinatory influence is discussed in full in sections 6.2.1, 6.2.3.

592 See section 4.2.2.1.

593 Moonbooks are not attested as stand-alone texts in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. They are found in texts on the Dog Days and the twenty-four Egyptian Days.

594 See the descriptions of the Dog Days (6) above, the month prognosis (10) and unlucky days (15) below.
weekdays, and the lunar phase of new moon is a static piece of information which plays no further role. In contrast, lunaries are ordered by the lunar phases which assign an outcome to bloodletting, dreams, and so on. Therefore, the moon is used as the main organising principle of the text.

More than half of the sixty-seven attested lunar prognostics are lunaries, a prognostic genre which is structured by the phases of the moon. The word ‘lunary’ is not only the term used to designate the genre under discussion; some scholars employ the words ‘lunarium’ or ‘moonbook’.

A good introduction to the semantic field of temporal lunar prognostics is provided by Taavitsainen. She applied the word ‘moonbook’ throughout as a general term for prognostics using the moon’s age. Taavitsainen distinguished three genres covered by the term ‘moonbook’: ‘lunaries proper’, ‘zodiacal lunaries’ and ‘mansions of the moon’, the difference lying in the ‘definition of time’. Of the three genres distinguished by Taavitsainen, lunaries are the only ones attested in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The Anglo-Saxon showed a deep interest in lunaries, which is illustrated by the existence of no less than eleven lunaries in the manuscript Tiberius A.iii.

Lunaries proper (henceforth lunaries) are ‘perpetual prognostications according to the thirty days of the moon from one new moon to the next’. Lunaries make use of the synodic month, which lasts 29.5 days, which is the lunar cycle measured from new moon to new moon. The thirty entries of a lunary signify a rounded synodic month of thirty days which starts with new moon. The Latin lunaries transmitted in insular manuscripts do not usually carry titles, but when they do, the titles use the word ‘lunaris’ to name the genre: ‘incipit lunaris Sancti danielis de natiuitate’, ‘Incipit lunaris de somnis’, and ‘Incipit lunaris de aegris’.

Zodiacal lunaries are ‘tracts that count the joint influence of the twelve signs of the zodiac and the moon’. This genre consists of twelve entries which reflect the location of the moon with regard to the signs of the zodiac; it has not been attested in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. To my knowledge, the earliest insular zodiacal lunar is in the twelfth-century manuscript Egerton 821.

The mansions of the moon, finally, are structured by the ‘the moon’s passage in the zodiac’, i.e. the sidereal month of 27.3 days, which is measured with reference to the moon’s circuit of the stars as seen from the earth. Both the synodic month (from new moon to new moon) and sidereal month (the moon’s circuit of the stars) were known in Anglo-Saxon times, as Ælfric’s De temporibus anni illustrates:

Truly the moon year has twenty-seven day and eight hours.... This is the moon year, but its month is more, which is when the moon travels new from the sun until it return to the sun again, old and tired, and is displayed again through the sun [i.e. new moon]. In the moon month are counted twenty-nine days and

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596 Taavitsainen (1988).
598 Taavitsainen (1988: 46).
600 From texts 9.2.2/7, 9.2.4/7 and 9.2.5/6, respectively. On the medieval vocabulary for lunaries, see Weißer (1982: 20-21), Taavitsainen (1988: 48-50).
603 See section 2.2.2.
This quotation elucidates that the synodic month was designated as the lunar month, and the sidereal month as the lunar year. It seems confusing that the moon year is shorter than the moon month, but the reason, as Ælfric himself indicates, is that the moon year means the circuit through the constellations, and is as such comparable to the solar sidereal year. The prognostic genre known as the mansions of the moon is called thus because the sidereal month moves through twenty-eight constellations known as ‘mansions’. This method of dividing the night sky into mansions for prognostic purposes is a Hindu art which reached medieval Western Europe through Arab astrology only in the later Middle Ages. So even though the Anglo-Saxons were familiar with the sidereal month, they did not turn this knowledge to prognostic use.

The threefold division of lunar prognostics proposed by Taavitsainen is not the only one possible. In the first critical edition of a number of collective lunaries, Svenberg distinguished between Greek lunar prognostics, which he called ‘selenodromia’, Latin ‘lunaria’ (for lunaries proper), and ‘zodiakallunaria’ (for zodiacal lunaries). In his later work, Svenberg employed the terms ‘lunaria’ (for lunaries proper) and ‘zodiologia’ (for zodiacal lunaries and the mansions of the moon). Thorndike designated temporal lunar prognostics as ‘moonbooks’, with a further specification into the genre of the ‘lunarium’, i.e. the lunar proper. The first Middle English lunary published was described by Craig with the Latin term ‘lunationes’, Anglicised into ‘lunations’. In his first article on the prognostics, Förster had no name for lunaries yet; he used the description ‘the influence of the moon on the fulfilment of dreams’ for dream lunaries. Later, Förster coined the German word ‘Lunare’ for the lunaries proper in his study of Tiberius A.iii, though he primarily identified the lunaries descriptively: ‘month calendar [‘Monatskalender’], what is to be undertaken or refrained from on each day of the month’, i.e. a collective lunary; ‘dreambook according to moon days [‘Mondtagen’], i.e. a dream lunary; ‘birth prognosis from the day of the month [‘Monatstage’] of the birth’, i.e. a birth lunary, etc.

From the words ‘Monatskalender’, ‘Mondtagen’, and ‘Monatstage’, it would appear that Förster regarded lunaries as a calendric genre which followed the calendar months. This is not true, however, because elsewhere Förster employed the word ‘Monatstage’ for ‘the thirty phases of the

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605“Soðlice þæs monan gear hæfð seofon 7 twentig daga 7 eahta tida.... Þis is þæs monan gear, ac his monað is mare, þæt is ðonne hê gecyrð niwe fram ðære sunnan oð þæt hê eft cume hire forne gean, eald 7 ateorod, 7 eft ðurh hî beo onted. On ðam monðe sind getealde nigon 7 twentig daga, 7 twelf tida, þis is se mônlica monað, 7 his gear is þæt hê underyrne e alle ða twelf tunglan’, Ælfric, De temporibus anni IV.22, 29-30 (Henel 1942: 32, 34). Cf. Bede’s De temporum ratione XXXVI (Jones 1943: 249).


607For more information on the mansions of the moon, see Weinstock (1949), Yampolsky (1950), Taavitsainen (1988), Means (1993).


610Svenberg (1963: 3-4).


612Craig (1916: xxxviii, xxxix).

613’die Einfluß des Mondes auf die Erfüllung der Träume’ (Förster 1903: 356).

614‘Monatskalender, was an einem jeden Monatstage zu unternehmen oder zu lassen sei’, ‘Traumbuch nach Mondtagen’, ‘Nativitätsprognose aus dem Monatstage der Geburt’ (Förster 1908c: 32-34).
Förster used the word ‘Lunare’ for lunaries proper, but Gundel took the same word to mean moonbooks in general.\(^{615}\) In his exhaustive study of collective lunaries, Förster argued for adoption of the term ‘Mondbücher’ for all kinds of temporal lunar prognostics, and the term ‘Lunare’ for moon prognostics which make use of the thirty lunar phases of the synodic month.\(^{617}\) Förster did not propose a further subdivision into the mansions of the moon and zodiacal lunaries (the latter are based on the twenty-eight phases of the sidereal month and therefore not ‘Lunare’ in Förster’s eyes, it would seem). Braswell’s definition of lunar prognostics with regard to Middle English texts does not distinguish between the three genres proposed by Taavitsainen: a lunary is ‘calculated either by the cycle the moon makes throughout its twenty-eight to thirty mansions or days, or by its zodiacal cycle through the twelve signs’.\(^{618}\) This grouping is also adhered to by Means.\(^{619}\)

There seem to be as many genre divisions as there are scholars of the lunar prognostics. One genre that has been ignored by all, however, is what I have termed ‘moonbook’, viz. a text listing a regular series of lunar phases on which bloodletting proves fatal. Texts of this kind are sometimes integrated in texts on the Dog Days and on the twenty-four Egyptian Days.\(^{620}\) These moonbooks are called ‘lunationes’ in some manuscripts,\(^{621}\) a term employed by Craig to denote lunaries proper. Henel, who studied the moonbooks (my use of the term) called the text an ‘account of a series of unlucky moon ages’, and simply ‘bloodletting instruction’.\(^{622}\)

To avoid the confusion that will necessarily arise over the widely different denotations of lunar prognostic genres, here are my definitions: (1) ‘lunar prognostic’ = any prognostic which makes use of aspects of the moon (see table 3.12), to be divided into a temporal and a non-temporal branch; (2) ‘lunary’ = prognostic which makes use of the thirty phases of the lunar synodic month from new moon to new moon; (3) ‘zodiacal lunary’ = prognostic which makes use of the place of the moon in the twelve signs of the zodiac; (4) ‘mansions of the moon’ = prognostic which makes use of the passage of the twenty-eight phases of the lunar sidereal month; (5) ‘moonbook’ = prognostic which presents a regular series of lunar phases from the synodic month on which certain actions prove fatal. In short, I adopt Taavitsainen’s division with the exception of the term ‘moonbook’ which is the general term for the three temporal lunar prognostics distinguished in Taavitsainen’s scheme, but is a specific genre in mine.

Lunaries can be subdivided into several genres which fall apart into two groups: collective lunaries, which contain predictions for a variety of occasions, and specific lunaries, which predict the outcome of one topic only. Specific lunaries deal with what actions should be undertaken, the character and course of life of a newborn baby, appropriate times for bleeding, the predictive value of dreams, or the course of and possible recovery from illness.\(^{623}\) Collective lunaries comprise all these topics plus two which are never encountered in isolation in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts: the return of a fugitive or

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\(^{615}\) die dreißig Mondphasen’ (Förster 1912c: 16).
\(^{616}\) Gundel (1927: 136).
\(^{617}\) Förster (1944; 5-6).
\(^{620}\) See the descriptions of the Dog Days (6) and the twenty-four Egyptian Days (8.3) above.
\(^{621}\) E.g. ‘Sunt etiam hae lunationes summa cum diligentia adtendende’ (text 6/14).
runaway slave and the recovery of stolen or lost goods. Both Weißer and Taavitsainen observed that early lunaries are often specific ones, while in the later Middle Ages collective lunaries were favoured.\textsuperscript{624} This is borne out by the Anglo-Saxon evidence: thirty-six specific lunaries against three collective ones. In contrast, the number of collective lunaries in Middle English exceeds that of specific lunaries.\textsuperscript{625} Below, I will discuss the lunar genres in some detail.

9.1 LUNARY, COLLECTIVE


ATTRIBUTIONS: medieval: Abraham, Adam, Aristotle, Armogynes, Augustine, Avicenna, Bezogar, Boethius, Daniel, David, Gregory, Haly, Hemagyons, Ioanton, Melampus, Merlin, Nechepso Nemroth Chaldeus, Noah, Petosiris, Ptolemy, Sergrondyth, Socrates, Solomon, Virgil, etc.\textsuperscript{626}

BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION: observation of times: lunar phases

TEXTS:
L: 2. London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvii, fols 27r-29v
3. London, British Library, Sloane 475, fols 211r-216v

DESCRIPTION:
Collective lunaries having been studied exhaustively by Svenberg, Wistrand, Förster, Weißer, and Taavitsainen, the reader is referred to the work of these scholars for additional information.\textsuperscript{627} I will limit myself to a brief overview of the genre.

The aim of a collective lunar is to predict the outcome of a number of issues depending upon the phase of the moon. Latin collective lunaries typically deal with these aspects: agenda, birth, bloodletting, dreams, fugitives, illness, and property.\textsuperscript{628} The agenda component reveals what kind of actions are appropriate for each lunar phase. The topics addressed in the agenda part range from trade, the education of children, travelling, marriage, agricultural matters, and moving house. Sometimes the agenda part is preceded by a statement asserting the overall quality of the day on a particular lunar phase, e.g. ‘it is useful to undertake all things’.\textsuperscript{629} The birth component reveals the character, walk of life and career opportunities of a newborn child.\textsuperscript{630} These birth predictions can be quite elaborate, and often a distinction is made between boys and girls. Sometimes birthmarks are mentioned as well. The birth component in collective lunaries contains more information than specific birth lunaries, which address only one aspect, for instance whether the child will live or die or its dominant character traits.\textsuperscript{631}

\textsuperscript{625}Taavitsainen (1988: 62-63).
\textsuperscript{627}I am particularly indebted to Taavitsainen’s clear presentation of the research on collective lunaries carried out in the past, which has served as a model for the description below.
\textsuperscript{629}‘omnibus rebus agendis utilis est’ (from text 9.1/1).
\textsuperscript{630}An extensive discussion of the birth component is in Weißer (1982: 87-98).
\textsuperscript{631}See the description of the birth lunaries (9.2.2) below.
The detailed birth components in collective lunaries may have been developed at a later stage. The varying amount of detail presented in the birth component is one of the criteria used by Svenberg in his classification of the collective lunaries.\(^{632}\) The bloodletting component is not always present in collective lunaries, but (1) includes such information.\(^{633}\) Information on bloodletting is thought to be a later addition transferred from bloodletting lunaries to already existing collective lunaries.\(^{634}\) The dream component of collective lunaries and dream lunaries do not predict the outcome of dreams on the basis of the subject, which is the domain of the alphabetical dreambooks,\(^{635}\) but on the basis of the lunar phase on which the dream takes place. The prediction limits itself to whether or when a dream comes true, and what effect the dream will have. The illness component reveals the outcome of an illness depending upon the lunar phase on which the illness started.\(^{636}\) The predictions range from death to life, with a whole range of discomforts or recovery scenarios in between.\(^{637}\) There are two components present in collective lunaries which do not exist as specific lunaries in Latin: the possible return of fugitives or slaves, and the chances of recovering stolen or lost property.\(^{638}\) The reason for the lack of specific lunaries dealing with these topics is unclear. It is striking that even in collective lunaries the entries for loss are not always present for each lunar phase.\(^{639}\) This might be an indication that the fugitive and property components were considered of limited interest.

An intriguing chicken-and-egg question with regard to collective lunaries is whether they engendered specific lunaries, or whether specific lunaries were the building blocks of collective lunaries. Svenberg, who was the first to bring together a corpus of collective lunaries, could not decide which type begot the other, neither could Förster.\(^{640}\) Wistrand wrote an extensive critique of Svenberg’s study, and proposed that collective lunaries were composed of specific ones, not the other way around.\(^{641}\) Svenberg’s failure to compare the different types of collective lunaries, Wistrand opined, was occasioned by the fact that Svenberg had regarded collective lunaries as coherent units rather than as compilations of specific lunaries. The usefulness of breaking collective lunaries into their component parts for reasons of comparison has been demonstrated by Wistrand.\(^{642}\) Moreover, he illustrated that specific lunaries can be used to explain passages in collective lunaries, while the reverse is not possible.\(^{643}\) According to Weißer, this observation demonstrates the originality of specific lunaries as component parts of collective lunaries.\(^{644}\) Weißer also noted the existence of sequences of specific lunaries in manuscripts. He claimed that such sequences had been made to furnish an overview of the same range of predictions.

\(^{632}\)Svenberg (1936: 17-18).
\(^{633}\)In Middle English collective lunaries, the bloodletting component may mention the body parts from which one should be bled, cf. Taavitsainen (1988: 101).
\(^{634}\)Weißer (1982: 29-31).
\(^{635}\)See the description of dreambooks (7) above.
\(^{636}\)An exhaustive discussion of the illness component is provided in Weißer (1981: 98-134).
\(^{637}\)The variation in predictions is reminiscent of that in some Apuleian Spheres (see the description (2) above).
\(^{638}\)In Middle English collective lunaries, the fate of the fugitive when he is caught, cf. Taavitsainen (1988: 99).
\(^{639}\)See table A3.13.
\(^{640}\)Svenberg (1936: 3, n. 2), Förster (1912c: 42).
\(^{641}\)Wistrand (1942: 5-18).
\(^{642}\)Ibid.
\(^{643}\)Wistrand (1942: 9).
\(^{644}\)Weißer (1982: 22).
as in collective lunaries, but with better readability.\textsuperscript{645} One such series of lunaries, the $\alpha$-sequence, is attested seven times in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.\textsuperscript{646} The arrangement in columns, as in St. John’s College 17, fol. 4r, and Lambeth Palace 427, fol. 3r, permits a clear overview of predictions both within one specific field, e.g. birth (arranged in columns), and on one specific lunar phase (arranged in rows). The fact that this kind of clarity is not afforded by collective lunaries supports Weißer’s claim. Another argument in favour of the construction of collective lunaries from specific lunaries is the absence of certain types of specific lunaries in medieval manuscripts. If collective lunaries were decompiled to form specific lunaries, one would expect specific lunaries to occur that predicted the return of a fugitive or runaway slave and the recovery of stolen or lost goods, but these are not found in Latin manuscripts while the other five areas of prediction are. If, on the other hand, specific lunaries were compiled into collective lunaries in early times, specific fugitive and property lunaries may have fallen out of fashion before the arrival of the lunar genre in Western Europe.

The case for the genesis of collective lunaries from specific lunaries has not gone unchallenged, however. Förster and Weißer pointed out that the oldest attested Latin collective and specific lunaries date from the ninth century, which leaves the matter of precedence unresolved.\textsuperscript{647} The oldest attested (Egyptian) lunaries are collective rather than specific, but Greek lunaries (Svenberg’s ‘selenodromia’) exist in both specific and collective forms.\textsuperscript{648} Again, it is hard to draw conclusions about originality from the classical ancestors of the Latin lunaries. Nevertheless, it is now generally assumed that ‘collective lunaries are compilations of specialized texts’, in the words of Taavitsainen.\textsuperscript{649}

Svenberg distinguished three types of Latin collective lunaries, which he claimed came into existence in different periods and derived from different sources. Svenberg’s types I and II were thought to have been created in the pre-Christian era, while type III was supposed to represent a thirteenth-century translation of a Byzantine selenodromion.\textsuperscript{650} This notion has been refuted by Wistrand, who denied the existence of direct links between Greek and Latin collective lunaries.\textsuperscript{651} The Latin collective lunaries are thought to have come into being in the third to ninth centuries, possibly from Byzantine sources.\textsuperscript{652}

It is possible to group collective lunaries in various ways. The types outlined by Svenberg are as follows: I is a basic collective lunary with no remarkable features; II is comparable to I but with more elaborate birth predictions; III is a loose-knit and variable group of lunaries which shares references to biblical events.\textsuperscript{653} Wistrand agreed that types I and II go back to two distinct redactions, but he thought that type III is a mixed bag of unrelated redactions.\textsuperscript{654} Förster proposed a classification on the basis of the prefatory matter of the lunaries, i.e. the short introductions which sometimes precede the predictions for each lunar phase and which reveal: (1) the light of the moon; (2) the birth of pagan

\textsuperscript{643} Weißer (1982: 22-23).
\textsuperscript{644} See section 3.2.2.
\textsuperscript{645} Förster (1944: 8), Weißer (1982: 422).
\textsuperscript{646} Svenberg (1936: 140-52), Wistrand (1942: 19-20), Förster (1944: 8-10), Gundel and Gundel (1959: 80; 1966: 266).
\textsuperscript{647} Taavitsainen (1988: 84).
\textsuperscript{648} Svenberg (1936: 142-52).
\textsuperscript{649} Wistrand (1942: 17-20).
\textsuperscript{651} Svenberg (1936: 17-18).
\textsuperscript{652} Wistrand (1942: 17-18).
gods; or (3) events from the Bible (Svenberg’s type III). Forster (1944: 10-32). These introductory topics are seen as separate themes comparable to the component parts of collective lunaries by Weißer (1982: 18). See also Taavitsainen (1988: 93, 101-07).

Forster (1944: 36-41).


Svenberg (1936) distinguished three redactions of type II lunaries in his text edition. Texts 9.1/1 and 9.1/3 represent two of these.

Weißer concluded that (3) is the more original form. (1) represents a redaction to which the bloodletting instructions have been added at a later date, because early collective lunaries do not have a bloodletting component. There are not many collective lunaries in the vernacular from the eleventh century or earlier. Later collective lunaries in the vernacular have been attested, in Old French, Middle English, Middle High German, Middle Dutch, Welsh, Scandinavian, and Syrian. The eleventh-century collective lunary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Svenberg/Wistrand</th>
<th>Förster</th>
<th>Weißer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) type II</td>
<td>variant 4, group β</td>
<td>group 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) type I</td>
<td>variant 4, group α</td>
<td>group 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) type II</td>
<td>variant 4, group β</td>
<td>group 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.13: classification of Anglo-Saxon collective lunaries

The Anglo-Saxon collective lunaries, then, belong to two distinct types no matter what scheme is used. (1) and (3) belong to the same group, but they are not directly related, nor do they belong to one redaction. This is apparent through differences in phrasing and content, for example: a boy that escapes death by drowning will enjoy a long life (‘longeuus erit’) in (1) while in (3) the boy will be better in old age (‘(in) posteriori etate melior’); the birthmarks mentioned in (1) are absent in (3). A comparison of the presence of the components of (1) and (3) makes apparent that they deviate considerably. A more important point of difference is the presence of bloodletting predictions in (1), but not in (3).

Middle English texts in Taavitsainen (1987, 1988), Means (1993); Middle High German in Weißer (1982); Old French in Camus (1891: 207-11); samples of collective lunaries in all the vernaculars mentioned in Förster (1944), except for the Syrian one, which is translated by Budge (1913: II.560-65). Further references in Beccaria (1956: 204 [51.5], 378 [133.29]), Wickerheimer (1966: 140-41 [XCI.II]).
(1) is special in that it is accompanied by a complete interlinear gloss in Old English. Förster opined that the Old English gloss existed in an older form, which he dated to possibly the first half of the eighth century on the basis of the presence of an antiquated inflectional ending -i in the Old English word ‘nontidi’ (‘the hour of none’). Förster already allowed for the possibility that ‘nontidi’ is an error for ‘nontide’, but there are more compelling reasons why an eighth-century date for the Old English gloss is highly unlikely. First, prognostics were extremely rare in Western Europe before the ninth century, and were even unknown in England at the time. It is, therefore, improbable that an Anglo-Saxon scribe had the opportunity to translate a complete collective lunary in the eighth century. It is even more improbable that this complete gloss was kept for over three centuries to be copied into an existing Latin collective lunary which turns out to be of exactly the same type and redaction. Second, all Latin prognostics with Old English glosses were copied in the eleventh century. Third, both the Old English gloss and the Latin text have the bloodletting instructions for each lunar phase, and these instructions are not attested in early collective lunaries. The earliest Latin collective lunary is from the ninth century, as Förster observed. A gloss which antedates the earliest extant Latin lunary by about a century and which includes bloodletting instructions only found in later texts is remarkable to say the least. In conclusion, I think that the running gloss was composed on the spot. Alternatively, it must have accompanied the exemplar of the Latin text of (1).

Collective lunaries have been studied extensively in the past, with a focus on the history and development of the genre, and the composition of the texts. It is now generally believed that collective lunaries derive from the integration of specific lunaries into one large text. Collective lunaries were probably translated from Greek into Latin between the third and the ninth centuries AD. A number of classifications exist for collective lunaries. Most recently, Weißer, using the method developed by Wistrand, was able to categorise the majority of the texts on the basis of the presence and order of the component parts. Collective lunaries proved tremendously popular in the later Middle Ages, with translations into many European vernaculars. Although the Old English gloss to (1) is not as old as Förster would have us believe, it is the earliest vernacularisation of a collective lunary in existence.

9.2.1 LUNARY, SPECIFIC, AGENDA
LITERATURE: Jastrow (1905-12: II.457-577); Förster (1908c: 35; 1912c: 37-45; 1944); Budge (1913: II.556-59); Thorndike (1923-58: I.680-82); Svenberg (1936); Wistrand (1942); Weißer (1982); Taavitsainen (1988); Kieckhefer (1989: 86); Hollis and Wright (1992: 264); Wallis (1995: 115-17); Epe (1995: 61); Liuzza (2001: 188)
BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION: observation of times: lunar phases
TEXTS:

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667 Förster (1944: 52-57).
668 Most prognostics entered England during the Benedictine Reform, cf. sections 5.2.2.2, 5.2.3.
669 There are only seven instances where the Old English gloss deviates from the Latin text, cf. Förster (1944: 54-55). On the other hand, it is significant that the gloss and Latin text do agree on a curious misreading in Latin. Text 9.1/1, together with two other collective lunaries (9.1/3 and Erlangen 674, both postdating 9.1/1), reads ‘puer natus granosus’ instead of ‘puer natus gratiosus’. The Old English gloss has ‘cild acenned corngesælig’. The hapax legomenon ‘corngesælig’ (‘rich in corn’) is an attempt on the part of the translator to interpret the erroneous Latin ‘granosus’. It is unlikely that the supposedly eighth-century Latin lunary used in the translation had the same peculiar misreading.
670 See sections 5.2.1, 5.2.1.1, 5.2.1.2, 5.2.3.
671 Förster (1944: 8).
DESCRIPTION:
The genre boundaries of agenda lunaries are not always recognised. Förster claimed that a Latin version of (1) was included in the same manuscript on fol. 65r, viz. (9.2.3/3). The text he referred to, however, is a bloodletting, not an agenda lunar. The confusion was presumably caused by the fact that bloodletting lunaries do not usually state their purpose except in their titles, but (1) lacked such a title. In a later article, Förster devoted a section to ‘Tagwählunare’ (‘agenda lunaries’) in which he mixed up agenda lunaries with collective lunaries. Likewise, Hollis and Wright as well as Liuzza described the two Old English agenda lunaries as if they are incomplete collective lunaries, which is surprising in view of the amount of research carried out since Förster’s studies on the lunaries. Although agenda lunaries are used as building blocks for collective lunaries, the two genres should not be equated: collective lunaries predict a whole range of events, whereas agenda lunaries limit themselves to actions to be undertaken or refrained from on certain lunar phases.

The purpose of an agenda lunar is to give advice on undertakings which are particularly good or bad on lunar phases. The predictions have a highly practical value and pertain to agriculture, hunting and fishing, travel, relationships and diplomatic affairs, trade, and household activities, e.g. the sensible advice for the sixth lunar phase: ‘put [fresh] hay in your bed, then you will have none of the customary pains in it, but you will be glad thereof’. In contrast to collective lunaries, in which the agenda component is sometimes preceded by a prediction of the overall quality of the day, agenda lunaries do not report whether a day is good or bad in general.

To my knowledge, the Old English texts (1, 2) are two of the very few medieval agenda lunaries in existence. Agenda lunaries, zodiacal agenda lunaries, and agenda mansions of the moon have been attested in Middle English. Weißer reported three agenda lunaries, but at least one of these (possibly all three of them), in St. John’s College 17, is a bloodletting lunar.

No source or Latin redaction has been identified which could have provided the original from which (1, 2) were translated. Both texts are incomplete: (1) has three entries and (2) has seventeen. The texts resemble each other closely in phrasing and content, but since (1) breaks off so early, and (2) contains more information for phases two and three, (2) cannot be a copy of (1). Reversely, (1) cannot have been copied from (2), since the former antedates the latter by more than a century. (1) is so short that a comparison of the vocabulary has little significance, but for phase two (1) reads ‘fær þine yldran ahton’ and (2) ‘gang. þonne 7 byge land þær þine yldran ær ahton’ (‘then go and

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673Förster (1912c: 37-45).
675See the description of collective lunaries (9.1) above.
676‘dó þon ne hig on þin bed. ðonne hafast þu þæron nenige wunelic sar. ac þu þer byst gefeonde’ (text 9.2.1/2).
677A specific lunar of this kind is in the Syriac Book of Medicines (Budge 1913: II.556-57).
678The Old French agenda lunar which Förster (1944: 159) claimed was published by Camus (1891: 207-11 [not 207-41]) is in fact a collective lunar.
680Weißer (1982: 57-58). Although I have not seen the other two manuscripts in question, I am fairly certain that Weißer’s references pertain to bloodletting lunaries, for two reasons. First, the same confusion has arisen more often as explained before (Förster 1908c: 35), and as Weißer himself realised (1982: 30). Second, one of the two supposed agenda lunaries is followed by a birth lunary in the manuscript. If this is so, it is more likely that the lunaries represent the α-sequence outlined in section 3.2.2, i.e. bloodletting + birth and not agenda + birth.
buy the land that your ancestors held before you’). The variant readings ‘far to’ and ‘gang. þonna’ may indicate that the texts did not share an Old English exemplar, but were translated from a Latin text on separate occasions. Both texts probably were copied in Christ Church, Canterbury, so it is possible that one Latin source was available for both (1) and (2).

9.2.2 LUNARY, SPECIFIC, BIRTH

LITERATURE: Birch (1878: 478-79; 1892: 256); Jastrow (1905-12: II.457-577); Förster (1908c: 34, 36, 39-40; 1912c: 16-30; 1944); Thorndike (1923-58: I.680-82); Svenberg (1936); Wistrand (1942); Gundel and Gundel (1966: 69-70); Weißer (1982); Taavitsainen (1988); Kieckhefer (1989: 86); Hollis and Wright (1992: 264); Günzel (1993: 31-33); Epe (1995: 61-62); Wallis (1995: 115-17); Liuzza (2001: 187)

ATTRIBUTION: medieval: Daniel

BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION: observation of times: lunar phases

TEXTS:

OE: 1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 716
2. London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.xv, fol. 132r
3. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 41rv
L/OE: 5. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 36v
7. London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fols 7v-8r
8. Oxford, St John’s College, MS 17, fol. 4rb

DESCRIPTION:

An exhaustive discussion of birth lunaries and their relationship to the birth component of collective lunaries is provided by Weißer. Birth lunaries foretell the future of a newborn child in very broad lines. The entries are concise and pertain to dominant character traits (‘religiosus’, ‘bellator’) or vitality (‘uitalis’, ‘iuuenis tolletur’). The detail of the birth component in collective lunaries is not matched by birth lunaries. In the former, the character and walk of life are described elaborately for both boys and girls, often accompanied by a description of birthmarks. A comparison between the two birth predictions illustrates the difference:

(9.1/1) The first moon.... a boy born will be illustrious, clever, wise, learned, endangered in water, but if he escapes, he will be long in life. A girl born will be pure, chaste, mild, beautiful, pleasing to men, of right discrimination, in later life she will lie in bed long; she has a birthmark on her mouth or eyebrow.

(9.2.2/5) Who is born on the first moon will be lively.

The birth component of the collective lourary differentiates between boys and girls and presents the character in considerably more detail than does the birth lourary. Some phases in collective lunaries also mention the future profession of newborn children. No Latin birth lourary has been identified

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681 From texts 9.2.1/1 and 2 respectively.
683 ‘Luna prima.... puer natus erit illustris. astutus. sapiens. litteratus. in aqua perictitur. si euaserit. longeus erit. puella nata. intemerata casta. benigna. speciosa. uiris placens. eque discernens. in postera e&ante erit. in lecto longe recumbens. signum. habet in ore. uel in supercilio’ (text 9.1/1).
684 ‘Luna .i. qui natus fuerit. uitalis erit’ (text 9.2.2/5).
685 The amount of information presented in the birth component can be used to distinguish several types of collective lunaries, cf. Svenberg (1936: 17-18), Wistrand (1942: 7-11).
686 A complete list of professions is in Weißer (1982: 89-97).
containing as much information as the birth component of collective lunaries. It is therefore assumed that the birth component was expanded only after its inclusion in collective lunaries.\footnote{Weißer (1982: 88-89).} For some reason, an analogous expansion did not take place in birth lunaries, which is why these texts remained brief.

Some Latin birth lunaries carry a title which reveals the authority behind the text (6, 7): ‘\textit{Incipit Lunaris sancti danielis de natuitate `infantum’}’.\footnote{From text 9.2.2/6.} The same attribution to Daniel forms the explicit of the collective lunary in Tiberius A.iii: ‘\textit{Finiunt somnia Danielis prophetæ’}.\footnote{Latin texts are listed in Förster (1912c: 16), Svenberg (1936: 5), Beccaria (1956: 200 [50.8]), Weißer (1982: 57-58).} This collective lunary immediately follows an alphabetical dreambook. It may be that the two texts were copied as a unit, in which case the explicit might simply be a mistaken or misplaced reference to the dreambook (also known as the \textit{Somniale Danielis}) rather than belonging to the collective lunary, which deals with more than just dreams. Only birth and collective lunaries are attributed to authorities in the Middle Ages.

Birth lunaries have been transmitted in Latin and the vernacular, including Old and Modern English.\footnote{Editions of Latin texts in Förster (1912c: 18-21), Wistrand (1942: 8-9), Modern English in Förster (1912c: 26-30).} The earliest instances in Latin date from the ninth century, including the text in Harley 3017. Medieval birth lunaries in a vernacular other than Old English must exist, but they have not been published or listed, to my knowledge. In Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, birth lunaries occur in a limited number of contexts, to wit in computi (2, 8) and prognostic sections (1, 3-7).\footnote{On the manuscript contexts, see chapter 4.} Within these contexts, birth lunaries are predominantly encountered in the \textit{α}-sequence of lunaries and a birth prognostic (1, 4, 6-8).\footnote{From texts 9.2.2/8 and 6, respectively.}

Fürster maintained that the Latin birth lunaries he identified (which includes 5-7), go back to one redaction. Indeed, texts (5-7) agree entirely in phrasing, content, and the order of the entries. (8) employs different phrasing in two places: ‘\textit{Luna xix} Honorabilis erit’ versus ‘\textit{Luna .xix.} in honore erit’ (‘on the nineteenth phase of the moon, he will be honourable’), and ‘\textit{Luna xxvii} Amabilis erit’ versus ‘\textit{Luna xxvii.} amicosus erit’ (‘on the twenty-seventh phase of the moon, he will be amiable/friendly’).\footnote{The continental birth lunary printed by Wistrand (1942: 8-9) does not correspond as closely to texts 9.2.2/5-7 as does 9.2.2/8.} Nevertheless, the overall similarity of (8) to (5-7) is significant enough to conclude that the insular Latin birth lunaries form one redaction.\footnote{Förster (1912c: 17-18).} The Old English lunaries are not as closely related among themselves as the Latin ones. Fürster distinguished two redactions which went back to two different Latin source redactions. The first redaction, the Old English gloss to (5), is based upon the one surviving insular Latin redaction, represented by the Latin text of (5). The second Old English redaction (1-4) descended from an unidentified Latin source redaction. Within the second redaction, texts (2, 3) are identical. The manuscripts containing these hail from Christ Church, Canterbury; Tiberius A.iii is dated to about fifteen years before the Norman Conquest, Caligula A.xv to about ten years after. In view of the close similarities between (2, 3), and the common origin and date of the
This also applies to the dream lunaries (9.2.4/2, 3).

Förster (1912c: 17-18).

This text has not survived. Indications for its existence are discussed below.

Text 9.2.3/10 consists of an original text (10a) which have undergone extensive revision at a later date (10b).

The most extensive studies of the genre are by Förster (1912c: 36-37) and Henel (1934-35: 333-35); Svenberg (1936); Jones (1939: 88-89); Wistrand (1942); Braswell (1984: 347); Taavitsainen (1988); Kieckhefer (1989: 86); Hollis and Wright (1992: 269); Cameron (1993: 27); Günzel (1993: 31-33); Epe (1995: 62); Wallis (1995: 115-17); Liuzza (2001: 187)

ATTRIBUTION: post-medieval: Bede

BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION: observation of times: lunar phases

TEXTS:

I/OE:
1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 422, p. 27

L:
2. London, British Library, Arundel 60, fol. 1r
3. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 65r
4. London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fol. 6rv
5. London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvii, fol. 2r
7. London, British Library, Harley 3271, fol. 102v
8. London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 427, fol. 3r
9. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, fol. 56r
10. Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 17, fol. 4ra

DESCRIPTION:

With no fewer than ten Anglo-Saxon bloodletting lunaries, nine of which have survived, the genre has been poorly researched in the past. As I pointed out, Förster and Weißer confused agenda and bloodletting lunaries because the latter often do not state explicitly that they pertain to bleeding. The difference between the two genres is obvious all the same: agenda lunaries mention specific actions to be undertaken or refrained from, and bloodletting lunaries merely mention good and bad times, e.g. ‘Luna i. Tota die bona est’, and ‘Luna ii. Non est bona’. Fortunately, there are two indications which substantiate that texts containing such brief statements are indeed bloodletting lunaries. First, some texts carry a title that explains their purpose: ‘AD SANGVINEM MINVENDVM’, ‘De flebotomatione vel de minimizing sanguine’, ‘Ad sanguinem minuendam’, or ‘DE SANGVINE MINVERE’. Second, the bloodletting component of collective lunaries, which was added to the text at a later date, explicitly states its intent as an aid in regulating bloodletting, for instance ‘the moon is all day good for bloodletting’.

Bloodletting lunaries are simple devices which, by nature, do not allow any freedom of interpretation. The predictions reveal good and bad lunar phases for bloodletting, with occasionally...
a specification into a part of the day on which bleeding is particularly good. On the fourth lunar phase, for instance, 'bleeding is good in the early morning'. Förster saw similarities with Babylonian astrology, which also took into account the hour of day. Weißer drew a comparison with the Egyptian practice of dividing the day into three parts. Indeed, in the Egyptian lists of lucky and unlucky days (not the Egyptian Days as the Anglo-Saxons knew them!), the days are divided into three parts, each of which could be lucky or unlucky. It is tempting to see evidence of the antiquity of the bloodletting lunaries in the link with Egyptian customs, but no such link can be substantiated. The late inclusion of a bloodletting component into Latin collective lunaries, its absence in Greek selenodromia, and the earliest attestation of bloodletting lunaries in the ninth century may be indicative of a medieval rather than classical or pre-Christian genesis of the genre. Weißer mentioned Babylonian and Assyrian bloodletting injunctions, but whether these are lunaries or not is not specified.

Bede’s writings are sometimes regarded as signs of the existence of bloodletting prognostics, including lunaries, in the late eighth century. The pseudo-Bedan treatise De minutione sanguinis, sive de phlebotomia is seen by some as a sign for the bloodletting prognostics to be older than the first attested texts. Thanks to Jones’s efforts, De minutione can no longer be construed in this way. An error which persists to this day is an interpretation of the description of St. John of Beverley healing a nun who had been bled at the wrong time, in Bede’s Ecclesiastical History, as evidence of bloodletting lunaries in Bede’s time. The relevant passage from the Ecclesiastical History is discussed in more detail elsewhere. All in all, there is no concrete evidence that bloodletting lunaries existed in the early Middle Ages.

In Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, bloodletting lunaries are attested in a limited number of contexts. The most common place is the computus (1, 2, 5, 6, 8-10), followed by prognostic sections (3, 4), and the use of a bloodletting lunary as filler material (7). Although bloodletting lunaries are undeniably medical in intent, their absence from medical sections in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts is conspicuous. The insertion of bloodletting lunaries into a computus or prognostic section is not haphazard. In both contexts, the bloodletting lunary is placed in a fixed unit of four lunaries and a birth prognostic (3, 4, 8, 10), which I have identified as the $\alpha$-sequence. Additionally, bloodletting lunaries may precede the calendar in a computus (1, 2, 5, 6). The ties between the manuscripts containing (1, 2, 5) have been pointed out by Henel, who also made a case for the existence of a now-lost bloodletting lunary.

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706 ‘In matutina bona est’ (text 9.2.3/2).
707 Förster (1944: 91, n. 18).
709 See the description of the twenty-four Egyptian Days (8.3) above.
710 Cf. Dawson (1926).
713 See the description of the Dog Days (6) above.
715 See section 6.2.3.
716 On these contexts, see chapter 4.
717 See section 3.2.2.
718 Henel (1934a: 1934-35: 335).
preventing the calendar of Vitellius E.xviii (i.e. 6). The apparently random positioning of the earliest bloodletting lunary (9) in the computus of Bodley 579 and the filler text (7) in the miscellaneous Harley 3271, is in contrast with the careful placement in the other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, where the lunary is embedded in an α-sequence or a lunar/calendar unit. This deliberate positioning would suggest that the value of bloodletting lunaries as tabular items in computistical or lunar sequences came to be recognised.

In 1912, Förster wrote that he did not know of any bloodletting lunaries in the vernacular. In the same year, James discovered the only bloodletting lunary in Old English (the gloss to 1) in his Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge. Since then, a Provencal and an Old French bloodletting lunary have come to light. For some reason, vernacularisation of the bloodletting lunaries remained a marginal phenomenon. Non-insular Latin bloodletting lunaries have been attested, mostly from the eleventh century or later.

I distinguish four redactions for the Anglo-Saxon Latin bloodletting lunaries, which coincide to a large extent with the contextual situation outlined above. The earliest text, (9), offers a straightforward binary system of entries (‘bona est’ or ‘mala est’) without specification into parts of the day. The other redactions offer occasional advice on particularly beneficial hours. The second redaction is composed of the bloodletting lunaries in the lunar/calendar sequence in the computus (1, 2, 5, presumably 6), plus the filler prognostic in Harley 3271 (7). Apart from some minor mistakes in the arrangement of the entries (e.g. ‘bona est’ where the other texts read ‘non est bona’), there is enough agreement between the texts to regard them as one redaction. Within redaction two, (2, 5) deviate from (1, 7) on two occasions. For phases twenty-five and twenty-eight, (1, 7) read ‘non est bona’, but (2, 5) read ‘malum est’. Therefore, I see these two groups as variant versions of redaction two. The feminine declension, as in ‘bona’, is used throughout in the second redaction, while the third redaction exhibits a preference for the neuter, as in ‘bonum’. The third redaction is formed by the bloodletting lunaries belonging to the α-sequence (3, 4, 8, 10a). These differ in various places from the texts of the second redaction. The advice on phases ten, twelve, and twenty-nine is in direct opposition. Furthermore, the advice does not coincide entirely for some phases, e.g. ‘ab hora .iii. & .vi. bona est’ (redaction two) versus ‘tota die bonum est’ (redaction three), and ‘ab hora .v. bona est’ versus ‘ab hora .viii. bonum est’. Redaction three consists of two versions which differ from each other in three places, viz. (3) and (4, 8, 10a). The fourth redaction, finally, is the revision of (10), viz. (10b), by the expunction and substitution of about half the entries. The changes are so extensive that the text is no longer similar to any of the other three redactions.

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719 Henel (1934a: 26, n. 78). The lost bloodletting lunary in Vitellius E.xviii is not discussed in Pulsiano’s analysis of the computus (1998b).
720 Förster (1912c: 36).
721 James (1912: II.316).
722 Förster (1944: 8, n. 2).
723 References in Förster (1912c: 36), Svenberg (1936: 5), Beccaria (1956: 121 [8.10], 213 [55.23], 379 [133.33]), Weißer (1982: 57).
724 Remarkably, the Anglo-Saxon bloodletting lunaries hail from only three places and were copied in a relatively short period. Redaction one is from Canterbury and otherwise unattested. Both versions of redaction two are from New Minster, Winchester. The first version of redaction three is from Christ Church, Canterbury, while the second version is from New Minster, Winchester and Thorney Abbey. Redaction four is from Thorney Abbey. The earliest redaction is one, dating from the 970s. Redaction two was copied in the period 1023-1073. Version one of the third redaction
Bloodletting lunaries have been neglected in the past, but the above description illustrates that this neglect is undeserved. The earliest instances of the genre emerged in the ninth century. The ascription to Bede is unfounded. Some bloodletting lunaries have titles which explain their purpose. The text itself does not refer to its being a bloodletting lunar, apart from the bloodletting component in collective lunaries. The aim of bloodletting lunaries is to reveal the phases on which bleeding is beneficial. Sometimes the best hours for bleeding are also mentioned. I distinguish four redactions, one of which was translated into Old English.

9.2.4 LUNARY, SPECIFIC, DREAMS

LITERATURE: Birch (1878: 479; 1892: 257); Förster (1903: 356; 1908c: 33, 35; 1925-26; 1944); Jastrow (1905-12: II.457-577); Thorndike (1923-58: L.680-82); Mercati (1932); Svenberg (1936; 1939); Wistrand (1942); Schmitt (1966: 195); Martin (1977: 16-17, 25); Harmening (1979: 107); Fischer (1982a: 7, 165, n. 13); Weißer (1982); Taavitsainen (1988); Kieckhefer (1989: 86); Hollis and Wright (1992: 265); Günzel (1993: 31-33); Epe (1995: 62-63); Wallis (1995: 115-17); Liuzza (2001: 188)

BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION: observation of times: lunar phases

TEXTS:

OE: 1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, pp. 720-721
   2. London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.xv, fols 131v-132r
   3. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fols 37v-38r

L/OE: 5. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fols 35v-36r

L: 6. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, pp. 718-720
   7. London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fol. 9rv
   8. London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 427, fol. 3r
   9. Oxford, St John’s College, MS 17, fol. 4rc

DESCRIPTION:
An exhaustive study of the genre of dream lunaries was carried out by Förster, to which I refer the reader. Dream lunaries are unlike alphabetical dreambooks in that they do not interpret dream topos. Instead, dream lunaries reveal whether a dream comes to pass in real life, and sometimes also within how many days fulfilment will take place.

Dream lunaries have been attested in Latin and the vernacular, including Old English, Welsh, and Italian. Förster claimed that the Latin dream lunaries descended from Byzantine texts. The attestation of two Greek dream lunaries which correspond in part to the Latin lunaries, albeit in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts, would seem to support Förster’s supposition. The earliest Latin dream lunaries date from the tenth century, but the fact that several redactions existed among the early texts would point to an older genesis, according to Förster.

Text (6) differs from the other insular birth lunaries in that it includes a Psalm verse at the end of each entry, for instance 'Luna .i. quicquid uideris in gaudium. convertitur Beatuus uir qui non abiit [Ps
Two of the Latin dream lunaries found by Förster also include Psalm verses, but these do not coincide in all instances. The inclusion of non-prognostic material in lunaries is not unusual. Weißer discerned the following categories of additional information: zodiacal elements, biblical events, Psalm verses, the light of the moon, the birthdays of gods, and the duration of rain. Of these, Psalm verses and biblical events seem to have been intended as a sign of divine authority or approval of the lunaries. Several lunary genres include Psalm verses, notably collective lunaries. Svenberg connected the Psalm verses in collective lunaries with Bible sortilege, specifically with regard to dream predictions. It seems likely that the Psalm verses in collective lunaries were taken from dream lunaries, because these are the earliest lunaries including such material.

Förster distinguished two groups of Latin dream lunaries which have little in common. One of these includes (5-7), and (8, 9), which were not known to Förster, but which are identical to (7). These Latin texts are treated by Förster as if they belong to one redaction, but this is not true, as a comparison of the order and contents of the entries makes clear. Rather, these Latin dream lunaries can be divided into three redactions, to wit (5), (6) and (7-9). Within the latter group, (8, 9) are closely related to each other, while they lack certain phrases present in (7). The Old English texts are grouped into three redactions by Förster: (1-3), (4), and (5). The last one is the Old English gloss to the Latin text (5). The other two redactions cannot be traced to any Latin source text, so there must have been at least two more Latin redactions in addition to those identified by Förster. Within the first Old English redaction, (2, 3) are identical and represent a version which differs from (1).

9.2.5 LUNARY, SPECIFIC, ILLNESS

LITERATURE: Birch (1878: 479; 1892: 257); Förster (1903: 355; 1908c: 34, 35, 40; 1912c: 30-36; 1944); Jastrow (1905-12: II.457-577); Budge (1913: II.536-38); Thorndike (1923-58: I.680-82); Svenberg (1936); Wistrand (1942); Weißer (1976; 1981; 1982); Braswell (1984: 347); Taavitsainen (1988); Kieckhefer (1989: 86); Wallis (1995: 115-17); Liuzza (2001: 187-88)

BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION: observation of times: lunar phases

TEXTS:

OE: 1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, pp. 717-718
   2. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 40r
   4. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fols 36v-37r
L: 5. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 65v
   7. Oxford, St John’s College, MS 17, fol. 4rbc

DESCRIPTION:

Illness lunaries have been exhaustively studied by Weißer, to which I refer the reader. They predict the outcome of an illness based on the lunar phase on which the illness started. In its most basic form, an illness lunary reveals whether a sick person will live or die. These basic predictions may be elaborated...
upon to create complex ones, for example by adding information on the duration, severity or symptoms of the illness, or advice on medication or medical consultation.\textsuperscript{737}

The earliest attested illness lunaries date from the ninth century (e.g. in Harley 3017), but in view of the variation between the texts Weißer supposed an earlier genesis for the first translations into Latin from Greek.\textsuperscript{738} Remarkably, of all specific lunary genres, the illness lunary is the only one to have been translated so frequently.\textsuperscript{739} In addition, the number of attested Latin and Greek illness lunaries is quite high in comparison with that of other specific lunaries.\textsuperscript{740}

Weißer distinguished six types of illness lunaries on the basis of the order and complexity of the predictions.\textsuperscript{741} Texts (3-7) belong to an early group with little complexity.\textsuperscript{742} Texts (1, 2) have not been categorised by Weißer, but in view of their early date and the general agreement in spirit with the predictions of (3-7), they must belong to the same group. Förster was aware of two redactions of Latin illness lunaries, one of which is represented by (3-6).\textsuperscript{743} Text (7), which deviates in some entries from (3-6), can be regarded as a variant version of the same redaction. The Old English texts are divided into three redactions by Förster: (1), (2) and (3, 4).\textsuperscript{744} Texts (3, 4) are identical in content, the only difference being that the Old English gloss in (4) is interlinear and on the same line as the Latin text in (3).

\section*{10 MONTH PROGNOSIS}

\textbf{LITERATURE:} Jastrow (1905-12: II.457-577); Förster (1908c: 36); Thorndike (1923-58: I.679); Hollis and Wright (1992: 264); Epe (1995: 60); Liuzza (2001: 184)

\textbf{BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION:} observation of times: weekdays

\textbf{TEXT:}

\begin{itemize}
\item OE: 1. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 40v
\end{itemize}

\textbf{DESCRIPTION:}

The month prognosis predicts important events for each month, depending upon the weekday on which the new moon appears (which is hardly the right word for new moon). The weekday structure is a familiar device also found in birth prognostics, brontologies and the year prognosis.\textsuperscript{745} Text (1) is uniquely attested. No known analogues in Latin or the vernacular have been identified for (1), but a Latin source must be presupposed as the entries can be rendered into Latin word by word: ‘\textit{Donne se mona bið acenned on sunnandæig. ðæt tacnād...}’ could be a translation of ‘Si prima luna fuerit die dominico significat...’.\textsuperscript{746}

The predictions of (1) pertain to human affairs, such as peace, warfare, death and health. The first

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{737}Weißer (1982: 99-108).
\item \textsuperscript{738}Weißer (1982: 422).
\item \textsuperscript{739}Weißer (1982: 424-30).
\item \textsuperscript{740}References and editions in Svenberg (1936: 5), Förster (1944: 6-7, n. 5), Beccaria (1956: 149 [26.9], 165 [34.23], 200, 201 [50.9, 11, 12], 218 [57.5], 345 [117.7], 365 [129.11]), Wickersheimer (1966: 53-54 [XLII], 57 [XLVIII.3], 74 [LXIII.9], 110 [LXXVI.28]), Weißer (1982: 44-56).
\item \textsuperscript{741}Weißer (1982: 114-24).
\item \textsuperscript{742}Weißer (1982: 118-19).
\item \textsuperscript{743}Förster (1912c: 31).
\item \textsuperscript{744}Förster (1912c: 31-36).
\item \textsuperscript{745}See the descriptions of the birth by weekday prognostic (3.1.3) and the weekday brontology (5.1.3) above, and the year prognosis (17) below.
\item \textsuperscript{746}From text 10/1.
\end{itemize}
entry, for Sunday, stands out in its inclusion of meteorological and agricultural information: ‘it means three things in that month: rain, wind, mildness, and it means a lack of cattle, and the health of people’.\textsuperscript{747} Hollis and Wright saw correspondences between the month prognosis and the wind and sunshine prognostics,\textsuperscript{748} but such similarities are fanciful for two reasons. First, the weekday structure is unlike the twelve days of Christmas enumerated in the wind and sunshine prognostics. Second, the sunshine prognosis focusses on agriculture and produce, the wind prognosis on death, and the month prognosis on death and health. A comparison between the month prognosis and the wind and sunshine prognostics is, therefore, inept. Rather, the month prognosis is remarkably similar to the weekday brontology or the year prognosis (but then without the meteorological and agricultural content). All three genres show a preoccupation with death and health. It is tempting to presume a link between the three genres, but evidence is lacking. The unique attestation of (1) is not particularly helpful either. I am inclined to think that (1) could be a reworking of a year prognosis with (incomplete) omission of meteorological data, but I have not found a year prognosis which is close in content to (1).

11 MOON, COLOUR
LITERATURE: Birch (1878: 477); Bezold and Boll (1911: 25-37); Günzel (1993: 77-78)
ATTRIBUTION: medieval: Pythagoras
AUTHORS: Pliny, Bede
BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION: observation of signs: colour of the moon
TEXT:
L: 1. London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fols 5r-6r
DESCRIPTION:
This text is not a prognostic in the ordinary sense. It is probably for this reason that Günzel discussed its contents under ‘miscellaneous texts’ rather than under ‘prognostics’. Günzel’s analysis is admirably concise and acute; the following account is much indebted to hers.

Günzel recognised a three-part structure, consisting of: (1a) an account of distances between the earth, moon, sun and stars; (1b) weather predictions based upon the colour of the moon; and (1c) an account of the colours and visibility of the rainbow. The first and last items are not prognosticatory, but the second is. Part (1a), attributed to Pythagoras in the text, is taken from the Byrhtferth Glosses, probably compiled in Auxerre around 900 as additions to Bede’s \textit{De natura rerum}.\textsuperscript{750} The information ultimately derives from the ‘Excerpts of Pliny’s Natural History’.\textsuperscript{751} Part (1c), on the rainbow, is taken from Bede’s \textit{De natura rerum}.\textsuperscript{752}

Part (1b) makes forecasts on the basis of the colours of the moon. The text belongs to a large group of lunar prognostics.\textsuperscript{753} Text (1b) differs from the other lunar prognostics in one important respect: it is a non-temporal text. This is a remarkable feature because lunar (and solar) observations, whether they be superstitious or not, are mostly concerned with the passage of time. In comparison with other prognostics, there are two distinctions. First, the author of (1b) is known, viz. Bede, who introduced...
the topic of the colour of the moon in his De natura rerum.\textsuperscript{754} There is only one other prognostic of which the author is known, i.e. the development of the foetus, derived from Vindicianus’ Gynaecia.\textsuperscript{755} Second, (1b) is excerpted from a larger work, while most other prognostics have probably always existed as independent texts. I know of two more exceptions: the development of the foetus, which began as a chapter of the Gynaecia, and the texts on the Dog Days, which started out as parts of medical tracts on the humours or bloodletting.\textsuperscript{756} Despite its atypical position within the prognostic corpus, (1b) displays the fundamental characteristic of a prognostic in that it predicts the future. The predictions are limited to the weather, particularly rain and storm. The origin of predictions using the colour of the moon are unknown, but Assyrian clay tables reporting a combination of shape and colour predictions have been found.\textsuperscript{757}

Text (1) as a whole seems to be a brief compilation of meteorological trivia. The motive for its compilation is obscure, but this is not the only curious piece of information in the first two quires of Titus D.xxvi, which mainly consists of prognostics.\textsuperscript{758} Also included in Latin are treatises on the six ages of the world, and on the length of Christ and the wood of the cross.\textsuperscript{759} These two texts are immediately followed by four prognostics, text (1), and another eight prognostics. The combination of prognostics and chronological, arithmetical and meteorological tidbits is not exclusive to Titus D.xxvi: it is also encountered in the companion volume Titus D.xxvii, and in Caligula A.xv, Tiberius A.iii, Harley 3271, and Royal 2.B.v.\textsuperscript{760} It would seem that what Warner and Gilson described as ‘chronological and other commonplaces’ (prognostics and temporal and meteorological curios) were pieces of information of equal value.\textsuperscript{761} In conclusion, I regard text (1) as representative for the contents of the first two quires of Titus D.xxvi.

12 REGIMEN

LITERATURE: Renzi (1852-59); Migne (1861-1904: I.759-86); Sudhoff (1908; 1909a-c); Thorndike (1923-58: I.676); Jones (1939: 73); Keil (1960); Reiche (1973); Stuart (1979); Taavitsainen (1988: 57-58); Mooney (1994); Adamson (1995); Wallis (1995: 112-15); Liuzza (2001: 224)

ATTRIBUTIONS: medieval: Bede, Hippocrates

BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION: observation of times: seasons, months

TEXT:

L: 1. London, British Library, Harley 3271, fols 122v-123v

DESCRIPTION:

A regimen is an aid in maintaining health by recommending the appropriate type of food and drink or medical procedure in accordance with the time of year or the temperaments. A good introduction to this genre is by Reiche.\textsuperscript{762} Many specimens have been edited in de Renzi’s monumental five-volume
Regimens were known in classical times. The earliest Latin instances date from the ninth century, in which they already existed in relatively large numbers. Beccaria’s catalogue of 145 medical manuscripts from the ninth to eleventh centuries contains over fifty references to regimens, some manuscripts containing no fewer than four texts. In view of the many attestations in continental manuscripts, it is remarkable that the insular pre-Conquest manuscripts have so far yielded but a few texts, only one of which is included in the text corpus. The possible reasons underlying the rarity of this genre in English manuscripts are discussed elsewhere.

Regimens can be ordered by day, week, month, or season. The monthly structure is the most common one attested in medieval manuscripts, hence the designations ‘Monatsregeln’ and ‘Monatsdiätetiken’ in German. Wallis claimed that the oldest (classical) regimens were seasonal, and that this structure changed when regimens came to be included in computi in the Middle Ages. While it is true that regimens are frequently encountered in computi, I am not convinced that this inclusion caused the change in structure, especially because many regimens are found in a medical rather than computistical context, also in early manuscripts. Moreover, the existence of several redactions among the earliest Latin monthly regimens texts would suggest that the monthly structure must have existed even before its supposedly contemporaneous inclusion in computi. Whether monthly regimens came into being through the computus or not, the structure of choice for regimens in medieval manuscripts was the monthly one.

Monthly regimens show considerable variation, although the contents of the texts resemble each other very much. In general, regimens give advice on diet (beneficial herbs and drinks), hygiene (bathing), and health (bloodletting, medication). Some regimens include additional information on the humours or the twenty-four Egyptian Days. The variation exhibited by regimens lies mainly in the amount and order of information. The texts can be quite lengthy, as (1) is, or very brief. As to the order in the texts, the monthly regimen may start with January or March.

Regimens have been attributed to Hippocrates (e.g. 1) and Bede. For a change, the ascription to Bede is not the work of Renaissance scholars, as the title of the regimen in Sloane 475, fols 4v-6r illustrates: ‘OBSERVATIO MENSIVM. SECVNDVM BEDAM’. The inclusion of a regimen among

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763 Renzi (1852-59).
764 Beccaria (1956: 111 [5.8, 11], 120 [8.6], 129 [11.2, 3], 134 [15.2, 4, 5, 7], 137 [16.21, 22], 140 [19.2], 143 [23], 148 [26.1], 165 [34.20], 171 [35.30], 178 [40.6], 179, 180 [41.2, 9], 182 [43.7], 194, 195-96 [48.7, 13], 200 [50.4], 203 [51.3], 206 [52.7], 212 [55.21], 216 [56.13], 225 [62.1, 6], 234 [68.5, 6], 245 [73.17], 256, 257 [78.12, 15, 19], 266-67 [83.5, 6, 8], 287 [91.11], 295-96 [94.17], 308 [100.6, 7], 315 [103.6], 318-19 [105.2], 321 [106.5], 365, 366 [129.8, 14], 378, 380 [133.28, 38], 382 [134.6], 384, 385 [135.2, 10]). Beccaria also included references to regimens in the manuscripts CUL Gg. 5. 35, Sloane 2839 (listed in section 2.2.2), and Sloane 475, fols 4v-6r.
766 Wallis (1995: 113-14). See also section 4.2.2.1.
Bede’s works in Migne can be dismissed as a spurious attribution.\textsuperscript{770}

Wallis wrote that Reiche had identified ‘fifty different types of monthly medical calendar’, but this is not right.\textsuperscript{771} Reiche mentioned that Beccaria had identified over fifty texts, not types.\textsuperscript{772} Beccaria distinguished twelve different types of regimens, and a few which are unclassifiable.\textsuperscript{773} Reiche published eight redactions of continental monthly regimens, Stuart four.\textsuperscript{774} The taxonomy of the genre has been poorly researched, as Reiche already noted,\textsuperscript{775} despite the many texts attested. In Beccaria’s classification, (1) belongs to the ‘Medicina Ypogratis’ type, probably on account of its title.\textsuperscript{776} Text (1) does not resemble closely any of the texts printed by either Reiche or Stuart. In response to a letter by Jones, Sigerist observed that regimens ‘are all very similar but never quite identical’, which are wise words that anyone who has ever tried to compare two regimens will be able to confirm.\textsuperscript{777} Much research still needs to be done on this genre.

\section*{13 \textit{SORTES SANCTORUM}}

\textbf{LITERATURE}: Pithou (1687: 370-73); Brand (1849-55: III.336-38); Hercher (1863); Chabaneau (1880a; 1880b); Rocquain (1880): Hartel (1886: 234-36); Winnefeld (1887); Harris (1888; 1901); Bolte (1901-06: IV.284-341); Lindsay (1911: I); Dobuschütz (1912: 54); Heinewetter (1912); Brandin (1914); Thordike (1923-58: I.630, II.606); Förster (1936); Ducange et al. (1937-38: VII.532-34, s.v. 2 sors); Dold (1948); Vienberg (1963: 6); Harmening (1979: 191-204); Breckman (1981); Kieckhefer (1989: 88); Liuzza (2001: 189-90); Klingshirn (2002)

\textbf{ALIAS}: \textit{sortes apostolorum}

\textbf{BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION}: divination: astragalomancy, cubomancy

\textbf{TEXT}:

\textit{L}: 1. Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 17, fols 157vb-158va

\textbf{DESCRIPTION}:

Like the only other divinatory text from Anglo-Saxon sources, the alphabet prognostic, (1) consists of a bare list of entries, ordered alphabetically in the former, and by a sequence of numbers in the latter. The entries of (1) start with a sequence of three numbers, followed by an interpretation of the future. The number sequence begins with c.c.c., and ends with i.i.i., while the range of the individual numbers is i-v, and c. 'c' is to be interpreted as a modified form of Greek \( \zeta \), i.e. 6,\textsuperscript{778} which complements the Roman numbers i-v. The sequence can thus be resolved into the range from 1 to 6. There are fifty-six entries in all, one of which is lacking. The number of entries coincides with the number of possibilities in which a set of three numbers, each ranging from 1 to 6, can be resolved, if the result is sorted in descending or ascending order.\textsuperscript{779}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{770}Migne (1861-1904: I.759-86), cf. Jones (1939: 73).
\item \textsuperscript{771}Wallis (1995: 133, n. 19).
\item \textsuperscript{772}Reiche (1973: 113).
\item \textsuperscript{773}Beccaria (1956: 443-44).
\item \textsuperscript{774}Reiche (1973: 117-41), Stuart (1979: 241-43).
\item \textsuperscript{775}Reiche (1973: 114).
\item \textsuperscript{776}Beccaria (1956: 443).
\item \textsuperscript{777}Cited in Jones (1939: 73).
\item \textsuperscript{778}Harris (1901: 48). Cf. Wissowa et al. (1894-1978: Suppl. IV.54, s.v. \textit{astragalomanteia}).
\item \textsuperscript{779}The total number of possible combinations of three numbers thrown with three dice is \( 6 \times 6 \times 6 = 216 \). If the result of the throw is not sorted, any one of six permutations (the factorial for a combination of three numbers is six) of three numbers is a valid outcome. However, in text 13/1 the result is sorted, so a throw of 316, for instance, must be resolved into 631 before it can be looked up in the text. The number of valid, sorted results for a throw with three dice is thus fifty-six: 6 for casting three identical numbers (xxx, in bold in the table below), thirty for casting two identical numbers and one dissimilar number (yx or yxx, in italics), and twenty for casting three dissimilar numbers (zyx, in roman type):
\end{itemize}
The working principle of (1) is not made explicit in the prognostic itself. Having established that we are dealing with a set of entries in which each is a combination of three numbers ranging from 1 to 6, it can be inferred that this prognostic is to be operated with six-sided dice, either with one throw of three dice or three throws of one die. Braekman published four Middle English redactions of the sortes prognostic, and in the facsimiles of two of the manuscripts three rectangles bearing the sides of dice are entered next to each of the interpretations. This adds weight to the supposition that (1) is a form of astragalomancy (sortes using knuckle bones or dice), specifically cubomancy (sortes using six-sided dice).

Several stone inscriptions of divination by means of dice demonstrate that astragalomancy was known in Greece. In the stone inscriptions quoted in Paulys and Harris, the dice used were four-sided knucklebones (numbered 1, 3, 4, and 6), and the die is to be thrown five or seven times to obtain the right interpretation. Brackman mentioned a Greek inscription which reports a four-sided die to be thrown three times. Moreover, the Greeks also used six-sided dice thrown three times. The emergence of codified Greek astragalomancy is placed in the second century AD. Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and Turkish instances of astragalomancy have also been found.

The total number of permutations for the fifty-six entries above is 336. The discrepancy between 336 possibilities and the number of combinations thrown with three dice, 216, can be explained as follows. First, all permutations for three identical numbers are possible (x x x, x x x, x x x, x x x, x x x, and x x x), but this is not taken into account in the number 216. Second, only three out of six permutations for two identical numbers with one dissimilar number are distinguished (x x y or x x y, yx x or yx x, x yx or x yx). Third, all permutations for three dissimilar numbers are distinguished (xyz, xzy, yxz, yzx, zxy, and zyx). So five out of six permutations are not recognised for xxx, and three out of six for xxy, yxx, and xyx. This means that (5*6) + (3*30) = 120. If the 120 possibilities not distinguished in the total of unsorted combinations are added to those which are distinguished, the total is: 120 + 216 = 336. I would like to thank Anke Prinsen for her invaluable help in this matter.

Harris (1901: 48) mentioned that the number of possible results of one throw with three dice is fifty-six, and of three throws with one die 216. The difference between these results, however, does not lie in the method of throwing, but depends upon whether the result is sorted or not.

The working principle of (1) is not made explicit in the prognostic itself. Having established that we are dealing with a set of entries in which each is a combination of three numbers ranging from 1 to 6, it can be inferred that this prognostic is to be operated with six-sided dice, either with one throw of three dice or three throws of one die. Braekman published four Middle English redactions of the sortes prognostic, and in the facsimiles of two of the manuscripts three rectangles bearing the sides of dice are entered next to each of the interpretations. This adds weight to the supposition that (1) is a form of astragalomancy (sortes using knuckle bones or dice), specifically cubomancy (sortes using six-sided dice).

Several stone inscriptions of divination by means of dice demonstrate that astragalomancy was known in Greece. In the stone inscriptions quoted in Paulys and Harris, the dice used were four-sided knucklebones (numbered 1, 3, 4, and 6), and the die is to be thrown five or seven times to obtain the right interpretation. Brackman mentioned a Greek inscription which reports a four-sided die to be thrown three times. Moreover, the Greeks also used six-sided dice thrown three times. The emergence of codified Greek astragalomancy is placed in the second century AD. Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and Turkish instances of astragalomancy have also been found.

The total number of permutations for the fifty-six entries above is 336. The discrepancy between 336 possibilities and the number of combinations thrown with three dice, 216, can be explained as follows. First, all permutations for three identical numbers are possible (x x x, x x x, x x x, x x x, x x x, and x x x), but this is not taken into account in the number 216. Second, only three out of six permutations for two identical numbers with one dissimilar number are distinguished (x x y or x x y, yx x or yx x, x yx or x yx). Third, all permutations for three dissimilar numbers are distinguished (xyz, xzy, yxz, yzx, zxy, and zyx). So five out of six permutations are not recognised for xxx, and three out of six for xxy, yxx, and xyx. This means that (5*6) + (3*30) = 120. If the 120 possibilities not distinguished in the total of unsorted combinations are added to those which are distinguished, the total is: 120 + 216 = 336. I would like to thank Anke Prinsen for her invaluable help in this matter.
Another branch of divination connected to the *sortes* under discussion is that in which specific questions are asked, and in which the answers are arranged in decades. An example of this type are the Greek *sortes* ascribed to the Egyptian Astrampsychos, dated to the sixth or seventh century. The questioner chooses a question from a numbered list, remembers the number of the question (x), and adds a randomly chosen number between 1 and 10 (n). In a separate table, the sum x + n is cross-referenced with one of the decades. The questioner retrieves the relevant decade, of which the nth line contains the answer. Intentional complications, such as the table that refers the questioner to a decade based on the outcome of x + n, and favourable or unfavourable times to consult the *sortes*, were added to heighten the oracular nature of these *sortes*. A text related to the *sortes* of Astrampsychos is the sixth- or seventh-century Latin *sortes Sangallenses*, which constitutes the original text of the palimpsest manuscript St. Gallen 908. Here, the decades have been expanded to dodecades. Dold argued that the answers of the dodecades correspond to a throw with one or two dice. So instead of choosing a number between 1 and 10, as in the *sortes* of Astrampsychos, the questioner throws dice to find the answer to his query. This would effectively link the *sortes Sangallenses* with astragalomancy.

The instances mentioned above testify to the long history of astragalomancy. The *sortes sanctorum* (bibliorum), or *sortes apostolorum* as they are also known, are yet another branch of divination by means of dice. In the decree *De libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, attributed to Pope Gelasius I (fl. 492-496) but thought to be a compilation dating to the sixth century, the *sortes sanctorum* are declared apocryphal (V.6.8). Various church councils from the fourth century onwards have condemned the use of the *sortes sanctorum*. Isidore of Seville defined ‘sortilegi’ as ‘those who profess the science of divination under the guise of religion through the so-called *sortes sanctorum* or predict [the future] by inspection of any kind of scriptures’. The unfavourable reception of the *sortes sanctorum* in the pseudo-Gelasian decree and the church councils, in addition to the censure of this type of prognostic in Isidore’s *Etymologiae*, testifies to the existence of these *sortes* from the early Middle Ages onwards.

One type of *sortes sanctorum*, with 216 entries, has been found in the famous Greek and Latin New Testament Codex Bezae, as marginal notes in Greek added to the Gospel of Mark in the tenth century. They are also attested in the Gospel of John in the Old Latin Codex St. Germain (g1), where...
the *sortes* are dated more or less to the same period as those in the Codex Bezae.\(^{798}\) In the Codex Bezae, the *sortes* end with entry seventy-one, but in the Codex St. Germain they run a full course from one to 216. Both redactions are related, and are thought to have derived ultimately from a *sors* like the *sortes* of Astrampsychos.\(^{799}\)

*Sortes sanctorum* which rely on the unsorted outcome of three dice to produce a total of 216 possible interpretations have a counterpart in (1).\(^{800}\) In (1), the outcome is sorted in descending order. *Sortes sanctorum* with fifty-six entries are thought to have emerged in the tenth century.\(^{801}\) The type with 216 unsorted entries is first attested in the sixth century. Despite the late emergence of *sortes* with fifty-six entries, these need not be a simplification of the unsorted *sortes sanctorum* because early Greek stone inscriptions already show sorted results,\(^{802}\) while a Greek magical papyrus of the third century AD has unsorted results.\(^{803}\) As the Greeks knew both sorted and unsorted forms of astragalomancy, it stands to reason that both forms may also have co-existed in the early Middle Ages.

In addition to (1), a number of analogues have been found: in Latin in Egerton 821 and Ludwig XII.5 (both of English origin),\(^{804}\) several continental versions in Latin from the tenth century and after, one in Provençal from the thirteenth century, one in French from the fourteenth century, and five in Middle English from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.\(^{805}\) Two of the Latin redactions and the French one, incidentally, preserve the reading ‘c’ for 6, just as in (1). A comparison between the Latin *sortes* and (1) makes clear that a number of different redactions exist, but that they are similar in subject matter.

In the above I have traced the origins of astragalomancy from the second century AD to the Middle Ages. The earliest stone inscriptions of divination by dice, and *sortes* like that of Astrampsychos, which were to merge with astragalomancy, illustrate that the *sortes sanctorum* ultimately derive from Greek astragalomancy. Since the *sortes sanctorum* were condemned in the pseudo-Gelasian decree and in church councils, and were mentioned by Isidore, they must have existed in the sixth century. The links between *sortes* like that of Astrampsychos and the *sortes sanctorum* with 216 entries suggest that

\(^{798}\)Harris (1888: 63; 1901: 45, 59). Harris (1901: 59-69) published the *sortes* from the Codex St. Germain, i.e. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 11553.

\(^{799}\)Harris (1901: 70-71).

\(^{800}\)Fürster (1936: 241 n. 15) did not consider the prognostics with 216 entries *sortes sanctorum*, but then he probably did not realise that the underlying mechanism only differs from the ones with fifty-six entries in that the latter use sorted results while the former do not.

\(^{801}\)Braekman (1981: 7).

\(^{802}\)Wissowa *et al.* (1894-1978: Suppl. IV. 54, s.v. astragalomancy).

\(^{803}\)On these manuscripts, see section 2.2.2.

\(^{804}\)Winnefeld (1887: 54-60) and Harris (1901: 180-84) edited one of the Latin *sortes*. Another of the Latin *sortes* was published by Pithou (1687: 370-73), Rocquain (1880: 465-74), Chabaneau (1880a: 172-78), Harris (1901: 117-27), and Brandin (1914: 483-94). The Provençal *sortes*, immured in a wall in the thirteenth or fourteenth century (in Cordes, France), discovered and first published in 1866 (cf. Chabaneau 1880a: 157-58), was edited by Rocquain (1880: 465-74), Chabaneau (1880a: 167-72), and Harris (1901: 117-27). The Provençal *sortes* makes use of coloured threads in the margins to choose from, rather than a throw of dice, but the text is comparable to that of its astragalomantic counterparts (Rocquain 1880: 461). Brandin (1914: 483-94) printed a French *sortes sanctorum*. Four of the Middle English *sortes* were edited by Braekman (1981: 21-46). Thorndike (1923-58: II.606, n. 4) listed four manuscripts containing the *sortes sanctorum*, Thorndike and Kibre (1963: 1101, 1687) mentioned two, while Fürster (1936: 241 n. 15) listed nine. A thorough, if dated, review of medieval Western European texts on lot-casting can be found in Bolte (1901-06: IV.293-341).
these *sortes* are a simplification of the intentionally intricate *sortes* of Astrampsychos. The *sortes* with fifty-six entries are first attested in the tenth century, which makes (1) an early example of this prognostic genre.

**14 SUNSHINE PROGNOSTIC**

**LITERATURE:** Hellmann (1896b: 65-67); Förster (1903: 350; 1906: 369, n. 1; 1912a: 64-71); Jastrow (1905-12: II.577-612); Gundel and Gundel (1966: 269-70); Harmening (1979: 120); Hollis and Wright (1992: 263-64); Epe (1995: 58); Soldt (1995); Liuzza (2001: 184)

**ALIAS:** solare

**BRANCHES OF SUPERSTITION:** observation of signs: sunshine; observation of times: twelve days of Christmas

**TEXTS:**

OE: 1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 713
2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, fols 149v-150r

**DESCRIPTION:**

The Old English sunshine prognostics predict the future on the basis of sunshine on the twelve days of Christmas. The predictions focus on agriculture and produce, for instance ‘many fruits will be on the trees’, ‘the sea and all the rivers will be filled with fish’, and ‘quicksilver will be easy to obtain’. The twelve-day structure of the sunshine prognostic is shared with the wind prognostic, but is not encountered in any other prognostic, to my knowledge. There are only three prognostic genres which make use of Christian feast days, to wit the wind and sunshine prognostics and some redactions of the year prognosis. A good study of the sunshine prognostic is Förster’s.

Texts (1, 2) are the earliest attested sunshine prognostics. Förster identified several instances in Latin, Middle High German, and Swedish. A Latin text presumably underlies (1, 2), but no such text has been found which antedates the Old English translation. Texts (1, 2) differ in phrasing in some places. Since (1) is incomplete, the later text (2) cannot be a copy. It is likely that (1, 2) are independent translations from a Latin text. Early printed editions of the so-called ‘Bauernpraktik’ often include sunshine prognostics, e.g. the facsimile published by Hellmann.

There are three noteworthy aspects of (1, 2). First, there is an emphasis on the discovery of metals not encountered in any other prognostic: gold is mentioned twice, quicksilver once. The Latin text printed by Förster lists silver twice, and gold once. Second, (1, 2) refer specifically to the finding of metal ‘on ænge lcynne’ (‘among the English’). This topicality is not found in any of the sunshine prognostics, nor in any of the other prognostics. Third, the Old English texts refer to the *Wonders of the East*: ‘the camels will carry off much gold from the ants which must guard the gold hoard’. This learned allusion is unique in the Old English sunshine prognostics. The references to the English and the *Wonders of the East* give the impression that an Anglo-Saxon compiler customised or rewrote (1, 2), which is unusual because most translations into the vernacular keep close to the Latin source text.

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806 "mycele westmas on treowum beóð", ‘byð sé 7 ealle áea mid fixum ontínd’, and ‘byð cwichesofor cæðgeate’ (text 14/2).
807 Förster (1912a: 64-71).
808 Förster (1903: 350; 1912a: 66-71).
809 Förster (1912a: 64).
810 On the incompleteness of text 14/1, see section 4.2.5.2.
811 Hellmann (1896b: Aii verso-Aiii recto).
812 Förster (1912a: 66-67).
813 ‘þa olfenda mycel gold oðberad þan ætmetum þa þone goldhord healden scolden’ (text 14/2). For more information, see section 6.2.1.
15 UNLUCKY DAYS


BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION: observation of times: lunar phases

TEXTS:
2. London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 9r
L: 3. Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 17, fol. 40vb

DESCRIPTION:
The texts on the unlucky days are yet another branch of the extensive body of texts which report unfavourable days. The better-known counterpart to the texts on the unlucky days are those on the Egyptian Days, which are attested in large numbers in medieval times.

Unlucky days are two days per month on which anything started will never be finished. The texts consist of little more than a brief introduction of their purpose and a list of days. These days are not to be confused with the twenty-four Egyptian Days, which fall on fixed dates in the month. Unlucky days are ordered by lunar phases rather than dates.

Förster identified a number of texts on the unlucky days in Latin and the vernacular. In the twelfth century, an Anglo-Norman text on the unlucky days was added to the Tiberius Psalter. He claimed that the unlucky days go back to Greek sources. (1, 2) are translations from a Latin text, but Förster confessed that he had not yet located a Latin text which may be representative of the source for the translation. Although text (3), not known to Förster, resembles (1, 2) to such an extent that it may represent the source text, the manuscript of (3) postdates (1, 2) by half a century.

16 WIND PROGNOSTIC

LITERATURE: Hellmann (1896b: 65-67); Förster (1903: 350; 1912a: 55-64); Jastrow (1905-12: II.705-48); Harmening (1979: 120); Hollis and Wright (1992: 263-64); Epe (1995: 57-58); Liuzza (2001: 184)

BRANCHES OF SUPERSTITION: observation of signs: wind; observation of times: twelve days of Christmas

TEXT:

DESCRIPTION:
The wind prognostic predicts the future on the basis of the wind on the twelve days of Christmas. The predictions focus on death and disaster, for instance ‘ordained men will die’, and ‘there will be peril at sea and ships will perish’. The predictions are without exception negative in tone, which seems to indicate that wind and storms were regarded unfavourably. The twelve-day structure of the wind prognostic is shared with the sunshine prognostic, but is not encountered in any other prognostic, to my knowledge. A good study of this genre is Förster’s.

Text (1) is the earliest attested wind prognostic. Förster identified several instances in Latin,

81See the descriptions of the Dog Days (6) and the three, twelve and twenty-four Egyptian Days (8, 8.1, 8.2, 8.3) above.
815‘(T)weigen dagas syndon on æghwilcum monèd. þæt swa hwæt swa man on þam dagum onginneð. Ne wurd hit næfre geendod’ (text 15/2). For a list of days, see table A3.14.
816Förster (1903: 352; 1929: 264-65).
817Tiberius C.xi, fol. 114r (see section 2.2.1).
818Förster (1929: 264).
819‘gehadode weras sweltað’, and ‘byð frecne on seo. 7 scipu þornweordæð’ (text 16/1).
820Förster (1912a: 55-64).
Middle High German, and Swedish.\textsuperscript{821} Early printed editions of the so-called ‘Bauernpraktik’ (the German name for the year prognosis) often include wind prognostics, e.g. the facsimile published by Hellmann.\textsuperscript{822} A Latin text presumably underlies (1), but no such text has been found to antedate the Old English translation.

**17 YEAR PROGNOSIS**

**LITERATURE:** Hampson (1841: I.133-34); Migne (1861-1904: I.951); Birch (1878: 480, 505; 1892: 257-58, 277); Meyer (1881: 84-85); Camus (1891: 206-07, 211); Hellmann (1896b); Förster (1903: 347-50; 1908b: 296-301; 1908c: 33, 36; 1912b: 291-95; 1920: 52); Craig (1916: xxxii-xxxvii); Svenberg (1936: 6-7); Jones (1939: 87); Gundel and Gundel (1959: 72-75); Martin (1977: 21, 24); Harmening (1979: 120-45); Matter (1982); Braswell (1984: 347); Hunt (1987: 180, n. 126); Taavitsainen (1988: 52); Hollis and Wright (1992: 263); Günzel (1993: 33-34); Epe (1995: 56-57); Liuzza (2001: 183-84)

**ALIAS:** *Bauernpraktik, Revelatio Esdrae*

**ATTRIBUTIONS:** medieval: Esdras/Ezra, Ezekiel; post-medieval: Bede

**BRANCH OF SUPERSTITION:** observation of times: weekdays, 1 January or Christmas Day

**TEXTS:**

**OE:**
1. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fols 41v-42r
2. London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 75v
3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, fol. 149r

**L/OE:**
4. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 36v

**L:**
8. Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 17, fol. 159rb

**DESCRIPTION:**
It is traditionally observed that of all meteorological prognostics, the year prognosis was the most widely distributed genre in the Middle Ages.\textsuperscript{823} Year prognoses in Latin and the vernacular have been attested in many volumes from the late eighth century to the present day. Good studies of the genre are Hellmann’s, Craig’s, and Matter’s.\textsuperscript{824}

A year prognosis predicts the weather to come, harvest and agricultural conditions, and human affairs, for instance: ‘if the kalends of January falls on Sunday, it will be a good winter and a windy spring, a dry summer and this year will be a very good year; sheep will grow, and there will be much honey, and there will be abundance and peace on earth’.\textsuperscript{825} Typically, a prognosis of the weather is given for the seasons, after which follows a description of the size of crops and produce (pertaining to harvest, vineyards, livestock, honey). The prediction ends with observations on the human condition, e.g. the death of old people, or the establishment of peace. This final prediction is usually quite brief, though in later texts in particular, human affairs take up a large part of the predictions.\textsuperscript{826}

The texts are ordered by the weekday on which 1 January (1, 4-6, 8) or Christmas (3, 7) falls. For

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821 Förster (1903: 350; 1912a: 54-63).
822 Hellmann (1896b: Aiii recto).
824 Printed editions have been studied by Hellmann (1896b), manuscript versions by Craig (1916: xxxii-xxxvii). Matter (1982) discussed the origins of the genre and the transmission into Latin and English. Matter’s article is copiously annotated.
825 K januarius gif he þeþ on sunnandæg þonne bið god winter 7 windig lencten. 7 dryge sumor. 7 swý þe god gear biþ þy geare. 7 sceap wexaxð. 7 micel hunig biþ. 7 genihtsumnes. 7 sib byð on corþan’ (text 17/1).
826 This is already apparent in text 17/8. Cf. Craig (1916: xxxiv).
some texts it is not clear to what day they pertain. Text (2), for instance, refers to the ‘first day of the year’, leaving the date of New Year up to the reader.\textsuperscript{827} Generally, the older texts use 1 January, while later ones employ either 1 January or Christmas.\textsuperscript{828} Craig even found a manuscript in which the two arrangements were written side by side.\textsuperscript{829} The oldest attested Latin year prognosis, in Leiden, Voss. Lat. Q.69, fol. 37vab, from s. viii/ix, is based on the kalends of January. Text (7), from s. xii\textsuperscript{med}, is the first Latin text to use Christmas Day; (3) from s. xii\textsuperscript{med}, is the earliest vernacular year prognosis to do so.\textsuperscript{830} Matter placed the origin of the Christmas Day variant in England,\textsuperscript{831} which makes sense because the earliest examples are indeed insular. It is perhaps significant that the manuscript containing (3) also includes wind and sunshine prognostics, which are both arranged by the twelve days of Christmas. Hellmann dated the genesis of Christmas-based year prognoses after the year 1000.\textsuperscript{832} Craig observed that ‘it seems impossible to make any distinction between the two series’ of kalends and Christmas Day year prognoses.\textsuperscript{833} Indeed, a comparison of the contents of the entries for (1), which is kalends-based, and (3), which is Christmas-based, reveals that the translator of (3) probably merely substituted ‘K\textsuperscript{i}anuarius’ with ‘middeswintres messedeg’:

(1) If the kalends of January falls on Sunday, it will be a good winter and a windy spring, a dry summer and this year will be a very good year; sheep will grow, and there will be much honey, and there will be abundance and peace on earth.\textsuperscript{834}

(3) If Christmas Day falls on Sunday, it will be a good winter and a windy spring, a dry summer and the vineyards will be good; sheep will grow, and there will be honey in abundance, and all will be peace and abundance on earth.\textsuperscript{835}

Although (1, 3) are not likely to be derived from a common Latin source, they do contain the same kind and roughly the same amount of information, the only substantial difference being the arrangement of 1 January versus Christmas Day. The step from kalends to Christmas entailed no more than a substitution in the structural part of the text: the predictions themselves did not change.

It is generally assumed that the year prognosis derived from a Greek text presented as the work of the prophet Ezra.\textsuperscript{836} The translation into Latin took place in a remarkably early period in the Middle Ages for prognostics: the oldest Latin texts date from the early ninth century.\textsuperscript{837} To my knowledge, the only other prognostics in Latin known in this period are the Apuleian Sphere, the twenty-four Egyptian

\textsuperscript{827} ‘forme geares dæig’ (text 17/2). The beginning of the year and 1 January do not necessarily coincide, cf. Harrison (1973), Harmening (1979: 121-45).
\textsuperscript{828} Hellmann (1896b: 61-62).
\textsuperscript{829} Craig (1916: xxxiii).
\textsuperscript{830} Matter (1982: 383) thought that the year prognosis in Digby 86 was the earliest Christmas Day variant in the vernacular, but this manuscript postdates Hatton 115.
\textsuperscript{831} Matter (1982: 383).
\textsuperscript{832} Hellmann (1896b: 62).
\textsuperscript{833} Craig (1916: xxxiii).
\textsuperscript{834} K\textsuperscript{i}anuarius gif he biþ on sunnandæg þonne bið god winter 7 windig lencten. 7 dryge sumor. 7 swyþe god gear biþ þy geare. 7 sceap waxaþ. 7 micel hunig biþ. 7 genihtsumnes. 7 sib byð on eorþan’ (text 17/1).
\textsuperscript{835} Gif middeswintres messedeg b’i’d on sunnandeg. þonne bið god winter. 7 lengen windi. 7 drige sumer. 7 wingardas gode. 7 sceap beoð waxaende. 7 huni beoð genihtsum. 7 eal sib bið genihtsumo’ (text 17/3).
\textsuperscript{837} E.g. Leiden, Voss. Lat. Q.69, fol. 37vab, from s. viii/ix, and Munich, Clm 14456, fol. 75v, from before 824.
Days, and the *sortes sanctorum*. The year prognosis proved incredibly popular throughout the Middle Ages and up to the present. Craig identified a great number of manuscripts containing year prognoses, while Hellmann found fifty-nine printed editions from 1508 onwards. In addition to year prognoses in Latin, texts have been attested in English, French, German, Danish, Norwegian, Icelandic, Swedish, Finnish, Frisian, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and Czech. In medieval times, the year prognosis is attributed to Ezra, alias Esdras, or Ezekiel. The ascription of the year prognosis to Bede is post-medieval and entirely spurious. Hellmann was inclined to accept an early date for the Latin year prognosis, but he did not therefore also believe in the authenticity of the ascription to Bede.

Sigerist’s observation that regimens ‘are all very similar but never quite identical’, would seem to apply to year prognoses as well. Texts of both genres have been transmitted in such large numbers that an attempt to establish a taxonomy of the redactions and variants would be exceedingly difficult. The Old English texts (1-4) show enough differences in phrasing and content to presume that they cannot derive from a common exemplar in Old English. The predictions follow the same pattern of weather prognosis, produce and a limited account of human affairs. It is likely that the texts derive from different versions of one Latin text redaction. In the case of (4), the immediate source is the Latin text which served as the basis for the Old English glosses. The contents of the Latin texts vary greatly. Texts (4-6) would seem to form three versions of one redaction. Texts (7) and (8) are representatives of two more redactions. The genre requires intensive study and preferably a comparison of the several hundreds of texts that must have survived in medieval manuscripts.

### 3.2.2 SEQUENCES

Close observation of the manuscript evidence reveals certain fixed sequences of prognostics. These sequences form close-knit units: it is unusual to find other texts breaking them up. I have identified three such sequences of which the individual prognostics show strong thematic and/or structural coherence:

α a series of lunaries with a birth prognostic

β texts on the Egyptian Days and Dog Days

γ texts on the Egyptian Days and the miraculous birthdays

Sequence α consists of five texts in its most complete form: a bloodletting lunary (α1), a birth

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839Camus (1891: 206-07, 211), Hellmann (1896b: 36-54), Förster (1903: 348; 1908b: 298-301), Craig (1916: xxxiv-xxxvii).
841Hellmann (1896b: 59-60).
842Cited in Jones (1939: 73).
844In addition to the three sequences described here, there is one minor grouping the knowledge of which, like the β-sequence, did not travel widely. This grouping, an Old English dreambook and an agenda lunary, exists in two manuscripts: (1) Tiberius A.iii, fols 38r-40r (Christ Church, Canterbury), and (2) Hatton 115, fols 150v-153v (Christ Church, Canterbury). I do not include this grouping with the main sequences because there is no logical connection whatsoever between the two prognostic genres concerned: the dreambook and agenda lunary do no share any structural or thematic features at all. The grouping is, therefore, unsystematic.
prognostic by weekday (α2), birth (α3), illness (α4), and dream (α5) lunaries. The lunaries have a structural relationship, while the birth prognostic is thematically related to the birth lunar. These prognostics are all temporal, and they depend upon relative time. There are seven representatives of the α-sequence in the corpus of Anglo-Saxon prognostics, two of which are complete:

1. Titus D.xxvi, fols 6r-9v (α1-α5, in Latin)
2. St. John’s College 17, fol. 4r (α1-α5, in Latin)
3. Lambeth Palace 427, fol. 3r (α1, α5, in Latin)
4. Tiberius A.iii, fol. 65rv (α1-α4, in Latin)
5. CCCC 391, pp. 715-718, 720-721 (α2-α4, α5, in Old English)
6. Caligula A.xv, fols 131v-132r (α5, α3, in Old English)
7. Hatton 115, fols 148r-149r (α5, α3, α2, in Old English)

The first five α-sequences adhere to the predominant order α1-α5, whereas the sequences in (6, 7) are not only incomplete, but they also lack this order. The scribe of (7) copied texts individually rather than wholesale, probably as they came to hand or caught his eye, which might explain why he did not write out whole sequences as the scribes of the first five sequences had done. Evidence of this scenario is presented by the incomplete state of α3, a text which is followed immediately by a complete version of α2. The scribe of the α-sequence in (6) probably used either (4), or an exemplar very much like it (for the lunaries, that is).

The α-sequence is most frequently attested in prognostic sections (1, 4, 5, 7), though the sequence does appear in the computus as well (2, 3, 6). Incidentally, the existence of this sequence warrants the attestation of bloodletting lunaries outside a computistical context, because such lunaries almost always precede the calendar, or are found elsewhere in computistical sections. Since the sequence came into being only towards the end of the Anglo-Saxon period in both the computus and prognostic sections, it is unclear in what context the α-sequence originated. Nevertheless, since bloodletting lunaries appear out of place outside the computus, I assume that the computus is the place where the α-sequence evolved.

The β-sequence is a unit of two, sometimes three, prognostics: a text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days (β1), one on the Dog Days (β2), and, optionally, one on the three Egyptian Days (β3). All three texts share a thematic feature in that they designate a number of days in the year in which it is dangerous to let blood or to take medicine. The first two prognostic genres are also the only ones found in a calendar context. I have found three examples of the β-sequence:

845 See section 4.2.2.1.
846 The illness lunar in Tiberius A.iii breaks off deliberately at phase 7.
847 The α-sequence in CCCC 391 is interrupted by a γ-sequence (see below), which is placed between α4 and α5. Moreover, the γ-sequence is directly followed by a Latin dream lunar in a, for Anglo-Saxon sources, unusual redaction (see section 3.2.1).
848 The birth lunar in Hatton 115 breaks off deliberately at phase 14.
849 See chapter 4 for a study of the various manuscript contexts.
850 See sections 5.2.2.2, 5.2.3.
851 The dichotomy of the two redactions of bloodletting lunaries in α-sequences might suggest a parallel development, however (see the description of the bloodletting lunaries (9.2.3) above).
852 See section 4.2.1.
There are indications that \( \beta3 \) might not be an integral part of the \( \beta \)-sequence, as is shown by (1), where \( \beta1-\beta2 \) are accidentally separated from \( \beta3 \) by a non-prognostic text.\(^{853}\) and (3), which does not include the text on the three Egyptian Days. No Old English versions of the \( \beta \)-sequence have been attested.

Sequence \( \gamma \) is the most concise, with only two short prognostics: a text on the three Egyptian Days (\( \gamma1 \)), and one on the three miraculous birthdays (\( \gamma2 \)). The relationship between these texts is one of structure. I have found five examples of the \( \gamma \)-sequence:

(1) CCCC 422, p. 49 (\( \gamma1-\gamma2 \), in Latin)
(2) Titus D.xxvi, fols 3v-4v (\( \gamma1-\gamma2 \), in Latin)
(3) St. John’s College 17, fol. 3va (\( \gamma1-\gamma2 \), in Latin)
(4) CCCC 391, p. 718 (\( \gamma2, \gamma1 \), in Old English)\(^{854}\)
(5) Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 15r (\( \gamma2, \gamma1 \), in Old English)

The texts on the three Egyptian Days and the three miraculous birthdays must of necessity be complete to form a sequence at all, so there cannot be any fragmentary distributions. Remarkably, the sequence is reversed in Old English; I have not been able to discover the rationale behind this. As the prognostics in the \( \gamma \)-sequence are quite brief, the filler context in which they occur in (1) is not odd.\(^{855}\) Both the Latin and Old English sequences are attested in the computus and in prognostic sections.

The sequences described above indicate an attempt on the part of scribes or compilers to order prognostics thematically (\( \beta \)), or structurally (\( \alpha \) and \( \gamma \)). The number of sequences found – fifteen –, and the number of texts involved – forty-three out of a corpus of 171 –, lead me to conclude that the effort of categorising played a considerable part in the later history and transmission of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics. If the period and place in which the sequences appeared are tabulated, the results are as follows:\(^{856}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>first attested</th>
<th>place of origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha ) s. xi(^1)</td>
<td>Christ Church, Canterbury; Winchester; Worcester; *Ramsey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \beta ) s. xi(^1)</td>
<td>New Minster, Winchester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \gamma ) s. xi(^1)</td>
<td>Sherborne; New Minster, Winchester; Worcester; *Ramsey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The revival of science and scholarship in this era provided a basis for a scientific, systematic

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853See section 4.2.2.3.
854This is the \( \gamma \)-sequence that interrupts the \( \alpha \)-sequence of CCCC 391.
855See section 4.2.4.
856On the designation ‘*Ramsey’, see section 5.2.2.1.
857See section 5.2.3.
approach to prognostics. The appearance of the $\alpha$- and $\gamma$-sequences in manuscripts from all centres of the Reform would seem to indicate that the newfound knowledge was shared between the monasteries. I will discuss the importance of the Benedictine Reform in the light of prognostics more fully later on.\textsuperscript{858}

3.3 SYNTHESIS

In this chapter I have provided an overview of the history of the prognostic genres known in England before the thirteenth century. It would go too far to sum up here the findings for each individual genre. However, certain tendencies have become apparent. First, the age of some prognostic genres is considerable, especially that of the alphabetical dreambooks. Other genres, such as the Egyptian Days, the Dog Days and Apuleian Spheres may have emerged in classical times, but the majority of genres cannot be traced further back than their attestations in eighth- and ninth-century continental manuscripts. Second, none of the prognostic genres can be ascribed to a Germanic tradition of superstition. All prognostics known in Anglo-Saxon England are composed either in Latin or are translated from Latin sources. Nevertheless, nowhere in Western Europe has the vernacularisation of prognostics enjoyed such an early start as in England. The Old English text on the Dog Days in Royal 12.D.xvii is the earliest prognostic in the vernacular ever encountered, to my knowledge. All other genres represented in Old English were translated long before they emerged in any other vernacular. This is mainly due to the translations of prognostics in eleventh-century computi and miscellanies, i.e. in CCCC 391, CCCC 422, Caligula A.xv, Tiberius A.iii, Vitellius C.viii, Vitellius E.xviii, and Harley 3271. An exceptional case in this respect is the alphabet prognostic in Titus D.xxvii, of which no Latin text exists which antedates the Old English text. Third, there is a decided taste for temporal prognostics in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, mainly for lunaries and texts prohibiting bloodletting. The predilection for both can be explained through the space offered for such prognostics in calendars, computi and miscellanies.\textsuperscript{859} Fourth, knowledge of the mechanisms of manuscript transmission varies. When it comes to Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, it is in many cases clear what the relationships between representatives of one genre are. Moreover, the transmission in sequences as outlined in section 3.2.2 shows that sometimes texts were copied in batches. Since the prognostics in insular manuscripts derive from continental sources,\textsuperscript{860} one would expect to find continental exemplars for these prognostics. Unfortunately, it is hard to identify continental manuscripts containing prognostics that were brought to England in the Anglo-Saxon period and which may have served as exemplars. For that matter, the transition from pre-Christian and classical prognostics to early medieval Western Europe is still obscure, despite intensive studies which have been carried out in the past into the genre of dreambooks, for instance. Obviously, the greatest breakthroughs are to be expected in these transitional stages, i.e. from the classical world to early medieval learning, and from continental manuscripts of the ninth century onwards to the insular manuscripts of the late tenth and eleventh centuries.

\textsuperscript{858} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{859} The correlation between context and prognostic genre is studied in chapter 4.
\textsuperscript{860} There are strong indications that many of the prognostics in insular manuscripts from the tenth and eleventh centuries were copied from manuscripts which entered England during the Benedictine Reform, see sections 5.2.2.2, 5.2.3.
4 A STUDY OF THE MANUSCRIPT CONTEXT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter 2 the extant Anglo-Saxon prognostics were found to be part of manuscripts known principally for the various other genres they contain. Prognostics have thus been discovered in computi, in volumes on science or medicine, and in miscellanies which present a host of different text genres. Despite the large number of possible contexts, I will argue in this chapter that there are in fact just five contexts in which prognostics have been found: (1) in calendars; (2) in computi; (3) in medical sections; (4) as filler texts; and (5) gathered together in prognostic sections.

This chapter is a preliminary to three subsequent contextual studies of the prognostics: on the language, date, and place of origin (chapter 5), on superstition and prognostication (chapter 6), and on the intended use of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics (chapter 7). To facilitate a discussion of the manuscript context, I have divided the present chapter into five main sections which correspond to the places where the prognostics can be found. A footnote at the head of each section lists the manuscripts to be discussed. Descriptions of the date, origin and contents of each manuscript, as well as a detailed survey of the prognostics, have been provided in section 2.2.1. All descriptions of manuscripts in the present chapter are based upon section 2.2.1, where the reader will find references to the sources I have used. A condensed reference list to the prognostic corpus is provided in appendix 1.

4.2.1 CALENDARS

Of the thirty-seven manuscripts which compose the prognostic corpus, twenty-two feature calendars with prognostic material. By prognostic material is understood the incorporation of prognostic data in calendars, in contrast to stand-alone prognostics. Egyptian Days, for instance, have been attested as independent texts but also feature as entries in the calendar, where they are mentioned as ‘dies egyptiacus’, ‘dies mala’, ‘d e’, ‘d e’, ‘d a’, ‘d’, etc. Prognostic material is of a more hermetic nature.
than stand-alone prognostics because the prospective reader will have to be able to recognise the former and to interpret its meaning and implications. Twelve out of twenty-two manuscripts incorporate prognostic material in the calendar only, the remaining ten have stand-alone prognostics in addition to prognostic material. These calendars are included in manuscripts of predominantly religious intent. Prognostic material in calendars makes up a large proportion of the entire prognostic corpus, but calendars have hitherto been neglected in the study of prognostics. In this section I limit myself to an overview of prognostic material to illustrate the relevance of this context for the study of prognostics. In section 4.2.2 the wider, computistical, context will be addressed.

Easter tables, often accompanied by a calendar, form the core of the computus. The computus concerns itself with time reckoning, which is important for liturgical purposes. It is not surprising, then, that many of the calendars under discussion can be found in manuscripts of a religious nature. It stands to reason that the scope of prognostic material is of necessity limited to that which uses fixed dates: the Dog Days and the twenty-four Egyptian Days. Wallis studied the development of ecclesiastical calendars from Roman civil and agricultural calendars in the fifth century AD. She argued that church calendars had no use for Roman festivals, and that the number of Christian feasts was small at the time. This would leave considerable gaps in the calendar, whereas ‘a calendar was fundamentally a list of named days’. Because early ecclesiastical calendars would have been rather empty, ‘meteorological and seasonal indicators, as well as other paraphernalia such as Egyptian Days’ were incorporated. This scenario would account for the inclusion of Dog Days and Egyptian Days in early medieval calendars, but I have some hesitations with regard to Anglo-Saxon calendars.

First, incorporation of prognostic material is not always the rule in insular calendars, which in sporadic cases lack entries for the Dog Days and Egyptian Days altogether. One manuscript, CCC 391, which boasts a large prognostic section towards the end of the volume and a computus at the beginning, does not have any prognostic material in the calendar. Five calendars have entries for the Dog Days only, and six feature Egyptian Days solely. Second, early calendars do not invariably include prognostic material, the calendar of St. Willibrord (658-739) being a case in point. Moreover, some early Anglo-Saxon calendars show impaired transmission of the Dog Days and Egyptian Days. Of the four Anglo-Saxon calendars antedating the eleventh century, two contain an incomplete and haphazard selection of Egyptian Days; the other two mention the beginning of the Dog Days, but not the end. In comparison, of the eighteen calendars from the eleventh century and after, three have

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7Scholars who mentioned prognostic material in calendars are rare. Exceptions are: Camus (1891: 254-55), James (1900-04: III.379 [1369.2]), Wildhagen (1921: 77, n. 2), Thorndike (1923-58: I.686).
8See section 4.2.2 for more information on the computus.
9The only other prognostic genres which assign fixed dates are the twelve Egyptian Days and the three miraculous birthdays. I do not know of any medieval calendar which incorporates the dates assigned in these texts, however. The unlucky days, a genre which shows some affinity with the twenty-four Egyptian Days though is not to be confused with the latter, uses dating by the age of the moon.
11See section 4.2.5.2.
12The entries for Dog Days and Egyptians Days in Vitellius A.xii are in two separate calendars.
selected entries on the Egyptian Days, and another three do not mention the end of the Dog Days.\textsuperscript{16} My third and final observation is that some calendars originally lacking Egyptian Days had these entries added at a post-Conquest date, which indicates a deliberate reintroduction of prognostic material into the calendar.\textsuperscript{17} The later addition of prognostic material is the more significant as it demonstrates that, in late Anglo-Saxon calendars, Egyptian Days were not included for reasons of filling up blank space, something which may have applied to early ecclesiastical calendars.

The three reservations mentioned seem to indicate that the Dog Days and Egyptian Days in Anglo-Saxon calendars were incorporated for a different reason compared to earlier ecclesiastical calendars. Wallis mentioned that in early calendars, Egyptian Days filled awkward gaps. In contrast, Anglo-Saxon calendars do not exhibit a lack of entries and are not in need of ‘meteorological and seasonal indicators’ for this reason. This is substantiated by the absence of entries on the Egyptian Days and Dog Days, impaired transmission and later addition of the same in some Anglo-Saxon calendars. If the scribes of Anglo-Saxon calendars did not suffer from \textit{horror vacui}, there must be another reason why prognostic material was in demand. As has been pointed out in my second reservation, we should distinguish between calendars from before the eleventh century, and those that have come into existence in the eleventh century and after. None of the pre-eleventh-century calendars has a complete set of dates for either the Egyptian Days or the Dog Days, whereas a large majority of the later calendars do. This would suggest that, by the eleventh century, the Egyptian Days and Dog Days were becoming a standard ingredient of Anglo-Saxon calendars, which is confirmed by the addition of Egyptian Days at a post-Conquest date in calendars originally lacking these entries. Therefore, the incorporation of prognostic material in late Anglo-Saxon and post-Conquest calendars testifies to a tradition, rather than the display of a fear of, by that time non-existent, blank spaces in the calendar.

4.2.2 \textsc{Computi}\textsuperscript{18}

In addition to prognostic material embedded in calendars, several computi contain stand-alone redactions of prognostics. Computus, ‘gerim’ in Old English, is defined by the \textit{Oxford English Dictionary} as ‘the mediæval name for a set of tables for practically calculating astronomical occurrences and the movable dates of the calendar; a calendar’.\textsuperscript{19} However, the computus is not strictly a matter of tabular material, nor is it just a calendar. Baker and Lapidge established that ‘the computus was a collection of letters, instructions and tables relating to the calendar’.\textsuperscript{20} The term ‘computus’ is used by Bede to denote both calculation in general, and time reckoning in particular, while the specific use is

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{16}Calendars from the twelfth century and after almost invariably include Egyptian Days and Dog Days as standard ingredients, cf. Wormald (1939-46).
\textsuperscript{17}In section 4.2.4, I discuss prognostics as filler material of space originally left blank. I do not think, however, that insertion of Egyptian Days in the calendar is an example of filler material since there is no blank space to speak of in late Anglo-Saxon calendars.
\textsuperscript{18}This section pertains to CCCC 422, CTC O.7.41, CTC R.15.32, Arundel 60, Caligula A.xv, Tiberius C.i + Harley 3667, Tiberius C.vi, Titus D.xxvii, Vitellius A.xii, Vitellius C.viii, Vitellius E.xviii, Harley 3271, Lambeth Palace 427, Bodley 579, St. John’s College 17. The following limitations apply: (a) the prognostics in CCCC 422, p. 49, Tiberius C.vi, fol. 114r, and Titus D.xxvii, fols 55v-56v, are excluded since they are later additions (see section 4.2.4); (b) by Titus D.xxvii I do not mean D.xxvii \textit{and} xxvi, for which see section 4.2.5.4.
\textsuperscript{19}Simpson and Weiner (1992: s.v. \textit{computus}).
\end{flushleft}
more usual among later Anglo-Saxon writers such as Ælfric. At the heart of the computus are the Easter tables accompanied by a series of commentaries, and, later, the calendar, all designed to correctly monitor time and its progress. A proper understanding of time, after all, meant a correct observation of the liturgy.

4.2.2.1 ACCRETION OF PROGNOSTICS IN THE COMPUTUS

Wallis explained succinctly how non-computistical texts found their way into the computus:

as these tables [viz. the calendar and the Easter tables] crossed North Africa and Italy in the sixth and seventh centuries, they also took on board additional tables and formulae, as well as useful supplementary materials such as notes on astronomy and mathematics, and even peripheral elements (texts on medicine, music, grammar, and tables of weights and measures) that attached themselves to the computus by a kind of associative attraction. Some of the earliest surviving Western computus manuscripts already contain a halo of noncomputistical materials, some of which can be described as propaedeutic to the computus (e.g., astronomy, cosmology, and mathematics), but much of which is simply analogous to the computus, the common element being time and its measurement.

The accretive process which Wallis called ‘associative attraction’ accounted for a large body of non-computistical texts being drawn into the computus, including prognostics. In section 3.2.1, the majority of prognostic genres known in Anglo-Saxon England were seen to have been ordered by time sequences. The emphasis on time, the essence of the computus, is, therefore, patently visible in the Anglo-Saxon prognostics as well. Indeed, the prognostics hitherto encountered in computi are without exception temporal. There are two noteworthy examples of associative attraction.

First, Apuleian Spheres are frequently included in computi, and it is likely that this genre made its entry on account of its scientific appearance (diagrams, tables of letters and numbers, etc.), which makes the genre fit in very well with computistical tables and diagrams. In fact, almost all Anglo-Saxon Apuleian Spheres are found in computi; some manuscripts even contain more than one Apuleian Sphere. A typical example of associative attraction is found in St. John’s College 17, fols 3-12. These pages contain a series of tables and diagrams, including a diagram of an Apuleian Sphere on fol. 8rb. It is likely that this Apuleian Sphere was copied because of its similarity to scientific diagrams: the Apuleian Sphere lacks both the explanatory text and the numerical lists of letter and weekday values that usually accompany the diagram. The diagram itself is placed directly next to a similar looking diagram. Moreover, the diagram of the Apuleian Sphere contains Greek labels and a form of

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22For a proper understanding of the medieval computus, I refer the reader to Wallis’s lucid introduction to her translation of Bede’s De temporum ratione (1999: xv-lxxxv).
24Cf. Thorndike (1923-58: I.676), and Martin (1977: 24-26), who, strangely enough, tried to explain the presence of dreambooks in computus manuscripts. This, however, does not pertain to Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, which do not have dreambooks in the computus. Taavitsainen (1988: 133-51) studied the contexts of Middle English lunar prognostics.
25The (non-temporal) alphabet prognostic in Titus D.xxvii is excluded from consideration since it a an addition to the original text (see section 4.2.4).
26Vitellius E.xviii has two Apuleian Spheres. Tiberius C.i + Harley 3667 and St. John’s College 17 have three each. The Apuleian Sphere in the medical volume Sloane 475 is an exception (though see section 4.2.3).
27Wallis (1995: 122-27) made an outstanding analysis of the contents of this manuscript and the position of the texts.
cryptographic writing, which contribute to its scientific appeal. These indications seem to illustrate that there was, at this point in the manuscript, an interest in the Apuleian Sphere for the scientific guise of the diagram, rather than for its value as a prognostic.

Associative attraction is also present in the second example. The calendar and the Easter tables can be considered a twofold system of absolute and relative time in a lunar Easter cycle of nineteen solar years. The solar calendar is concerned with fixed dates, while lunar time shift with reference to the solar calendar. This twofold mechanism of time reckoning has attracted prognostics which follow the same division, as is evident from those most frequently attested in computi: texts on the Egyptian Days, the Dog Days and lunaries. The solar component is reflected by the Dog Days and Egyptian Days, which are on fixed dates in the year, while lunar time, which shifts as compared to the solar cycle, is represented by lunaries. If we consider computi which have calendars with prognostic material as well as stand-alone prognostics, it appears that six manuscripts feature Egyptian Days and/or Dog Days in the calendar or the computus, plus a bloodletting lunar.

Wallis discussed a system of time reckoning in the computus which is largely identical to the one I have just outlined: she employed a division of seasonal, astronomical, and calendric time. Seasonal time is manifested by regimens, texts which prescribe dietary and hygienic rules appropriate to the seasons. These texts, according to Wallis, were usually, though not always, adapted to fit the solar calendar, i.e. they were changed from seasonal to monthly, since seasons are not a central part of the computus whereas months are. In essence then, the seasonal-turned-monthly regimen had become an application of calendar time. Wallis has described astronomical time as follows:

\[ \text{Lunare time is astronomical time, and the medical effects of changes in heavenly bodies like the Moon can only be inferred or deduced on the basis of a theory of celestial influence; they cannot be experienced directly and somatically, as can seasonal changes.} \]

The Egyptian Days, finally, are representative of calendric time: ‘their character is determined not by the natural seasons, nor yet by the visible movements of the heavens, but by the arbitrary artifice of the Roman calendar’. This threefold system may be required for the continental computus, but it is cumbersome for Anglo-Saxon computi. To my knowledge, very few Anglo-Saxon manuscripts have regimens, which makes seasonal time a highly marginal issue. Moreover, Anglo-Saxon regimens are not incorporated into the computus. In comparison, the continental part of the composite manuscript Sloane 475 has no less than five regimens, which goes to show that Anglo-Saxon prognostics in Anglo-
Saxon England should be treated differently from continental ones.\textsuperscript{37} Works on the seasons and the humours were known in Anglo-Saxon England,\textsuperscript{38} but it has been argued that ‘an emphasis on diet’ and hygiene, as manifested in regimens, was somehow related to the emergence of the medical school of Salerno.\textsuperscript{39} This is a somewhat misguided view in the light of the many pre-eleventh-century regimens and writings on hygiene and the humours in European manuscripts.\textsuperscript{40} Cameron remarked that the Anglo-Saxons were acquainted with the theory of the humours, but that their understanding of the system was limited.\textsuperscript{41} Whether the Anglo-Saxons had a limited understanding of diet and hygiene or not, it is a fact that pre-Conquest English medicine had little to do with the topic in the form of regimens.

I agree with Wallis that the Egyptian Days are dates arbitrarily appointed throughout the year, but it is possible to find another prognostic genre which also assigned a fixed date, in a fixed season, yet of which the date is not determined arbitrarily: the Dog Days. These days are connected with the period in which the Dog-star, Sirius in Canis Major, is visible. Granted that the latitude of the observer and the precession of the equinoxes influence the period on which the Dog Days fall, these days are entered into the calendar because they are on fixed dates.\textsuperscript{42} Although I would class the Dog Days under solar time, it is unclear where Wallis would accommodate them, either under seasonal, astronomical, or calendric time: the Dog Days fall in a certain season, they are determined ‘by the visible movements of the heavens’, and they appear in the calendar. The advantage of the twofold system of solar and lunar time is its adequacy for Anglo-Saxon computi and the temporal prognostics.\textsuperscript{43}

4.2.2.2 TYPES OF COMPUTI

After this outline of how temporal prognostics found their way into the computus, I will discuss various kinds of computi to see how prognostics were transmitted from one type of computus to the other.\textsuperscript{44}

Bede, the godfather of Anglo-Saxon time reckoning, is said to have made use of Irish computi which ultimately derived from Spain and North Africa and which resulted in Bede’s computus and the Canterbury computus.\textsuperscript{45} The Irish computus consisted of ‘documents of the paschal controversies’,

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{37}I address the difference between the treatment of Anglo-Saxon and continental prognostics in section 4.2.3.1.\textsuperscript{38}Cameron (1993: 28, 53) referred to Bede quoting from the \textit{Epistula Vindiciani ad Pentadium nepotem}, a tract on the humours, health, and the seasons of the year.\textsuperscript{39}Singer (1917: 116). On what has been considered Salernitan medicine (but is not necessarily so), see Payne (1904: 143-57), Singer (1917: 115-17; 1928: 148; 1961: Lxxiv, Lxxxix-xl), Thorndike (1923-58: I.731-41), Grattan and Singer (1952: 74-79), Bonser (1963: 47), Talbot (1967: 38-55), Rubin (1974: 190).\textsuperscript{40}One only needs to consult a few pages of the catalogue of medical manuscripts compiled by Beccaria (1956) to realise how extensive learning was on this point.\textsuperscript{41}Cameron (1993: 161, 168). On bloodletting, hygiene, and the humours, see Bonser (1963: 34-37, 294-99), Rubin (1974: 140-44), Cameron (1993: 28, 159-68).\textsuperscript{42}The precession of the equinoxes is negligible unless one considers a period of hundreds of years, which generally exceeds the life span and validity of the contents of computi.\textsuperscript{43}Please note that I do not question Wallis’s threefold division in a wider perspective.\textsuperscript{44}The following paragraph is based upon Baker and Lapidge (1995: xl-x). Any mistakes and inaccuracies in the representation below are mine. Stevens (1992: 143, n. 1) mentioned ‘sixty-two independent \textit{computi}’ from Anglo-Saxon England, probably referring to computus manuscripts rather than individual versions of the computus. Hollis (2001: 189) speaks of forty-five computi from pre-twelth-century England.\textsuperscript{45}Wallis (1995: 107), who mentioned Italy as one of the places the computus passed.
Easter tables, and ‘computistical notes and aids’. Baker and Lapidge noted that these early computi do not include many tables and diagrams, and that calendars in them are rare. The next development in time reckoning took place on the continent in the form of the Abbonian computus, which came into being under the influence of Abbo in Fleury, one of the important centres of science at the time. The Abbonian computus was later to shape the work of Byrhtferth, Abbo’s pupil during Abbo’s stay at Ramsey. The Abbonian computus is characterised by a calendar, tables, arithmetical and astronomical verses, a perpetual calendar, tracts, and a taste for diagrams and rotae. Of this predilection for diagrams we have already seen an example in the Apuleian Sphere in St. John’s College 17, fol. 8rb. A source contributing to the computus of Byrhtferth was the so-called ‘Leofric-Tiberius’ computus, named after the two manuscripts containing relatively independent representatives of this type of computus. The Leofric-Tiberius computus evolved around 970, shortly after the Benedictine Reform commenced, and contains a calendar, many tables, few computistical notes, and a preference for computistical verse. The Winchester computus, which came into being around 978, is next and may have been the work of one person. This computus consists of tables, a calendar drawing on that of the Leofric-Tiberius computus, tables, computistical notes, and an elaborate Easter table not encountered elsewhere. A number of manuscripts have derived their computus from this type, and I designate these as post-Winchester. Finally, Byrhtferth compiled a computus of his own, based on an Abbonian computus probably in his possession, while also taking material from the Leofric-Tiberius and Winchester computi, and from an unidentified pre-Abbonian computus. Byrhtferth also added new material of his own design.

The types of computi outlined above concern the computistical contents solely, and do not pertain to prognostics and other non-computistical texts. Nevertheless, a division of manuscripts in view of the computi they contain might also reflect on the type of prognostics in these manuscripts. The various (fragmentary) computi are found in the following manuscripts:

Canterbury: Caligula A.xv; (St. John’s College 17)
Abbonian: (CTC R.15.32); Exeter 3507; (Tiberius C.i + Harley 3667); Vitellius A.xii; (St. John’s College 17)
Leofric-Tiberius: CCCC 422; (CUL Kk.5.32); Bodley 579; (Hatton 113); Rouen 274
Winchester: Add. 37517; CTC R.15.32; Arundel 60; Tiberius C.vi; Titus D.xxvii; Vitellius C.viii; Vitellius

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47 Wallis (1995: 105), however, asserted that computus was ‘for the most part, and certainly in its most formative period, not built around texts at all, but rather around tables’.  
48 On the writings and career of Abbo, see van de Vyver (1935) and the outstanding biography by Riché (2004).  
49 See section 4.2.2.1.  
50 The manuscripts are Tiberius B.v and Bodley 579.  
51 This list is based upon the information provided by Baker and Lapidge (1995: xl-xl). Manuscripts indicated in round brackets have features from the computus under which they are listed, but primarily contain another type of computus. For reasons explained in section 2.1, Exeter 3507, which has strong links with Vitellius A.xii (Abbonian), is not included in the text corpus. CCCC 391 is also excluded for it is my aim to compare related redactions of prognostics in computi, and the prognostics in this manuscript are all in a separate section at the end of the manuscript. I have been unable to ascertain the type of computus in the following manuscripts: CTC O.7.41, Harley 3271, and Lambeth Palace 427. Their absence in the list does not pose a problem, however, because the corpus as it stands is large enough to establish how prognostics were transmitted from one computus to the next. I have not listed the manuscripts containing prognostic material in the calendar only.
From the prognostics listed in section 2.2.1 and discussed in section 3.2.1, it appears that within the same genre, individual prognostics are sometimes related. This relationship is borne out by similarities in phrasing, idiom and grammar, and in the case of Apuleian Spheres by correspondences in the diagrams. Texts which share these similarities can be grouped as one redaction of a prognostic genre, while texts within the same genre which do not share these features form separate redactions. In order to discover how prognostics were transmitted from one computus to the next, we can trace redactions of these prognostics from one type of computus to the next. Two examples will suffice to illustrate how this works.

First, it is possible to distinguish between redactions of Dog Days in the calendar. One of these has an entry for the start of the Dog Days on 14 July, an entry for the appearance of the Dog-star on 17 July, and no entry for the end of the Dog Days. This redaction has been attested three times, in the calendars of Vitellius A.xii, Bodley 579, and Add. 37517. In the list of computi above, these three manuscripts are mentioned as Abbonian, Leofric-Tiberius, and Winchester computi, respectively. This would seem to suggest that the redaction of the Dog Days under discussion is transmitted from one type of computus to the next. As each type of computus is indebted to previous ones for at least part of its material, this need not surprise us. It is noted, however, that there are more representatives of each type of computus. For example, there are four other Winchester computi also containing Dog Days in the calendar, but these Dog Days are unrelated to the one in Add. 37517. This, in turn, reveals that this specific redaction of the Dog Days was not communicated within the same type of computus. In short, horizontal transmission (within one type of computus) did not take place, while vertical transmission (between different types of computi) did.

A second example concerns a specific redaction of the Apuleian Sphere. The diagrams of this genre may serve as indicators of how the Spheres are related. The redaction in which the diagram is represented by the figures of Life and Death can easily be recognised. These figures have been attested in three manuscripts, of which the earliest and most beautifully rendered is in Bodley 579. The other two are in Tiberius C.vi and Harley 3667. These manuscripts represent Leofric-Tiberius, Winchester

52The computus of Add. 37517 consists of just a calendar. CTC R.15.32 is primarily Winchester with Abbonian features. Vitellius C.viii is Winchester on the basis of two computistical texts in this fragment which are closely related to those in Vitellius E.xviii.
53CCCC 9 is a Worcester pendant of the post-Winchester computus. CUL Kk.5.32 is primarily post-Winchester with Leofric-Tiberius features, also containing excerpts from Byrhtferth’s *Enchiridion*. Hatton 113 is primarily post-Winchester with Leofric-Tiberius features.
54Tiberius C.i + Harley 3667 is primarily Byrhtferth’s with Abbonian features. St. John’s College 17 is primarily Byrhtferth’s with Canterbury and post-Winchester features and an Abbonian calendar.
55Henel (1934a: 40-70) did the same for Old English computistical texts in CCCC 422, Caligula A.xv, Titus D.xxvii, Vitellius E.xviii, and Harley 3271. He noted strong links between, for instance, Canterbury and Winchester computi.
56See the description of the Dog Days in section 3.2.1.
57CTC R.15.32, Arundel 60, Titus D.xxvii, Vitellius E.xviii.
58The number of redactions distinguished for Apuleian Spheres depends heavily upon the criteria used, however (see the description of Apuleian Spheres in section 3.2.1).
and Byrhtferth’s computi, respectively. Of both Winchester and Byrhtferth’s computi there are more manuscripts containing Apuleian Spheres, none of which have the figures of Life and Death other than Tiberius C.vi and Harley 3667. Again, vertical transmission took place, whereas horizontal transmission did not occur.

The examples above illustrate that prognostics moved from one type of computus to the next, but were not necessarily copied into other representatives of the same type of computus. It is conceivable that there are prognostics which show horizontal transmission. Some of the Apuleian Spheres in Tiberius C.i + Harley 3667 and St. John’s College 17, both Byrhtferth’s computi, are related, for instance. This, however, is the result of the two manuscripts having been copied from the same, or a similar, exemplar. When a common exemplar has been used, horizontal transmission is hardly surprising. In conclusion, the accretion and transmission of prognostics in the computus is far from systematic. Having found a redaction of a prognostic in one type of computus does not mean it will be encountered in other manuscripts of the same type of computus, nor does it imply that other types of computus will incorporate this prognostic. The examples adduced show that vertical transmission is more likely to take place than horizontal transmission. The lack of horizontal transmission makes clear how accretion of prognostics in the computus works. In the development of a certain type of computus a scribe copying computistical material at hand adds a temporal prognostic which merits inclusion in the computus. Other scribes working on the same type of computus may have added other (redactions of) prognostics to the manuscripts they were working on. One of these manuscripts is then used as a source of information for another type of computus, and the scribe using this manuscript will copy the prognostic he encounters, and will perhaps even add some of his own liking. This scenario demonstrates how prognostics are copied from one type of computus to the next, an effective but haphazard mechanism which aids the preservation and transmission of prognostics.

4.2.2.3 FOUR COMPUTI CONTAINING OLD ENGLISH PROGNOSTICS
Most of the findings pertaining to prognostics in computi were gathered from computi containing Latin prognostics. Without this Latin material, our perspective would have been distorted since relatively few vernacular prognostics have survived from the Anglo-Saxon period. There is, for instance, only one Latin Apuleian Sphere with a partial Old English gloss, which, if limited to this attestation, would have discouraged an analysis of Apuleian Spheres in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Moreover, Old English prognostics, or Latin ones with an Old English gloss for that matter, are infrequently encountered in computi. Four manuscripts deserve mention since they are the only ones to contain Old English and/or glossed prognostics in computi, to wit Vitellius C.viii, Caligula A.xv, Vitellius E.xviii, and Harley 3271.

Vitellius C.viii. Fols 22-25 of this manuscript constitute no more than a fragment of a Winchester computus. Two of the computistical texts in this fragment are related to corresponding ones in Vitellius E.xviii, though said texts in the former might be slightly later than the others in this fragment and are written in another hand than the other texts in Vitellius C.viii. The prognostic in Vitellius C.viii, in the main hand, is one of five extant Old English texts on the three Egyptian Days. Unlike the two computistical texts in this fragment, the prognostic is not related to the text on the three

59Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 16r.
Egyptian Days in Vitellius E.xviii. In fact, the prognostic in Vitellius C.viii is nearly identical to the one in the medical manuscript Harley 585.\textsuperscript{60} The other three manuscripts discussed below have more extensive prognostic collections in the computus. One cannot help but wonder what the original computus to which Vitellius C.viii once belonged might have contained in the way of prognostics.

**Caligula A.xv.** Fols 120-153 of this manuscript contain a Canterbury computus accompanied by miscellaneous notes, charms, prognostics, annals of Christ Church, Canterbury, and excerpts of Ælfric’s *De temporibus anni*. The prognostics do not appear in consecutive order because other texts intervene. Two prognostics are in Latin (an Apuleian Sphere and a text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days), a third one is an illness lunar glossed in Old English, and five are in Old English (texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days, the unlucky days and the three miraculous birthdays, and two lunaries). The scribe did not attempt to sort the prognostics by language, to group them together, or to separate them from the immediate context, which suggests that he copied material as it came to hand or aroused his interest. Some similarities can be observed between Caligula A.xv and Tiberius A.iii, a manuscript composed around the same time and also from Christ Church, Canterbury.\textsuperscript{61} Some of the prognostics in these manuscripts are closely related, to wit the glossed illness lunar and the Old English dream and birth lunaries. The other prognostics in Caligula A.xv are not found in Tiberius A.iii, and although the latter antedates the former, Tiberius A.iii cannot have been used as an exemplar on the basis of text-internal evidence.\textsuperscript{62} One or more exemplars can be posited from which both manuscripts drew some prognostics. The link between Caligula A.xv and St. John’s College 17, through the Apuleian Spheres in these volumes, has been remarked upon above.\textsuperscript{63}

**Vitellius E.xviii.** This is a psalter prefaced by a Winchester computus with miscellaneous notes, charms, medical texts and prognostics, on fols 1-17.\textsuperscript{64} As with Caligula A.xv, the computistical texts, so not just the prognostics, are both in Latin and in Old English, and no attempt has been made on the part of the scribe to put texts together on the basis of language or genre, though there is an agglomeration of prognostics on fols 14v-15v. In addition to prognostic material in the calendar, there are seven prognostics in the computus of Vitellius E.xviii, one in Latin and one glossed (both Apuleian Spheres), and five in Old English (texts on the unlucky days, the Dog Days, the twenty-four Egyptian Days, the three miraculous birthdays and the three Egyptian Days). Furthermore, there are indications that the calendar on fols 2-7 was preceded by a bloodletting lunary (*fol. 1*\textsuperscript{a}, now lost), as is customary with Winchester calendars related to the one in Vitellius E.xviii, such as those in CCC 422, Arundel 60 and Titus D.xxvii.\textsuperscript{65}

The collection of prognostics in Vitellius E.xviii is invaluable as it presents a series of unique texts as well as texts with links to various other manuscripts. The Old English text on the Dog Days is unique in this redaction,\textsuperscript{66} as is the glossed Apuleian Sphere. Caligula A.xv and Vitellius E.xviii are the only Anglo-Saxon manuscripts to have an Old English text on the unlucky days, a genre of which I

\textsuperscript{60}See section 4.2.3 for this manuscript.

\textsuperscript{61}See section 4.2.5.3 for the latter manuscript.

\textsuperscript{62}See section 3.2.1.

\textsuperscript{63}See section 4.2.2.1.

\textsuperscript{64}Pulsiano (1994b: 51-53 [258, ASM 2.6]).


\textsuperscript{66}There is another Old English redaction of the Dog Days, in Royal 12.D.xvii, fols 54v-55v (see section 4.2.3).
have found only one insular Latin representative, in St. John’s College 17. The two Cottonian manuscripts, together with Harley 3271, also have a closely corresponding redaction of an Old English text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days. Additionally, the Old English texts on the three Egyptian Days and on the three miraculous birthdays in Vitellius E.xviii are closely related to those in CCCC 391, from Worcester.\(^\text{67}\) In short, Vitellius E.xviii contains a series of prognostics with parallels in manuscripts from a number of religious establishments.

**Harley 3271.** This insular manuscript is of undetermined origin, but the prognostics have strong ties with Winchester.\(^\text{68}\) A large part of its contents is taken up by a copy of Ælfric’s *Grammar* preceded by grammatical notes, a tribal hidage, and a short text that characterises the inhabitants of various nations.\(^\text{69}\) The *Grammar* is followed by a computus, miscellaneous notes, and a prognostic section. The only Old English prognostic, a text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days, is part of the computus.\(^\text{70}\) In addition to this, there are nine Latin prognostics in Harley 3271, three of which appear twice. The first Latin prognostic, a filler text,\(^\text{71}\) is a bloodletting lunary written on a blank space within a treatise on the seven parts of speech. The remaining eight prognostics constitute a prognostic section.\(^\text{72}\) This section starts out with a sequence of three prognostics in Latin: texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days, the Dog Days and the three Egyptian Days.\(^\text{73}\) The first of these prognostics is a severely corrupted copy which has undergone extensive emendation at the hands of the scribe. A mass of seventeen lines intervenes between the second and third prognostic, but a line in the margin indicates that the latter should have followed the text on the Dog Days. The same prognostic sequence is immediately repeated, but now the copy of the text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days is impeccable, and the text on the three Egyptian Days follows the one on the Dog Days. This second set is in a hand different from the first, but does not start on a new quire. Instead of presuming a simultaneous copy of the exemplar by two scribes who did not check up on each other’s progress, therefore, it must be assumed that the second scribe decided to recopy the series from the exemplar.\(^\text{74}\) Directly following the second series of prognostics is the month regimen I referred to above,\(^\text{75}\) and yet another text on the Dog Days, the latter being of a different redaction than the other two and related to the one in Titus D.xxvi.

It is interesting to observe that the three Old English texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days are found in all three of the larger manuscripts discussed above. The Old English redaction of this prognostic is thus limited to transmission within computi, and did not circulate outside this context. Furthermore, Caligula A.xv and Vitellius E.xviii, a Canterbury and Winchester computus, respectively, share an Old English text on the unlucky days, otherwise unattested. These two instances not only illustrate that some (redactions of) prognostic genres are not found outside a computistical context, but

\(^{67}\)See section 4.2.5.2 for CCCC 391. On the sequence of three Egyptian Days and three miraculous birthdays, see section 3.2.2.

\(^{68}\)See sections 2.2.1, 5.2.2.1.

\(^{69}\)Ker (1957: 309-11 [239]).

\(^{70}\)McGowan (2001b: 297) discussed instances of ‘Anglo-Latin prose curiosities’ in Harley 3271, for which he listed the titles of a number of short tracts, among which is ‘*De diebus malis*’. This is quite ironic, however, because this title is affixed to the only prognostic in Old English in Harley 3271.

\(^{71}\)For prognostics as filler texts, see section 4.2.4.

\(^{72}\)For the other manuscripts containing prognostic sections, see section 4.2.5.

\(^{73}\)On this sequence, see section 3.2.2.

\(^{74}\)The second scribe cannot possibly have copied the prognostics from the corrupt first series.

\(^{75}\)See section 4.2.2.1.
they also give credit to the notion of vertical transmission as a means of dissemination of prognostics.

4.2.3 MEDICAL SECTIONS AND MANUSCRIPTS

Medical writings are a source in which one would expect to find prognostics that deal with illness and health. This expectation, however, is belied: only the Lacnunga (Harley 585, fols 130-193), the Peri didaxeion (Harley 6258B, fols 51-66) and Bald’s Leechbook (Royal 12.D.xvii, fols 1-108) contain one Old English prognostic each. The first medical section of St. John’s College 17 (fols 1-2) contains tracts on bloodletting and the four humours, including two which mention the Dog Days. Finally, Sloane 475, fols 125-231, contains six Latin prognostics in what seem to me to be continental redactions. The scarcity of prognostics in medical writings might be occasioned by the relatively small number of Anglo-Saxon medical manuscripts (not individual medical texts!) that have come down to us. Furthermore, a comparison between continental and Anglo-Saxon medical manuscripts will reveal that Anglo-Saxon medical writings are not the vehicle of choice for prognostics.

Medical sections may be included in basically non-medical manuscripts, such as the medical sections in St. John’s College 17 (fols 1-2 and 175-177), or they may be found in manuscripts entirely devoted to this subject. These medical manuscripts can be subdivided into volumes containing one or two large medical tracts (Royal 12.D.xvii), or those comprising a collection of various works on medicine (Harley 585 and 6258B, Sloane 475). In my discussion of the manuscripts below, I will show that this distinction also determines to what extent the prognostics in question are integrated in the text.

Royal 12.D.xvii. In Bald’s Leechbook, the text on the Dog Days is fully integrated with the surrounding text towards the end of book I. This integration is evident from the consecutive numbering of the recipes, and the fairly elaborate entry of this prognostic in the table of contents. The Dog Days are embedded in a tract on bloodletting. When the instructions for bloodletting occur, several marginal nota signs and marginal signs corresponding to ones in the text, added at a later date, indicate that this part of the recipe was considered important. The tract on bloodletting is in the same hand as the rest of the text, so I assume that the prognostic is original to the Leechbook as it stands. Since Royal 12.D.xvii is the copy of an exemplar now lost, it is impossible to determine how the prognostic got into Bald’s Leechbook in the first place. Nevertheless, Cameron spoke of Bald’s Leechbook as a ‘more consciously ordered piece of work [than Leechbook 3, also in Royal 12.D.xvii]’, and he praised the ‘blending into a harmonious whole’ of sources from a large number of cultures and

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76This section pertains to Harley 585, Harley 6258B, Royal 12.D.xvii, Sloane 475, St. John’s College 17.
77Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile, volume 1 (Books of Prayers and Healing) deals with ten manuscripts (Doane 1994); volume 9 contains three more medical manuscripts (Doane and Grade 2001). For outstanding introductions to manuscripts containing medical texts in Old English, I refer the reader to Hollis and Wright (1992: 211-56, 311-28), Cameron (1993: 30-64) and Hollis (2001: 194-205). For a concise and lucid overview of the Latin sources of Anglo-Saxon medicine, see D’Aronco (2005). Hollis (2001: 194) speaks of ‘a substantial corpus of vernacular medical literature’, as does Cameron (1993: 2). The contribution of medical texts to the Old English corpus is indeed considerable, but it should be kept in mind that I am dealing here with medical manuscripts and sections, not individual medical texts.
78Cameron (1983: 144-45).
79Wright and Quirk (1955: 24-26), Ker (1957: 332 [264]), Hollis and Wright (1992: 213). Both Wright and Quirk (1955: 24) and Ker (1957: 332 [264]) dated the notae to s. xii/xiii.
backgrounds. The prognostic, then, can be said to be an integral part of Bald’s *Leechbook*. The lengthy introduction of the Dog Days in the table of contents suggests that the compiler made note of the prognostic value of the text, i.e. compared to the instructions for bloodletting the prognostic content was not of secondary importance to him.

**Harley 585.** The text on the three Egyptian Days is a different case as it appears in the *Lacnunga*, a medical commonplace book which is not at all homogenous in content: ‘a compilation made by non-medical collectors’ in the words of Cameron. The *Lacnunga* was copied in two parts, though probably not much time elapsed between the copying. The text on the three Egyptian Days is found near the end of the second part. The prognostic in the *Lacnunga* is one of five attestations of the three Egyptian Days outside a computistical context; seven more texts on the three Egyptian Days are found within computi. In contrast to the prognostic in Harley 585, the other texts on the three Egyptian Days outside the computus are accompanied by a prognostic with a similar structure, that of the three miraculous birthdays. The prognostic on the three Egyptian Days does not strike me as fitting in very well with the context – if there ever was a conscious design in the collection of texts contained in the *Lacnunga*. Some scholars have commented upon the *Lacnunga* as ‘a rambling collection’, and Meaney suggested that the scribe ‘simply put down everything as it came to hand’, in contrast to the compiler of Bald’s *Leechbook*. In my opinion, we owe the survival of the Old English prognostic in the *Lacnunga* more to accident than to intent.

**Harley 6258B.** This manuscript is from the late twelfth century and contains a number of medical tracts: the *Herbarium pseudo-Apulei* (also found in Harley 585, among others), the *Medicina de quadrupedibus*, herb cures and the *Peri diadexon*. The latter text is thought to be a rearranged selection of Petrocellus’ *Practica* which dates to c. 1035, translated into Old English, but it is more likely to represent ‘a compilation of earlier writings which was in circulation at least as early as the 9th century’. The first chapter of the *Peri diadexon* contains a letter of introduction and relates the theory

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80Cameron (1993: 42), cf. Meaney (1984a: 237, 251). Payne (1904: 40), however, pointed out that the order maintained in the first part of book I lapses towards the end.

81Cameron (1993: 34).

82Doane (1994: 26).

83CCCC 391 (see 4.2.5.2) has two texts on the three Egyptian Days, the second being an incomplete fragment by the Tremulous Worcester hand. The other two are in CCCC 422 (see 4.2.4), and Titus D.xxvi (see 4.2.5.4). Despite being found outside a computistical context, the redaction of the three Egyptian Days in Harley 585 is identical to the one in Vitellius C.viii, a fragment of a computus.

84See section 3.2.2 on this sequence.

85The *Lacnunga* is a construct rather than a volume of unified texts, as Grattan and Singer’s analysis of the contents makes clear (1952: 18-22). Grattan and Singer distinguished five strata of texts based on the type of sources used for the ‘Anglo-Saxon medico-magic’ (their phrase) in the *Lacnunga*. Though Grattan and Singer rail against what they considered Anglo-Saxon medicine ‘deformed by a perverted learning’, filled with ‘monastic stupidity’, and ‘barbarian interpretation and mishandling’ (1952: 15, 16, 18), they do have a point in establishing that the texts in the *Lacnunga* are so varied that they cannot possibly form a unified corpus of texts adjusted to each other. Talbot’s comment that the *Lacnunga* ‘has been dealt with adequately, if not excessively, by those whose intention has been to denigrate Anglo-Saxon medicine’ (1967: 21) seems to be a jibe at Grattan and Singer’s study and edition of the treatise.


90Hollis and Wright (1992: 328).

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of the four humours. With regard to yellow bile, the text remarks that it is active on the Dog Days, after which the text issues a warning for doctors not to treat a patient on these days. As with the text on the Dog Days in Royal 12.D.xvii, the prognostic in Harley 6258B is incorporated into a larger tract. The prognostic is thus integrated in the larger, medical context.

**Sloane 475.** Reportedly, fols 125-231 of this medical manuscript is the insular part of a composite manuscript in Latin. The English part dates from the eleventh century and contains a mutilated version of an Apuleian Sphere, which I have already referred to in section 4.2.2. In addition, there is a unique text on bloodletting by weekdays. Finally, a sequence of a collective lunary, the twenty-four Egyptian Days, a year prognosis and an alphabetical dreambook are found near the end of the English part. The redactions of the prognostics in Sloane 475 are totally unlike the redactions of these prognostics I have encountered in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, which raises questions as to the place of origin of this part of the manuscript or that of its exemplar. The texts are impaired by numerous copying errors: they are riddled with grammatical and spelling mistakes, abbreviation marks are often omitted, word division is often such that the last syllable of a word is joined to the first syllable of the next, texts are incomplete or jumbled, transpositions are frequent, minims cause considerable problems, and so on. In short, the prognostics bear all the hallmarks of being a sloppy copy.

The Apuleian Sphere in Sloane 475 shows that this genre is not attested in a computistical context only. But why would this manuscript incorporate an Apuleian Sphere in the first place? Even if the Sphere had been intended for actual use, its utilitarian value is nil as it was not finished. Moreover, the presence of a prognostic like the dreambook is awkward in a medical context. In Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, prognostic sections are the sole context for dreambooks. Sloane 475 is the only supposedly Anglo-Saxon medical manuscript known to me which contains so many prognostics, included for no immediately apparent reason. If these texts interested the scribe, why did he copy them so carelessly? Fols 125-231 cannot have been a rough draft for a hypothetical fair copy since the condition of the prognostics is so poor that they cannot possibly serve as an exemplar without the help of comparable texts in a better state. Moreover, if the scribe intended this copy for use by someone other than himself, the prospective user would have spent a while figuring out how the texts should be read. If the Lacnunga is considered ‘a rambling collection’, then Cameron’s view of the Lacnunga should be extended to Sloane 475: ‘precisely because he [the scribe of the Lacnunga] was inattentive and ignorant, a great deal of interesting material got past him and was recorded in his commonplace book’.

Presumably, then, we are to congratulate the scribe of Sloane 475 for having preserved six Latin prognostics.

The fact that the redactions of the prognostics in Sloane 475 have up to then not been attested in Anglo-Saxon England should give rise to caution. A large number of Anglo-Saxon prognostics are encountered in related redactions more than once, which is not the case for the prognostics in Sloane 475. The repeated attestation of one redaction of a prognostic genre can be said to represent the extent

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91The medical side to the theory of the humours was not really able to create an audience in Anglo-Saxon England, but English manuscripts produced after the Conquest do give some attention to the subject (e.g. in St. John’s College 17 and CUL Gg.5.35). Cf. Cameron (1993: 48, 53, 159-68).
92When I use the designation Sloane 475, I refer to fols 125-231 only.
93The text is severely mangled and corrupt; the diagram was never drawn.
94Cameron (1993: 47).
to which the text is naturalised. The redactions of the prognostics in Sloane 475 are unusual compared to the rest of the Anglo-Saxon prognostic corpus. The redaction of the text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days, for example, is, for this period, more common on the continent, which also applies to the one in Digby 63. Cameron argued that the exemplar of the entire English part was written in Anglo-Saxon minuscule on the basis of confusion between ‘r’ and ‘n’. If the exemplar was in an Anglo-Saxon hand, this does not rule out the possibility that either the exemplar, or even Sloane 475 itself, was produced on the continent. No one has made a convincing case for the supposedly Anglo-Saxon origin of fols 125-231 yet it was recently included in Gameson’s and Gneuss’s catalogues. Judging from the prognostic redactions – alien compared to Anglo-Saxon prognostics –, an exemplar of continental origin is highly likely.

St. John’s College 17. This largely computistical manuscript is important because of its extensive collection of Latin prognostics. It contains two prognostics in the first medical section, fols 1-2. The second medical section, fols 175-177, does not have any prognostics. Cameron pointed out that these medical sections cannot have been part of the original setup of Byrhtferth’s computus in the exemplar of St. John’s College 17. The prognostics are two texts on the Dog Days embedded in medical tracts on the four humours and bloodletting. The redactions of the Dog Days are unlike the ones in Titus D.xxvi, xxvii, and in Harley 3271, but as they do not form independent texts this is hardly surprising. The first prognostic in St. John’s College 17 bears some similarity to the one in Bald’s Leechbook.

4.2.3.1 ANGLO-SAXON VS CONTINENTAL MEDICAL MANUSCRIPTS

With regard to Sloane 475, I raised the issue of prognostics in a medical context being atypical for Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. I showed that the only prognostics which properly fit into their medical contexts are the ones in Royal 12.D.xvii, Harley 6258B and St. John’s College 17, and these are embedded in more extensive tracts on bloodletting or the four humours. Two other Anglo-Saxon medical sections contain prognostics, but in Harley 585 the prognostic does not really fit in, and in Sloane 475, the prognostics are in what I presume to be continental redactions.

There is a marked difference between Anglo-Saxon and continental medical manuscripts in that prognostics are far more common in the latter, and out of context in the former. Careful analysis of two representative manuscript catalogues in this field, Beccaria’s I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano and Wickersheimer’s Les manuscrits latins de médecine du haut moyen age dans les bibliothèques de France, confirms that not only are prognostics found frequently in continental medical manuscripts, but also that there are many more such continental manuscripts compared to Anglo-Saxon ones. The size of the Anglo-Saxon prognostic corpus is correlated to contextual

95I use the latter manuscript as an example because at the time of editing the prognostics in Digby 63, I found it unlike other Anglo-Saxon redactions, and only later I discovered it did indeed concern the continental part of a manuscript transported to, and expanded in England.
96Cameron (1983: 144).
99I have found two more of these bloodletting tracts with Dog Days in them, in, Sloane 475, fols 7v-8r, and CUL Gg.5.35, fols 425v-426v.
100Beccaria (1956), Wickersheimer (1966).
101In a chapter on Anglo-Saxon and continental medicine in the early Middle Ages, Thorndike (1923-58: I.719-41) did not note this difference between continental and Anglo-Saxon medical manuscripts.
embedding, and to a lesser extent to the survival of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Granted that there are few prognostics in Anglo-Saxon medical manuscripts anyhow, the extant number of such manuscripts will hardly exert influence upon the overall number of prognostics in this context. Continental medical manuscripts, on the other hand, contribute extensively to the continental prognostic corpus. Apuleian Spheres in continental manuscripts, for example, are regularly found in medical manuscripts, which is one more reason to posit a continental connection for Sloane 475. Another example are the regimens referred to above.102 These texts, too, seem to have been more current in continental manuscripts,103 whereas there are few Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing regimens. The inclusion of five regimens in the continental part of Sloane 475 confirms this notion.

I have already pointed out that many Anglo-Saxon prognostics are attested in a computistical context. The cause for this can be found in the accretive influence of computistical writings, compounded by a renewed interest in the computus as a direct result of the Benedictine Reform.104 This reform movement proved a strong impulse for the transmission of prognostics in computi specifically. The existence of prognostics in Anglo-Saxon England is, therefore, largely dependent upon computi.

From the above it is evident that the manuscript context exerts influence upon the presence of prognostics. In addition, prognostics in Anglo-Saxon medical manuscripts are treated differently from those in continental manuscripts, and accordingly, this different treatment underlies the near absence of Anglo-Saxon prognostics in a medical context.

4.2.4 PROGNOSTICS AS FILLER TEXTS

Sporadically, prognostics were used as filler material. By filler material I mean the later addition of texts to existing manuscripts with the aim to fill up blank spaces, among others. This usage has led to the preservation of two unique prognostics. Fortunate though this may be, it is difficult to establish conclusively why prognostics, of all the possible types of texts, were chosen as filler texts.106 The term ‘filler material’ does not reflect a biased perspective but is used to indicate that I have primarily studied the pragmatics behind these added prognostics. I have tried to discover whether the presence of prognostics as filler material could be justified in view of the manuscript context, but I have been unable to find such a justification. Seven manuscripts contain nine filler prognostics in all, two of which are in a computus, one following a prognostic section, the other ones in contexts atypical for prognostics. Two of these prognostics, in CCCC 391 and Harley 3271, have been introduced elsewhere.107

The first instance of filler texts is from Vespasian D.xiv. Two Old English prognostics found their way into this Old English homiletic collection: a year prognosis and a month bronology. The latter prognostic is uniquely attested in Old English. Both prognostics were added by the main hand in blank

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102 See section 4.2.2.1.
103 See the description of regimens in section 3.2.1. Reiche (1973) published eight different continental regimens, Stuart (1979) four.
104 See sections 4.2.2, 4.2.5.3, 5.2.2, 5.2.3.
105 This section pertains to CCCC 391, p. 721, CCCC 422, p. 49, Tiberius C.vi, fol. 114r, Titus D.xxvii, fols 55v-56v, Vespasian D.xiv, fols 75v and 103v, Harley 3271, fol. 102v, Royal 2.B.v, fol. 190rv.
106 I will return to some of the choices underlying filler texts in section 5.2.1.2.
107 See section 4.2.5.2 for CCCC 391, and section 4.2.2.3 for Harley 3271.
spaces at quire endings on fols 75v and 103v.\textsuperscript{108} There cannot be any doubt that the prognostics were intended as filler texts. It is likely that they did not serve a practical purpose as predictive devices on account of their being atypical for the context in which they are found.

The second manuscript, the tenth-century Regius Psalter, Royal 2.B.v, has the only Latin month brontology from Anglo-Saxon England. The manuscript originally consisted of a glossed psalter, to which a preliminary quire containing an Office of the Virgin was added.\textsuperscript{109} Several other additions were made in blank spaces in this manuscript and following the psalter text, some in the place of origin, Winchester, and some in Christ Church, Canterbury, where the manuscript had been transferred to in the eleventh century. Of these additions, the most interesting to me is that of a series of chronological texts and commonplaces concluded by a Latin month brontology, all in the same hand and immediately following the psalter.\textsuperscript{110} This entire group of filler texts was added at the end of the tenth century and is of Winchester origin. After the chronological texts and commonplaces and the prognostic, Old English prayers and directions for fasting were added, some in Canterbury.\textsuperscript{111}

The third manuscript, the Tiberius Psalter, Tiberius C.vi, from the third quarter of the eleventh century, contains an Apuleian Sphere in the computus. A Latin text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days and an Anglo-French text on the unlucky days were added on fol. 114r in the twelfth century. Fols 31r-129v constitute the glossed psalter, interspersed with full-page illustrations and ornamentation.\textsuperscript{112} Fol. 114v contains a full-page illustration, and the blank space following the original text on fol. 114r has been used to add the two prognostics.

The fourth instance of a filler text is the alphabet prognostic added on fols 55v-56v of Titus D.xxvii.\textsuperscript{113} This manuscript, known as Ælfwine’s Prayerbook, has a computus in which several temporal prognostics can be found, followed by a non-computistical section containing offices, prayers and devotions. The alphabet prognostic was added after the computus.\textsuperscript{114}

The fifth attestation of filler prognostics, finally, is in CCCC 422, part B. This segment contains a computus with a calendar and prognostics. The first prognostic in CCCC 422 is a glossed bloodletting lunary. This lunary is followed by a calendar with a uniquely preserved glossed entry on the Dog Days. These two items are original to the manuscript, which was produced at New Minster, Winchester, and intended for use at Sherborne. In Sherborne, a sequence of two Latin prognostics, the three Egyptian Days and the three miraculous birthdays, was added on page 49.\textsuperscript{115} These two prognostics are not out of place in the computus, but they are filler texts nevertheless.

One other manuscript deserves mention in this section, viz. Lambeth Palace 427. The original

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\textsuperscript{108}For additions at the quire endings of Vespasian D.xiv, see Handley (1974).

\textsuperscript{109}Pulsiano (1994b: 57 [284, ASM 2.7]).

\textsuperscript{110}In Pulsiano (1994b: 62-63 [284, ASM 2.7]), the chronological texts and commonplaces are listed as item (7) and the month brontology as (8), which does not make it sufficiently clear that these items were copied in one stint. Furthermore, Pulsiano classified item (7) as computistica whereas they are not since they deal with the age of Christ, the size of the arc, and various other such matters. Warner and Gilson (1921: I.41) saw items (7) and (8) as one unit of ‘chronological and other commonplaces’, thereby avoiding such complications.

\textsuperscript{111}Ker (1957: 320 [249]).

\textsuperscript{112}Wilcox (2000: 38 [233, ASM 2.4]).

\textsuperscript{113}Note that this prognostic is (a) non-temporal, and (b) in Old English whereas all other prognostics in this manuscript and its companion volume Titus D.xxvi are in Latin.

\textsuperscript{114}See section 4.2.5.4 for a more detailed discussion of this text and Titus D.xxvi, xxvii.

\textsuperscript{115}See section 3.2.2 for this sequence.
manuscript consisted of psalter prefaces, the psalter itself, and canticles, on fols 1-2, 5-202. Fols 203-208, containing a litany and prayers, were added in the fifteenth century. Fol. 209 and a final unnumbered leaf are later binding leaves enveloping fols 210-211, which are leaves from another manuscript and contain an Old English history of Kentish royal saints. O’Neill argued that the leaves of interest, fols 3-4, were later additions as well. The texts on these leaves are in an eleventh-century hand, and comprise prognostics and computistical tables in Latin. The prognostics, two lunaries, are on fol. 3r. O’Neill observed that fols 3-4 do not fit in the psalter context and the absence of a larger computistical section in the host volume makes their presence even more conspicuous. Fols 3-4 resemble the status of filler material in that they lack contextual justification for their presence in this manuscript. Nevertheless, the prognostics are original to the computistical fragment in which they were written, so they are not filler texts despite the fact that fols 3-4 were added to Lambeth Palace 427 at a later date.

In these seven manuscripts, including CCCC 391 and Harley 3271, and excluding Lambeth Palace 427, prognostics were added in blank spaces. The computistical context in CCCC 422 lent itself to prognostic additions, as did the prognostic section in CCCC 391. The remaining five manuscripts, a homiletic collection, two psalters, a miscellany, and a prayerbook, provide contexts in which one does not expect prognostics to be added. There can be no doubt that all nine prognostics were intended as filler material since they were added at a later date, though the reason why prognostics were chosen in particular is obscure. One of the constraints on filler material is the relative brevity of the text. It seems unlikely, however, that the prognostics were selected because of their conciseness only, seeing that in some cases other types of filler texts were added alongside prognostics.

4.2.5 PROGNOSTIC SECTIONS

There are no Anglo-Saxon manuscripts which contain prognostics only. Nevertheless, a number of manuscripts include substantial prognostic sections, i.e. parts in which one finds prognostics mainly, and in some cases exclusively. Such manuscripts are varied in contents, and they are principally known not for the prognostics, but for the other genres they contain. I have not encountered prognostic sections in continental manuscripts, or in manuscripts antedating the eleventh century. It would appear that no underlying system governs in what type of manuscript prognostic sections are included. The importance of these sections should not be underestimated, because they are the main source of Old English prognostics (in contrast to Latin prognostics, which are most frequently encountered in computi). Furthermore, the range of prognostic genres in computi is more limited than that in prognostic sections, which uniquely feature non-temporal prognostics and a wide range of temporal prognostics. It is noteworthy that prognostics outside a computistical or medical context tend to stick together. Below, four manuscripts will be analysed that contain prognostic sections, valuable both on account of the large number of Old English prognostics they have preserved and because they shed light on the placement of such sections in manuscripts. Some (parts) of these volumes have already been

\[^{118}\text{O’Neill (1991: 146).}^{119}\text{See section 3.2.2 for this sequence.}
\[^{120}\text{O’Neill (1991: 146).}^{121}\text{This section pertains to CCCC 391, Tiberius A.iii, Titus D.xxvi, xxvii, Harley 3271, Hatton 115.}
\[^{118}\text{O’Neill (1991: 146).}^{119}\text{See section 3.2.2 for this sequence.}
\[^{120}\text{O’Neill (1991: 146).}^{121}\text{This section pertains to CCCC 391, Tiberius A.iii, Titus D.xxvi, xxvii, Harley 3271, Hatton 115.}
referred to in previous sections. One of the manuscripts with a prognostic section, Harley 3271, has already been discussed.\footnote{See section 4.2.2.3.}

4.2.5.1 HATTON 115
Perhaps the most remarkable manuscript with regard to prognostic sections is Hatton 115. This volume consists of five separate booklets bound together as one manuscript, the first four booklets of which are linked by their homiletic content.\footnote{On the notion of booklets, see Robinson (1978).} Booklets 1-3 had been bound together for a while, as is evident from the original table of contents and the first layer of glosses by the Tremulous Worcester hand. At a later time booklets 4 and 5 were added, though whether they were inserted simultaneously is not clear. The Tremulous hand applied a second layer of glosses to booklets 1-4, and a still later text fragment in his hand is found at the end of booklet 5. The place of origin of the eleventh-century booklets 1-4 is unknown, but booklet 5 is probably from Christ Church, Canterbury and dates to the middle of the twelfth century.\footnote{Canterbury was one of the centres which contributed extensively to the prognostic corpus, see section 5.2.2.} Booklet 5 does not fit in with the four homiletic booklets because it contains prognostics and two short texts on the number of masses or psalms that equal a certain period of fasting. The nine prognostics in booklet 5 are all in Old English, and written in one hand. The wind prognostic is not attested elsewhere; two texts are incomplete, and a third, the most complete agenda lunary in Old English, ends with phase 17. The latter prognostic concludes the collection and strong punctuation is used to denote the end, though two blank leaves remained. Strong punctuation and the availability of space indicate that the scribe deliberately terminated his work. As noted before, outside the context of the computus non-temporal prognostics are encountered, in the case of Hatton 115 an alphabetical dreambook closely resembling one of the alphabetical dreambooks in Tiberius A.iii.

It remains obscure what happened to booklet 5 between the time of composition and the first half of the thirteenth century, and how and why it travelled from the south-east to Worcester. Furthermore, if booklets 1-5 were bound together before the second layer of glosses, why did the Tremulous hand skip booklet 5 altogether at the time of glossing, only to return to this booklet later to add the text fragment mentioned earlier? A copied fragment of the three Egyptian Days in CCCC 391 illustrates that the Tremulous hand was not averse to prognostics, despite the fact that he probably took no interest in the prognostics in Hatton 115.

A prognostic section bound with four homiletic booklets is awkward, and the underlying purpose of this union is not revealed. The only plausible reason I can think of is that booklet 5 was lying around in the Worcester Cathedral library and to prevent its loss or misplacement (booklet 5 consists of two quires of four leaves each), it was incorporated in a manuscript being rebound at the time. Anything other than a utilitarian purpose behind the union of booklets 1-5 can be dismissed for the contents of booklets 1-4 have nothing in common with that of booklet 5, except for the language in which the texts are written. Indeed, a ‘revival of interest in Old English manuscripts in Worcester in the early thirteenth century’ may prove to be the main reason why the prognostic section in Hatton 115 has survived.\footnote{Franzen (1991: 186). Cf. Franzen (1991: 185, 189-93).}
4.2.5.2 CCCC 391

CCCC 391 is also known as the Portiforium Wulfstani since it may have been made for, or was owned by Wulfstan II (c. 1008-1095), bishop of Worcester (1062-1095). This voluminous work consists of a psalter preceded by a computus and followed by a litany, hymnal, collectar, and a prognostic section. Many additional texts found their way into the manuscript after completion, but the prognostic section (pages 713-721) is from the same period as the main part of the manuscript, so there can be no doubt that this section was meant to be included in the manuscript.\(^\text{126}\)

The prognostic section in CCCC 391 bears some similarity to booklet 5 in Hatton 115, not because of the type of prognostics in these volumes, but because the section in CCCC 391 is on a separate quire as well (pages 713-724). The section opens midway in the third entry of a sunshine prognostic (the only other sunshine prognostic from Anglo-Saxon England is in Hatton 115), followed by four brontologies, three of which are unique, to wit one for the canonical hours of the night office, one for the compass directions from which thunder comes, and one for the hours of the day office.\(^\text{127}\) The directional brontology is the only non-temporal prognostic in CCCC 391. There are thirteen prognostics in all in CCCC 391, twelve of which in Old English, and a unique Latin dream lunary with Psalm readings for each entry. The last prognostic in this manuscript is a filler text on the three Egyptian Days in the Tremulous hand, referred to above.\(^\text{128}\) The preceding twelve prognostics are in one hand.

As I have mentioned, the sunshine prognostic is incomplete. It would be illogical for a scribe to start copying a prognostic at an arbitrary point in the text, on the blank recto page of a new quire. Furthermore, the beginning of the sunshine prognostic does not appear on the preceding quire, since pages 711-712 were originally blank until a later hand added collects on these pages.\(^\text{129}\) Judging from the quire signature, the prognostic section is a quire of six leaves (pages 713-724).\(^\text{130}\) These considerations make it highly likely for another bifolium (for ease of reference pages 712*, 712†, 725, 726), now lost, to have enclosed the extant quire. Alternatively, the prognostic section may have started with a single half-sheet, so that pages 725 and 726 may not have existed or may have been cancelled. Signs of the use of page 724 as a back pastedown argue against a bifolium: ‘it has traces of paste, offsets of wood-grain, and brown-colored offsets of unevenly trimmed leather turn-ins with mitered corners’.\(^\text{131}\) Budny assigns an early (twelfth-century?) binding to the manuscript, which is further corroborated by rust marks of a binding mechanism on pages 709-724, and wormholes on pages 719-724.\(^\text{132}\) The pastedown page 724 seems to indicate that either the lost leaf is a bifolium which had disappeared before the manuscript was bound, or a singleton leaf. The prognostics end on page 721 with a prognostic fragment in the Tremulous hand, which makes it improbable that pages 725 and 726, if present at all, contained any prognostics. The blank pages 711-712 indicate that the text on the

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126 Ker (1957: 115 [67]) identified the hand of the prognostic as ‘probably identical with the first of the two main hands of the manuscript’, cf. James (1912: II.246).
127 A comparable brontology on the hours of the day has the direction of the wind incorporated in the main text, in Tiberius A.iii (see section 4.2.5.3), and Titus D.xxvi (see section 4.2.5.4).
128 See section 4.2.5.1.
129 James (1912: II.246).
130 James (1912: II.242).
132 Ibid.
quire preceding that of the prognostic section had ended, so the lost page preceding 713, i.e. 712†, is certain to have contained the beginning of the sunshine prognostic on the last six or so lines of the page. In addition, pages 712* and 712† will conceivably have contained more prognostics, though it would be impossible to reconstruct the precise contents. Marks of the former binding reveal that the prognostic section was already placed at the end of the manuscript when it was bound.

Why would CCCC 391 incorporate prognostics, atypical as this genre is for a psalter? Wulfstan II carried a psalter with him when travelling, as William of Malmesbury’s Vita Wulfstani attests to, and Budny suggested that CCCC 391 may have been the volume referred to. If this is so, Wulfstan II, in touring his diocese may have had need of utilitarian texts. Such texts range from exorcisms and ordeals, and might extend to prognostics. This interpretation, however, depends upon the by no means certain attribution of this volume to the travelling Wulfstan II. The more plausible hypothesis, i.e. that Wulfstan II had owned or commissioned CCCC 391, suggests that the bishop felt the need to have not only a breviary within easy reach, but also a collection of other texts, including prognostics. An interest in prognostics by the higher clergy is not unusual as Ælfwine, when dean of New Minster, Winchester (before 1032), owned Titus D.xxvi, xxvii, a manuscript containing a prognostic section and many prognostics in the computus. Likewise, Bodley 579 – containing a computus with prognostics – was presented to Exeter Cathedral by Leofric, bishop of Exeter, 1046-1072.

4.2.5.3 TIBERIUS A.iii, FOLS 2-173

The third volume, Tiberius A.iii, is a miscellany containing texts ranging from Ælfrician to Alcuinian material, a Life of St. Margaret, a glossed Regularis concordia, homilies, prayers and devotions, the Monasteriales indicia, and the largest extant collection of prognostics in Latin and Old English in a single Anglo-Saxon manuscript. Förster, the first scholar to have provided an extensive analysis of the contents, divisions, and hands of the entire manuscript, divided the book into six separate booklets gathered into one by Cotton. It is certain that Förster’s booklets 4-6, i.e. fols 174-179, were taken from other manuscripts and bound with fols 2-173. Gneuss, however, argued convincingly that fols 2-173 do not compose a manuscript consisting of separate booklets, as Förster once thought.

The prognostics in this volume consist of one section of seven glossed and eleven Old English prognostics on fols 27v-43r, and a second section of four Latin prognostics on fol. 65rv. This number is only rivalled by the prognostics in Titus D.xxvi, xxvii, which has twenty-one prognostics. In Tiberius A.iii, the glossed part of the first series of prognostics comprises, among others, one of the largest extant alphabetical dreambooks, the only glossed collective lunary, and a brontology. Among the Old English prognostics are two alphabetical dreambooks, a unique month prognosis, and two unique birth prognostics – one on the development of the foetus, a text in the vernacular paralleled only in two Old Frisian redactions, the other on the gender of the unborn child. The first of two Old English alphabetical dreambooks is closely related to that in Hatton 115. The link between several prognostics

135Förster (1908c: 30).
137Gneuss (1997: 15-17).
138See section 3.2.1.
in Tiberius A.iii and Caligula A.xv has already been remarked upon. The second prognostic section in Tiberius A.iii contains a bloodletting lunary, a birth prognostic, and birth and illness lunaries.

In contrast to those in Hatton 115 and CCCC 391, the prognostic sections in Tiberius A.iii do not appear on separate quires, nor are they written in one hand. Ker gave the signature of the pertinent folios as three quires of eight leaves, fols 27-50, and one quire of eight leaves, fols 65-72. The first prognostic section starts on fol. 27v, following upon the Latin Regularis concordia with Old English gloss on fols 3-27, and crosses two quire boundaries, fols 34v-35r and 42v-43r. The second prognostic section opens a quire also containing an excerpt of Ælfric’s De temporibus anni on fols 65v-73r. The last prognostic in the second section is an incomplete illness lunary, so it is possible that the scribe deliberately intended to discontinue copying the prognostics.

Among the two Latin and five Old English hands distinguished by Ker, one is responsible for the Latin prognostics on fols 27v-37v, 65rv, one for the Old English glosses on fols 27v-37v, and one for the Old English prognostics on fols 37v-43r/2. These hands also contributed to various other portions of Tiberius A.iii. From the crossing of quire boundaries and the changes of hands, the prognostic sections would seem to be fully integrated with the rest of the miscellaneous material in this manuscript, or, in the words of Gneuss: ‘the distribution of the work of the several scribes speaks against this assumption [of separate booklets]’, which admits of a purposeful incorporation of prognostics.

The second prognostic section is twenty-two leaves removed from the first section. This distance is remarkable, especially since the same hand was responsible for both the Latin part of the glossed prognostics in the first section, and for the prognostics in the second section. The fact that Tiberius A.iii is a miscellany may be indicative of the large number of sources used. It is reasonable, then, to assume that different sources were accessed at different times during the production of the manuscript, and that the source used for the second prognostic section may have been another than that of the first section. Similarly, the first prognostic section is divided into glossed prognostics and Old English prognostics, produced by three hands. The coexistence of prognostics in Old English and Latin with or without glosses is rare. Two other manuscripts which have this are Caligula A.xv and Vitellius E.xviii.

The two prognostic sections may have been included in Tiberius A.iii for various reasons. The first section follows a glossed Rule of St. Benedict, supplements to the Rule, and the glossed Regularis concordia, of which Gneuss remarked: ‘there would be next to no problem if we only had to deal with articles one to seven [the items listed above and the first prognostic section], a compendium of the Benedictine Reform movements in Carolingian Francia and in tenth-century England’. With regard

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139See section 4.2.2.3.  
140See section 3.2.2 for this sequence.  
141Ker (1957: 247 [186]).  
142Ker (1957: 248 [186]). Ker assigned one hand to the Old English texts on fols 37v-42v, and one to fols 43r-45r. The two lines completing the birth prognostic on fol. 43r are, however, in the same hand as the rest of the text.  
144These volumes are unusual in that they are the only ones to have glossed and Old English prognostics in a computus, see section 4.2.2.3.  
to the nature of the text in Tiberius A.iii, Clayton and Magennis observed that the beginning of the manuscript is a collection of monastic writings inspired by the Benedictine Reform.\textsuperscript{147} After these monastic texts, the manuscript takes on much more miscellaneous character, giving to some extent the impression that texts were gathered according as they came to hand, though with an emphasis on vernacular devotional materials. While some of the texts, such as the directions for confessors and the Office of the Virgin, were written for a particular practical purpose, it is difficult to imagine this manuscript as having been intended for direct use in practical contexts, as texts for very different situations are placed side by side. The manuscript perhaps came to be viewed primarily as a type of reference book, preserving texts of interest to the community and serving as a handy repository for such diverse items as the lapidary and the guide to monastic sign language.\textsuperscript{148}

It is beyond doubt that the prognostics gained in popularity with the renewed interest in the computus under the influence of the tenth-century Benedictine Reform. This is evident from the concern with time reckoning during and after this period: the furtherance of computistical knowledge by Byrhtferth, Ælfric, and Gerland, and the varying types of computi already in existence by that time.\textsuperscript{149} Furthermore, another impulse on a scientific level was the sojourn of Byrhtferth’s teacher at Ramsey in 985-87, Abbo of Fleury, the leading figure in science and time reckoning, at the invitation of two of the driving forces behind the Reform, Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury (959-988), and Oswald, bishop of Worcester (961-992), archbishop of York (971-992), the latter himself trained in Fleury and one of the founders of Ramsey. The link between the computus and prognostics by way of associative attraction has already been discussed, so an increased interest in the prognostics corresponding to that in the computus stands to reason. Gneuss connected the prognostics with works pertaining to the Benedictine Reform outside the realm of the computus, which is unprecedented but which may indeed be the case.\textsuperscript{150} Like Gneuss, Clayton and Magennis noted that some texts, such as the Benedictine Rule, were staple fare in manuscripts produced under the Benedictine Reform, and the prognostics may belong in this category as well. This does not rule out Clayton and Magennis’s suggestion that the function of Tiberius A.iii is that of a reference book.\textsuperscript{151}

4.2.5.4 TITUS D.xxvi, xxvii

The contents of Titus D.xxvi, xxvii are much more varied than is suggested by its cognomen, Ælfrwine’s Prayerbook. Ælfrwine, dean of New Minster, Winchester (before 1032), owned this volume, which was probably tailored to meet his needs. Although the manuscript now consists of two volumes, it was originally one, xxvii preceding xxvi. xxvii opens with a computus also containing prognostics, Ælfric’s De temporibus anni, and the alphabet prognostic (fols 2-56), then turns into a prayerbook with miscellaneous notes, offices, devotions, and prayers (fols 57-93). xxvi preserves the varied nature of the last part of xxvii, and consists of miscellaneous notes, devotions, prayers, a medicinal recipe, prognostics, a collectar, a litany, and a charm.

\textsuperscript{148}Clayton and Magennis (1994: 86).
\textsuperscript{149}See section 4.2.2.2, and Stevens (1992: 137-41).
\textsuperscript{150}A more detailed inspection of the links between eleventh-century prognostics and the Benedictine Reform can be found in section 5.2.3.
\textsuperscript{151} Cf. Hollis (2001: 193).
In addition to the two main hands of the manuscript (i.e. xxvii and xxvi), nine other hands are attested. The computistical part of Titus D.xxvii has already been introduced in section 4.2.2. It contains a bloodletting lunary and calendar entries on the Egyptian Days and Dog Days (fol. 2-8) in the first main hand, A, belonging to the scribe Ælfsige. A separate quire, fol. 22-29, has four more Latin prognostics, with other texts intervening, in the other main hand, B. This quire starts with two texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days and the Dog Days, both related to the two sets in Harley 3271. The next prognostic is a year prognosis, followed (with other texts intervening) by a collective lunary in a redaction different from those in Tiberius A.iii and Sloane 475. Finally, fol. 55v-56v contain the Old English alphabet prognostic, written in hand C which is not found elsewhere in Titus D.xxvii. As Günzel deduced, the bifolium of fol. 54-55 was added by hand A to enable him to complete Ælfric’s *De temporibus anni*, followed by three short texts. At a later date, hand C used the blank verso of fol. 55 to write the alphabet prognostic, and it is he who introduced a singleton leaf, fol. 56, to allow himself to complete this text. Hand D added two non-prognostic texts on fol. 56v.

Titus D.xxvi has a prognostic section on fol. 3v-16r, all in one hand, G. This scribe also contributed to Titus D.xxvi a short text on the six ages of the world, and another on the length of Christ and the wood of the cross, both preceding the Latin prognostics. In all, seven scribes worked on xxvi, of whom the two main hands wrote the larger part of this volume. Four scribes, including the one of the prognostics, worked on the texts preceding fol. 20r, which gives this part of the manuscript the impression of a *liber amicorum* for Ælfwine, an impression further supported by the range of texts in xxvi. Hand G wrote all thirteen prognostics consecutively, on the first two quires (fol. 2-17), but the prognostics do not open the first quire as they are preceded by the two short texts mentioned above. Keynes pointed out that these two quires were added slightly later to provide more writing space. If this is the case, the prognostic section was added after the main part of the manuscript had been completed. Therefore, it is uncertain to what extent Ælfwine influenced the choice of texts in this part of the manuscript. As can be expected from a prognostic section in contrast to prognostics in the computus, non-temporal prognostics are encountered. One is a text on the colour of the moon, the other an alphabetical dreambook. Dreambooks seem to be a standard ingredient of prognostic sections: Tiberius A.iii and Hatton 115 have dreambooks as well. Also present in this section are two fixed sequences of prognostics: first, the three Egyptian Days and three miraculous birthdays, second, a unit of four lunaries and a birth prognostic. Two other noteworthy prognostics are an otherwise unattested text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days, and a text on the Dog Days related to the one in Harley 3271, fol. 123v-124r.

Titus D.xxvi, xxvii is a remarkable manuscript for several reasons. First, it contains the second-
largest collection of Latin prognostics in any extant Anglo-Saxon manuscript. Second, Titus D.xxvi, xxvii is unique in that it has a prognostic section in addition to prognostics in the computus. Third, the manuscript preserves two texts not attested elsewhere: the alphabet prognostic, and the prognostic by the colour of the moon. With the exception of the alphabet prognostic – a filler prognostic –, and possibly that of the collective lunary, the presence of (temporal) prognostics in xxvii can be explained by associative attraction triggered by the computistical texts. The prognostic section in xxvi, on the other hand, may be the result of an interest in prognostic texts on the part of the scribe. Alternatively, Ælfwine may have requested their inclusion, if he actively participated in the production of Titus D.xxvi, xxvii, and if he had anything at all to do with the later insertion of the first two quires of xxvi. How could Ælfwine have accomplished this? For one thing, it has been argued repeatedly that Ælfwine partly wrote the manuscript, yet Günzel asserted convincingly that he is not to be identified as one of the main hands of the manuscript. She dismissed the possibility that Ælfwine’s is hand A, the hand that wrote down his name as Ælsinus in a note in encoded writing on fol. 13v of xxvii. This did not stop some scholars from speculating that hand B is Ælfwine’s. As it happens, speculation has not turned into solid fact, and there is no compelling reason to assign hand B to Ælfwine. There can be no doubt that the manuscript was written for Ælfwine. It is, therefore, conceivable that Ælfwine played a part in deciding on the type of texts in xxvi and xxvii, but to what extent he selected the texts himself cannot be established. The fact that so many prognostics are included in Titus D.xxvi, xxvii would seem to indicate that he did not disapprove of the genre.

4.3 CONCLUSION
In this chapter I have analysed thirty-seven Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing prognostics. The emphasis has been on Old English texts, and in establishing the context in which they are found the Latin prognostics have been helpful. The fivefold contextual division outlined in this chapter proves satisfactory, since I have not encountered any Anglo-Saxon prognostics which defied classification in this structure.

My study of the manuscripts has brought to light a number of illuminating features relating to the transmission of Anglo-Saxon prognostics. First, prognostic material in calendars constitutes a considerable part of the entire prognostic corpus as listed in section 2.2.1. With a few exceptions, the Anglo-Saxon calendars have been published by Wormald. The prognostic material in these calendars has remained untouched for nearly seventy years while it provides a wealth of extra information regarding the Egyptian Days and the Dog Days. Second, there are several contexts in which one encounters prognostics, some of which create restrictions as to the type of prognostics they may contain. The most apparent limitation of type is that calendars can only incorporate prognostic material of genres in which a fixed date is assigned. Computi are less restrictive, though the process of associative attraction ensures that they draw in temporal prognostics only, notably texts on the

159 The presence of a collective lunary in xxvii cannot be justified so easily. Associative attraction may be an adequate explanation for short texts, but this lunary occupies six pages in xxvii.
160 Günzel (1993: 2).
162 Günzel (1993: 3).
163 Wormald (1934).
Egyptian Days and Dog Days, and lunaries. The computus is also the main source for Apuleian Spheres in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Non-temporal prognostics, such as alphabetical dreambooks, are not found in this context. Third, in addition to restrictions on the type of prognostics, the manuscript context, to a certain extent, determines the language in which the prognostics are transmitted. Thus, prognostic material in calendars is almost exclusively in Latin. On one occasion only has a glossed entry for the Dog Days been recorded, in the calendar of CCCC 422. Computi contain Latin prognostics as well as Old English and glossed prognostics. The larger share of the Old English prognostic corpus is encountered in prognostic sections.164 Fourth, the medical manuscripts from Anglo-Saxon England would appear to be different from their continental counterparts: the proportion of prognostics found in Anglo-Saxon medical manuscripts is negligible compared to that in continental manuscripts. Apuleian Spheres, for instance, are frequently attested in continental medical manuscripts, but hardly ever so in Anglo-Saxon ones. The limited transmission of Anglo-Saxon medical manuscripts and the lack of prognostics in such volumes has led to a situation in which one of the main sources for the prognostics, next to prognostic sections, are computi. Continental medical manuscripts, on the other hand, offer a major contribution to the corpus of continental prognostics. Fifth, scribes who copied prognostics outside a computistical or medical context favoured separate sections for these texts. Whereas prognostics tend to be distributed throughout the computus without any attempt to put them together, these texts are gathered together in prognostic sections when outside of the computus. This is especially apparent in manuscripts such as CCCC 391, Hatton 115 and Titus D.xxvi, in which the prognostic sections are found in quires separate from other text genres. The apparently haphazard distribution of prognostics in computi and medical sections reflects the process of associative attraction rather than a genuine concern with the prognostics as a genre. On the other hand, the existence of prognostic sections, in which large numbers of prognostics are collected and separated from the wider manuscript context, show an intent to gather and preserve the prognostics as a group.

164I investigate the matter of contextual language dependence more fully in section 5.2.1.
5

OBSERVATIONS ON LANGUAGE, DATE, AND PLACE OF ORIGIN

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter 4 I provided a detailed examination of the individual manuscripts with an eye to the contextual setting of the prognostics. In the present chapter I inspect the manuscript evidence on a higher level of abstraction: that of the language of the prognostics and the date and place of origin of the (parts of) manuscripts containing these prognostics.

The inventory of Anglo-Saxon prognostics is anything but exhaustive, as is evident from new finds. This incompleteness leaves us in the dark as to the exact size of the corpus. Therefore, the text corpus collected so far may not be entirely representative for specific Latin redactions of prognostics (the glossed and Old English prognostics have all been collected), nor for the number of prognostic genres in existence in Anglo-Saxon England. These limitations, however, are small-scale compared to what can be observed in the nature of general tendencies. Several new findings will become manifest in this chapter. First, the language in which the prognostics are written is not haphazard but depends to a varying extent upon that of the immediate context. Second, the bulk of the prognostics were copied in a few religious foundations only, notably those of Canterbury, Winchester and Worcester. Third, the period in which prognostics were disseminated is correlated to their context, e.g. prognostic material in calendars had enjoyed a long history by the time the first prognostic sections were being produced in the eleventh century.

The analysis presented in this chapter is dependent upon the exact size of the corpus as it stands: thirty-seven (composite) manuscripts, segments and fragments, containing 171 prognostics in all. I refer the reader to appendix 1 for a brief survey of the pertinent data. In view of the limitations of an incomplete text corpus, it is to be noted that all numbers and proportions given in this chapter are soft, viz. they serve as indications rather than definitive evidence.

5.2.1 LANGUAGE

One of the recurring issues in the previous chapter has been the language in which the prognostics were written. By language I do not mean dialect, but whether an Anglo-Saxon prognostic is in Latin, in Latin with an Old English gloss, or in Old English. In this section I list and interpret the results of chapter 4 in terms of language. The quickest way to disclose the distribution of the languages in which the prognostics have been transmitted is to count the individual texts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>L/OE</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>171</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1: Language

From the numbers in this table, it is evident that the majority of the prognostic texts are in Latin. The Old English and glossed prognostics constitute a closed corpus: it is highly unlikely that more of such 

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1See section 2.2.2.
texts will be discovered. The contribution of Latin prognostics, however, may still grow as more of these are encountered, witness section 2.2.2. As the number of Latin texts increases, the percentage of Old English and glossed prognostics will diminish.

Since table 5.1 conveys no information other than the language distribution of the prognostics, it might prove more fruitful to differentiate according to context as well. The lack of homogeneity frequently observed between the genres of individual texts in a manuscript makes it impossible for me to use the entire contents of these manuscripts as the basis for contextual research, as I illustrated in chapter 4. So instead of employing the overall contents of a manuscript, in the second table I will make use of the direct context of the prognostics as elucidated in the fivefold division in chapter 4, again using absolute numbers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>calendar</th>
<th>computus</th>
<th>medicine</th>
<th>filler</th>
<th>prognostic section</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L/OE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table merits close inspection because it visualises a correlation between context and language. In order to structure my findings, I will first analyse the various contexts in turn, after which I will compare the various contexts and the influence the context exerted upon the choice of language for the prognostics.

5.2.1 LANGUAGE AND CONTEXT

It can be observed that there are no attestations of Old English prognostic material in calendars. This is not surprising since the calendar is in essence a Latinised context in which the vernacular, though not rare, is infrequent at least. An exception are the glossed Dog Day entries in the calendar of CCCC 422. The calendar in question is preceded by a glossed bloodletting lunary, a prognostic genre of which I have found no other vernacular instances. The presence of Old English computistical material following the calendar gives the impression that the computus in which the calendar and the bloodletting lunary are embedded was intended to assist students of time reckoning who were not fully at home in Latin texts of this type.

Latin is also the predominant language of prognostics in the computus: thirty-seven texts are written in this language, against three glossed, and twelve Old English prognostics. There are five computi and calendars in which glossed and Old English prognostics are encountered. The computi in these manuscripts have in common that they not only feature glossed and Old English prognostics, but that they have computistical texts in Latin and in Old English, as well as miscellaneous notes and charms in Old English. Henel compared the Old English computistical texts in four of the manuscripts

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1Ker (1957, 1976) and Healey and Venezky (1980) have exhaustively examined the corpus of Old English texts. Aside from manuscript fragments used as binding material for books, it is unlikely that any more Old English texts will come to light.

2The entries for the Egyptian Days also present in this calendar are not glossed.

3CCCC 422, Caligula A.xv, Vitellius C.viii, Vitellius E.xviii, and Harley 3271.
above and Titus D.xxvii, and discovered that these texts are related to one another to a varying degree.\(^5\) This knowledge coincides with the links I have found between some of the Old English prognostics in these manuscripts.\(^6\) Computi which are written exclusively in Latin incorporate Latin prognostics only.\(^7\) Titus D.xxvii includes a number of computistical texts in Old English, but has prognostics in Latin only. These observations lead me to conclude that glossed and Old English prognostics are not unusual in computi, provided these sections contain computistical texts in the vernacular as well.

The medical context is one in which prognostics are not commonly found in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.\(^8\) Nevertheless, there are five medical sections and manuscripts containing prognostics. In these manuscripts, it is striking to see that the language of the prognostics agrees with that of the context. The absence of glossed prognostics in a medical context can be explained by the absence of glossed medical manuscripts.

The filler context is perhaps the most haphazard environment for prognostics, for there seems to be no contextual rationale underlying the choice of a prognostic as a filler text. Prognostics as filler texts tend to follow the language of the context, but the alphabet prognostic in Titus D.xxvii is an exception to the rule.

Prognostic sections, finally, are contexts which contain the highest density of prognostics: all texts from prognostic sections (sixty-four) are found in five manuscripts in all, whereas fifteen manuscripts are needed for prognostics in the computus to number fifty-two. Moreover, prognostic sections are the main source of both Old English and glossed prognostics. It is also a context in which glossed and vernacular prognostics are attested more frequently than Latin ones.

The findings in this section show that the degree in which various languages are present can be differentiated according to the context in which the prognostics are encountered. The calendars are overwhelmingly Latinate, while prognostic sections tend to favour vernacular prognostics more than Latin ones. In between there are the medical, filler and computistical contexts, which feature both Latin and Old English prognostics. In these contexts, the language of the prognostics often coincides with the language of the surrounding texts. In the next section I interpret these results to discover to what extent the language of the prognostics depends upon the language of the context.

### 5.2.1.2 LANGUAGE DEPENDENCE

In the previous section I focussed on language and the individual contexts in which the prognostics are found. I will now attempt to create some order on the basis of the results acquired. My main aim is to illustrate how the language of the context influences the language of the prognostics, which is what I understand by contextual language dependence. First, contextual language dependence is determined. Then this criterion will be used to elucidate the frequency with which prognostics are attested in various contexts.

It has become apparent that the extent to which the language of the prognostics depends upon the language of the context may vary. In order to establish a weighted list of language dependence, it is...

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\(^5\)Henel (1934a: 40-70). Henel excluded Vitellius C.viii.

\(^6\)See section 4.2.2.3.

\(^7\)CTC O.7.41, Arundel 60, Tiberius C.i + Harley 3667, Tiberius C.vi, Vitellius A.xii, Lambeth Palace 427, Bodley 579, and St. John’s College 17.

\(^8\)See section 4.2.3.1.
important first to discover the preferred language of the contexts themselves. All contexts for Anglo-Saxon prognostics can be in Latin, i.e. there are Latin calendars, computi, medical sections, texts surrounding filler material, and prognostic sections. In addition, some contexts can be in Old English, e.g. computi, medical sections, and prognostic sections.

First, Latin is by far the language preferred in calendars. The absence of Old English prognostic material indicates strong language dependence, but a unique attestation of glossed prognostic material is observed. Second, Old English computistical texts are sometimes encountered, yet the number of computi in Latin is much more extensive. The attestation of a relatively large number of glossed and Old English texts always coincides with the presence of Old English computistical texts, which points to strong language dependence. Third, prognostics in medical sections and manuscripts are without exception in the language of the context, so language dependence is very strong. This observation is confirmed by the absence of glossed prognostics in a medical context. Fourth, the language of filler material generally agrees with the language of the context, but the alphabet prognostic in Titus D.xxvii is an exception. Language dependence in a filler context is, therefore, on the same level as that of calendars. Fifth, prognostic sections tend to be either in Latin, in Old English, or glossed. There is virtually no mixing between prognostics of one language and another, a strategy which is also frequently encountered in collections of texts of other genres, e.g. in homiletic collections. If texts in more than one language coexist in prognostic sections, they do not mingle. The first prognostic section in Tiberius A.iii, for instance, features a series of glossed prognostics followed by a series of Old English ones. Moreover, it seems that the language of the wider manuscript context is not important for the language of prognostic sections. Tiberius A.iii displays a sequence of glossed prognostics following the glossed *Regulares concordia*, yet the sequence of Latin prognostics in the second prognostic section is surrounded by texts which are glossed or written in Old English. The glossed prognostics in the first section are followed by prognostics in Old English. This would suggest that prognostic sections in themselves determine the language context, i.e. the language does not depend upon the surrounding non-prognostic texts. It is evident from the five manuscripts containing such sections that prognostic sections themselves set the standard for language. In Tiberius A.iii, the first section allows both glossed and Old English prognostics, but these are not mixed. The prognostic section in Hatton 115 contains Old English prognostics only, and was, in addition, conceived as a stand-alone booklet. The latter also applies to the prognostic section in Titus D.xxvi, which is a separate unit inserted into the manuscript at a slightly later date. The order of languages in prognostic sections suggests relatively strong internal language dependence.

The above considerations show that the language of the prognostics is dependent upon the language of the context. It proves hard to differentiate between the strength of language dependence in the five contexts, even if the number of exceptions is taken into account. In all but the medical context, exceptions have been attested: (1) the glossed Dog Day entries in the calendar of CCCC 422; (2) the two glossed lunaries and the Apuleian Sphere in the computi of CCCC 422, Caligula A.xv and Vitellius E.xviii, respectively; (3) the Old English alphabet prognostic as a filler text in a Latin

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9See section 4.2.5.1.
10See section 4.2.5.4.
11Glossed prognostics are almost always exceptions as they occur mainly in contexts which are not glossed. Only in prognostic sections, which set their own standard, are glossed prognostics unexceptional.
environment in Titus D.xxvii; and finally, (4) the Latin lunar in the otherwise vernacular prognostic section of CCCC 391. Judging from the glossed prognostics in the computus, this context may select less strongly for language than the others do. The medical context has no exceptions for language preference, but as the Anglo-Saxon medical corpus is small anyway, this may not be significant. As it stands, the strength scale of contextual language dependence would be (from strong to less strong): (1) medical sections; (2) calendars, filler context and prognostic sections; (3) computi.

5.2.2 PLACE OF ORIGIN AND DATE

Two issues I have not yet addressed are the date and place of origin of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing prognostics. Here, I am not concerned with the origins of the prognostic genres themselves, which were discussed in chapter 3. My aim is to give an overview of the localities responsible for the dissemination of prognostics in Anglo-Saxon England and of the time when this took place. It will appear that there are only a few centres where the transmission of prognostics was undertaken on a significant scale. Moreover, the spread of prognostics throughout England can be pinpointed to certain limited periods, depending upon the context in which the texts are found. I will use the data gathered in chapter 2, at the same time cautioning the reader that the date and place of origin of the manuscripts, though based on manuscript catalogues, are not necessarily correct. More often than not, both date and place of origin have been, and still are, bones of contention; I have tried to weigh the pros and cons as well as I could. Furthermore, it is to be kept in mind that the Viking raids and occupation, the Norman Conquest, and the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII caused severe losses in manuscript collections. These losses seem to have afflicted foundations to a varying degree. A discussion of the date and place of origin of the prognostics must, therefore, allow for a certain margin of error. In contrast to section 5.2.1, where language has been interpreted on the basis of individual prognostics, this section concerns itself with (parts of) manuscripts, and, therefore, deals with the number of manuscript sections containing prognostics, not the total number of prognostics contained in these sections.

5.2.2.1 PLACE OF ORIGIN

An inspection of the information available for the manuscripts containing prognostics elucidates that the question of origin cannot be answered without running into complications. The most salient problems are: the undetermined place of origin of a number of manuscripts, notably that of medical ones; the place of origin of some manuscripts, which seems to waver between one place or another depending upon the scholar who determined it; the transfer of some manuscripts from their place of origin to another place where prognostics were added as filler texts, or where prognostic material was entered into the calendar.

An overview of the place of origin of Anglo-Saxon prognostics is given in table 5.3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canterbury</th>
<th>Winchester</th>
<th>Worcester</th>
<th>Ramsey</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This pertains to the origin of manuscripts containing Old English only.
Six preliminary remarks will clarify the contents of table 5.3. First, the data for this table pertain to the place in which prognostics were copied, which is not necessarily the place of origin of the entire manuscript. Second, it must be noted that the number of manuscripts listed in this table is forty, whereas the corpus comprises thirty-seven manuscripts. If a manuscript already contained prognostics and was then transferred to another place where more prognostics were added to the manuscript, I have counted the places of origin of both the manuscript and the later additions. The prognostics in CCCC 422, p. 49, for instance, were added in Sherborne to a manuscript produced in New Minster, Winchester. Likewise, the Egyptian Days in the calendar of CTC R.15.32 were added in St. Augustine’s, Canterbury, to a calendar from New Minster, Winchester. Both manuscripts already contained prognostics before they were transferred. Third, manuscripts in which prognostics were added at a later date but which already featured prognostics have not been counted more than once if the manuscript remained in the foundation where it was originally written. For instance, the alphabet prognostic in Titus D.xxvii was added at a later date in New Minster, Winchester, which is also the place the manuscript originated in. Fourth, I have noted those places individually from which two or more manuscripts containing prognostics have been attested. Fifth, the heading ‘*Ramsey’ comprises two computi: Tiberius C.i + Harley 3667, and St. John’s College 17. The first was copied in Peterborough, the second in Thorney. The reason why I have classed these manuscripts under ‘*Ramsey’ is that parts of them can be traced to Byrhtferth’s computus. In this case, I have favoured the origin of the exemplar rather than that of the manuscripts. Nevertheless, one should be aware that grouping these manuscripts together in view of their relatedness is a matter of convenience rather than a confirmation of the prognostics in these volumes having originally belonged to Byrhtferth’s computus. It is to be observed that the medical sections of St. John’s College 17 (fols 1-2, 175-177) are definitely not considered to be part of Byrhtferth’s original autograph, which is why these have been entered under ‘other’. Sixth, manuscripts from scriptoria appearing only once or of unknown origin have been categorised under the heading ‘other’. Examples are: Vitellius A.xii (Colchester), Douce 296 (Crowland), Harley 863 (Exeter), and the medical manuscripts of undetermined origin Harley 585, Harley 6258B and Sloane 475. The place of origin of some manuscripts has not yet been established beyond doubt, viz. that of Vespasian D.xiv (Christ Church, Canterbury? (or Rochester?)), Harley 3271 (New Minster, Winchester?), Hatton 115 (Christ Church, Canterbury?). Table 5.3 elucidates that twenty-eight manuscripts containing prognostics hail from four places only: Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester and *Ramsey. Of these four, the first three are responsible

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14This is done because some of the prognostics are so closely related that they must have been copied from a common exemplar. There are no other manuscripts containing prognostics for which this can be established so definitively.
15Some texts, including a number of prognostics, in these manuscripts may not have been part of Byrhtferth’s computus at all (see also section 5.2.2.2).
16See section 4.2.3.
17See section 2.2.1.
18Significantly, the majority of prognostics can be pinpointed to these locations, whereas manuscript production took place throughout England, as Ker’s lists testify to (1957: xlii-IX).
for twenty-six manuscripts containing prognostics. These places were the centres which initiated the Benedictine Reform, and which were also responsible for the production of many manuscripts of a didactic, sentential or homiletic nature. The fact that twenty-six manuscripts containing prognostics originated in the places propagating the Reform would seem to corroborate the idea that the Benedictine Reform was instrumental in disseminating prognostics.\textsuperscript{19} Of the Winchester foundations, New Minster was responsible for most of the prognostics; of the Canterbury foundations, Christ Church. The latter foundation, especially, has been ‘an important source of supply of exemplars’,\textsuperscript{20} also of prognostics, Tiberius A.iii being a case in point. Worcester is mentioned separately even though only three manuscripts containing prognostics are of Worcester origin. The reason for this is that Worcester is not only responsible for the largest prognostic section in Old English, in CCCC 391, but also for the preservation of a prognostic section in Old English, i.e. booklet 5 of Hatton 115 (from Christ Church, Canterbury?). As I have shown in table 5.2, prognostic sections are the most important source of Old English prognostics, and we partly owe their survival to the efforts of the Worcester community in copying and preserving these sections.

If we look at the places where prognostics were copied, the context of the prognostics plays a role as well, as the case of Worcester has shown. The results of cross referencing origin with context are given in table 5.4:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>calendar</th>
<th>computus</th>
<th>medicine</th>
<th>filler</th>
<th>prognostic section</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worcester</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ramsey</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4: Origin and context

In table 5.4, I have counted all contexts separately, even though some manuscripts contain more than one context. St. John’s College 17, for instance, features prognostics in the medical section, the computus and the calendar. Tiberius C.i + Harley 3667, on the other hand, feature prognostics in the computus only. These three manuscripts account for the three examples of *Ramsey origin.\textsuperscript{21}

The inclusion of prognostic material in calendars seems to have been popular mainly in Canterbury and Winchester. This practice may have to do with the fact that these are centres from which many computi have survived. The other calendars with prognostic material come from many different places.\textsuperscript{22} The combined group of calendars and computi points out that Canterbury, Winchester, and *Ramsey were the most beneficial centres for the propagation of prognostics in these contexts. Again, this may be indicative of the influence of the Benedictine Reform on the dissemination

\textsuperscript{19}See sections 4.2.2.2, 4.2.3.1, 4.2.5.3, 5.2.3.

\textsuperscript{20}Gameson (1999: 17).

\textsuperscript{21}Please note that the medical section of St. John’s College 17 is not relegated to *Ramsey, for reasons noted above.

\textsuperscript{22}In addition to calendars with prognostic material from St. Augustine’s and Christ Church, Canterbury, and New Minster, Old Minster, and St. Mary’s, Winchester, the others originated in Colchester, Crowland, Exeter, Northumbria, *Ramsey (i.e. Thorney), Salisbury, Shaftesbury, Wells(?), and Worcester.

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of prognostics. Medical manuscripts and sections are hard to pinpoint as to an exact origin. Of two manuscripts only, Royal 12.D.xvii and St. John’s College 17, the place of origin has been established: Old Minster, Winchester, and Thorney Abbey, respectively. Three other manuscripts, Harley 585, Harley 6258B, and Sloane 475 are of undetermined origin. Presumably, the contents of a medical manuscript do not offer any clues as to place of origin, in contrast to, for instance, computi and calendars. Prognostics as filler material seem to have been more in demand in Winchester than anywhere else in England. The prognostic sections preserved in Worcester have already been discussed. Of two manuscripts, only, Royal 12.D.xvii and St. John’s College 17, the place of origin has been established: Old Minster, Winchester, and Thorney Abbey, respectively. Three other manuscripts, Harley 585, Harley 6258B, and Sloane 475 are of undetermined origin. Presumably, the contents of a medical manuscript do not offer any clues as to place of origin, in contrast to, for instance, computi and calendars. Prognostics as filler material seem to have been more in demand in Winchester than anywhere else in England. The prognostic sections preserved in Worcester have already been discussed. One of these, booklet 5 of Hatton 115, probably is from Christ Church, Canterbury. The same foundation was responsible for two other prognostic sections, both in Tiberius A.iii. What makes these sections interesting is that they contain Latin, glossed, and Old English prognostics. The glossed prognostics are not found elsewhere in a prognostic section, and the Old English prognostics contain several uniquely attested texts. New Minster, Winchester, is home to one, possibly two, prognostic sections, in Titus D.xxvi and in Harley 3271. The unknown place of origin of the latter manuscript has been pointed out above, but a comparison with other prognostics from Winchester would seem to suggest New Minster as the place of origin of Harley 3271.

The importance of prognostic sections for the preservation of Old English prognostics cannot be denied. That some foundations may have propagated vernacular prognostics more than others can be viewed from table 5.5:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ramsey</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is immediately visible that prognostics in Latin have been copied in all centres. We have seen previously that Canterbury, Winchester and *Ramsey were major sources for the transmission of prognostics. Worcester, too, was of importance in this respect. In table 5.5 it can be observed that these four places can be differentiated according to their treatment of the prognostics. *Ramsey focussed on Latin prognostics only, whereas Old English prognostics were mainly copied in Canterbury, Winchester and Worcester. Glossed prognostics are solely found in Canterbury and Winchester manuscripts. Canterbury and Worcester are the only places where vernacular prognostics constitute the majority of prognostics produced there. The Old English texts from Worcester have all been found in the prognostic section of one manuscript: CCCC 391. The Old English prognostics from Canterbury are also encountered in prognostic sections, in Tiberius A.iii and possibly booklet 5 of Hatton 115. In contrast to those from Worcester, Old English prognostics from Canterbury are contained in the computus as well, in Caligula A.xv. The glossed prognostics from Canterbury are likewise incorporated in prognostic sections (Tiberius A.iii) and in the computus (Caligula A.xv). Winchester computi, such

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3) On the questionable place of origin of the Sloane manuscript, see section 4.2.3.

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as CCCC 422, Vitellius C.viii and Vitellius E.xviii also feature glossed and Old English prognostics, but prognostic sections from this location contain Latin prognostics exclusively.

The question is how it is possible for four places which have been responsible for most of the prognostic corpus to have acted so differently when it comes to the language of the prognostics. Prognostics were first brought into England in Latin, which remained the basic language for the prognostics in Anglo-Saxon times. Vernacularisation never entirely replaced the Latin prognostic corpus, but table 5.5 illustrates that many prognostics were translated into the vernacular in Canterbury and Worcester, and, to a lesser extent, in Winchester. If the four places under discussion are graded according to the number of glossed and Old English prognostics, *Ramsey ranks lowest, followed by Worcester and Winchester, and finally, Canterbury.

In the case of Worcester, the Old English prognostics are contained in CCCC 391, which may have fulfilled a pastoral function in the hands of Wulfstan II. This would explain why the prognostics are in Old English, i.e. they may have been intended for a lay audience which had little or no command of Latin. I do not deem this hypothesis likely, however, because prognostics were probably not used in a pastoral capacity at all. Rather, vernacularisation was in vogue in the eleventh century, especially in the centres of the Reform movement. The foundation of Christ Church was responsible for all glossed and Old English prognostics from Canterbury, both those in prognostic sections and in computi. Prognostic sections, such as the ones in Tiberius A.iii from Canterbury, reflect a desire to gather a group of prognostics together, and may merely indicate that prognostics, whether glossed, in Old English or in Latin, were considered worthwhile to collect. The prognostic booklet 5 of Hatton 115 probably also originated in Christ Church, and was transferred to Worcester, thus lending support to the conclusion that in these two places especially, there was considerable interest in prognostics in the vernacular. Glossed and Old English prognostics in the computus are always accompanied by computistical texts in Old English. Therefore, such computi may have been intended for a monastic audience which was not skilled enough to fully grasp the complicated nature of time reckoning when presented in Latin. This applies to computi from Canterbury, but also to those from Winchester. The prospective audience for the prognostics, then, may have differed from place to place.

In this section I have concentrated on the place of origin of the manuscripts containing prognostics. While for some manuscripts the place of origin could not be established beyond doubt, the results are, nevertheless, unambiguous. The large number of prognostics produced in Canterbury, Winchester and Worcester is significant in view of the role these places played in the Benedictine Reform. Manuscripts containing prognostics in computi and/or calendars from these religious establishments would seem to confirm this notion. Canterbury, Winchester and Worcester have been identified as the main places of origin for the glossed and Old English prognostics, and, together with *Ramsey, for a large number of prognostics in Latin. Furthermore, Worcester played an important role in preserving prognostic sections in Old English, and Canterbury and Winchester did the same for glossed and Old English prognostics in prognostic sections and computi.

24See section 4.2.5.2.
25See section 6.2.4.1.
26See section 5.2.3.
5.2.2.2 DATE

Like the place of origin, the date attributed to a manuscript tends to differ from one scholar to the next. By using the latest manuscript catalogues available, those of Gameson and Gneuss,27 I hope to be able to give a reasonably reliable insight into the production of prognostics throughout the Anglo-Saxon period and up to the prognostic copied by the Tremulous Worcester hand.

From Ker’s Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon, it emerges that most Anglo-Saxon manuscripts that survive have been produced in the eleventh century.28 The prognostics would seem to mirror this. In table 5.6, I list the date of the (portions of) manuscripts containing prognostics, ranging from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries:29

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ix</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>xi</th>
<th>xii</th>
<th>xiii</th>
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<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.6: date

Two remarks will clarify the contents of this table. First, the total number of entries for this table is forty-five. As with the place of origin of manuscripts, this is higher than the total number of manuscripts because later additions, such as filler texts and the addition of prognostic material to the calendar, have been taken into account. CTC R.15.32, for instance, contains a calendar with Dog Days from 1035-1036 to which Egyptian Days have been added in s. xi°. Filler texts added around the time of composition of the manuscript – e.g. in Titus D.xvii and Harley 3271 – have also been counted separately. Second, texts written around the turn of a century have been entered for the later date. The calendar in Add. 37517, for example, has been dated to s. x/xi, in which case I have assigned it to the eleventh century.

Table 5.6 shows that prognostics were copied significantly more frequently in the eleventh century than in the centuries preceding.30 Moreover, the decrease in dissemination from the eleventh century to the twelfth is not as marked as the increase from the tenth to the eleventh century. Reasons for this are the expansion of manuscript collections in post-Conquest libraries soon after the Conquest,31 a continued, though lessened, interest in prognostics in Latin, and the continued copying of prognostics in the vernacular in twelfth-century England.32

In table 5.7, I differentiate the date according to context:

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28Ker (1957: xv-xix). I realise that Ker lists manuscripts containing Old English only.
29For comparison, I provide the following table, derived from Ker’s findings (1957: xv-xix):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>viii</th>
<th>ix</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>xi</th>
<th>xii</th>
<th>xiii</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>23</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This pertains to manuscripts containing Old English only.
30This corresponds to a significant increase in manuscript production in the eleventh century (see table in note preceding).
32Latin prognostics were more frequently copied in the twelfth century than is apparent from the prognostic corpus, e.g. in the manuscripts CPC 103, Egerton 821, Ludwig XII.5 (see section 2.2.2). A large number of manuscripts from the twelfth century and after preserve calendars with prognostic material, cf. Wormald (1939-46).
The total number of entries in this table is fifty-seven. As with table 5.4, this number is considerably higher than the number of manuscripts because each context has been counted separately, as has the addition of filler texts or of prognostic material to the calendar. Thus, the calendar of CTC R.15.32 contains Dog Days original to the calendar of 1035-1036, and Egyptian Days added by s. xi.

It would appear that the Anglo-Saxon prognostic corpus got a late start compared to its continental counterpart. In Beccaria’s and Wickersheimer’s catalogues of medieval medical manuscripts, several instances can be found of continental stand-alone prognostics from the ninth century. The sole Anglo-Saxon prognostic from the ninth century, however, was entered into the calendar of Digby 63 and does not constitute a stand-alone text. The number of manuscripts from ninth-century Anglo-Saxon England is small compared to those that have survived from the eleventh century, but whether this satisfactorily explains the low survival rate of early prognostics is debatable. A more compelling reason might be that prognostics were not yet so well-known in Anglo-Saxon England in this period. The tenth century shows that prognostics were better known than in the ninth century, because a filler prognostic had been added to Royal 2.B.v by the end of the tenth century. The use of filler prognostics is a sure sign that there must have been sufficient prognostics around for one of them to be noticed and copied into another manuscript. Also from this century is the first Old English prognostic, embedded in a medical tract in Royal 12.D.xvii. Two calendars and one computus from the tenth century incorporate prognostics as well.

It is interesting to observe the limited contexts in which ninth- and tenth-century prognostics are attested. Prognostic material in the form of Egyptian Day entries is first found in the Roman calendar Fasti Philocaliani, dated to 354 AD. Since that time, calendars have featured entries on Egyptian Days and usually also on Dog Days. That some of the earliest examples of Anglo-Saxon prognostics are found in calendars is not wholly unexpected in this light. The other context which ensures good transmission is the medical context. Here, prognostics are not often found in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, but the one tenth-century example, in Royal 12.D.xvii, is embedded in a larger tract on bloodletting. Indeed, when we consider the prognostics in Anglo-Saxon redactions in a medical context, we see that out of four such texts, three are accommodated in tracts on bloodletting or on the humours. It stands to reason that the transmission of early Anglo-Saxon prognostics depended heavily on the context, the more so because manuscripts were produced at a lower rate than in later times. The calendar and the context of a larger medical tract in which prognostics are embedded,

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34See the description of the Egyptian Days in section 3.2.1.
35See section 4.2.1.
36I here exclude Sloane 475, fols 125-231 as the prognostics are atypical for the Anglo-Saxon medical context.
therefore, increased the chances of transmission for some of the earliest Anglo-Saxon prognostics.

The eleventh century witnesses a dramatic increase not only in manuscript production, but also in the dissemination of prognostics.\textsuperscript{37} The computus and calendar, especially, abound with prognostics. This ties in with the growing interest in computi in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, and the accretion of non-computistical time-related material in the computus.\textsuperscript{38} In the eleventh century prognostic sections were compiled for the first time. If such sections do indeed reflect an attempt at making a systematic collection of prognostics, these texts must have been sufficiently available in the eleventh century to make their collecting worthwhile. It should be noted that prognostic sections are almost exclusively the domain of eleventh-century scribes. In the middle of the twelfth century one more prognostic section was produced, remarkably, in Old English.

The twelfth century saw a decline in prognostics in the calendar and computus, and a slight increase in filler prognostics. Furthermore, prognostic sections seem to have become extinct by the end of the twelfth century, after having experienced their prime in the eleventh century. The prognostic in the Tremulous Worcester hand, finally, is the only one from the thirteenth century. Since I have refrained from investigating thirteenth-century manuscripts, the extremely low yield for that century cannot be considered indicative of a decline in interest in the prognostics.\textsuperscript{39}

Table 5.8 sheds light on the link between date and language:

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<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.8: date and language

As table 5.8 illustrates, the earliest surviving Anglo-Saxon prognostics (from the ninth and tenth centuries) are mostly in Latin, the only exception being the Old English medical tract with Dog Days in Royal 12.D.xvii, as remarked upon above. Except for this medical text and the filler prognostic in Royal 2.B.v, the other prognostics are encountered in calendars and a computus. Both the calendar and the pre-eleventh-century computi are Latinate contexts, so it is not surprising to find that these early Anglo-Saxon prognostics are in Latin.

A sharp increase in the production of prognostics in both languages in the eleventh century is followed by a less pronounced decline in the twelfth century. At least 118 prognostics date from the eleventh century, and at first sight it would seem that these came out of the blue in view of the mere six prognostics from the century preceding. Moreover, the tenth-century texts represent just a few of the prognostic genres known in Anglo-Saxon England, whereas the eleventh-century texts comprise the majority of prognostic genres and redactions. Since not one prognostic genre originated with the

\textsuperscript{37} See table 5.8 and below.

\textsuperscript{38} See sections 4.2.2.1, 4.2.2.2, 4.2.2.3.

\textsuperscript{39} A thirteenth-century manuscript such as Digby 86 illustrates that prognostics were still being copied in appreciable numbers, see Tschann and Parkes (1996: xvi, xvii, xviii-xix, xx, xxxiii-xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvi).
Anglo-Saxons (the prognostics are essentially Latin and Greek genres), it is not the case that the Anglo-Saxon scribes of the eleventh century invented a wealth of prognostic genres. The popularity of prognostics in this era requires an explanation.

First, an influx of texts from the continent must have taken place because many prognostic genres, hitherto unknown to Anglo-Saxon scribes, are first attested in the eleventh century and quickly naturalised. Some prognostics occur in redactions unfamiliar to ones known in Anglo-Saxon England, which strengthens the notion that they were imported from the continent, as illustrated by those found in Sloane 475.\(^{40}\) Strong links existed between Fleury and Ramsey in the second half of the tenth century,\(^{41}\) which resulted in the importation of several continental manuscripts, some of which undoubtedly contained prognostics.\(^{42}\)

Second, during the Benedictine Reform an increased production and dissemination of manuscripts took place, which culminated in the eleventh century. Connected with this is the fact that pastoral ministry became increasingly important in this period, which may have influenced the popularity and vernacularisation of the prognostic corpus.\(^{43}\) Attractive though this theory may seem, the pastoral hypothesis should not overestimated when it comes to the prognostics contained in eleventh-century manuscripts.\(^{44}\)

Third, the computus, which harboured a growing corpus of prognostics, flourished in the eleventh century and was responsible for a wider dissemination of prognostics than before. This is clearly visible if we compare the contents of tenth-century computi to those of the next century. The prime example of a tenth-century computus is in Bodley 579. This computus contains Dog Day entries in the calendar, and two stand-alone prognostics. Caligula A.xv, from the eleventh century, on the other hand, features no less than eight prognostics in the computus. This would seem to indicate that the accretive process was operating at full strength in the eleventh century.\(^{45}\)

Fourth, in the eleventh century, prognostics were first collected in separate prognostic sections. These collections varied from eight texts in Harley 3271, to twenty-two texts in the two prognostic sections of Tiberius A.iii. Even though there are only five prognostic sections from the eleventh century, these account for fifty-five individual texts, which is nearly half the total number of prognostics from the eleventh century.

Fifth, there is a possibility that a certain number of earlier exemplars may not have survived. All Anglo-Saxon prognostics were copied and translated from exemplars, and for some eleventh-century texts there are clear indications of their having been copied from lost exemplars. Evidence of copies from lost exemplars are: the Old English gloss of the dreambook in Tiberius A.iii, the prognostics in CCCC 391, and the β-sequence in Harley 3271.\(^{46}\) I do not know whether these prognostics were

\(^{40}\)See section 4.2.2.3. Ninth-century examples are the two stand-alone prognostics in Digby 63. This manuscript originated in Francia and was transferred to, and expanded in, England.


\(^{42}\)Wickersheimer (1966: 13-14 [II], 50 [XXXIII], 140-42 [XCII]) listed a number of Fleury manuscripts containing prognostics.


\(^{44}\)I will return to this issue in section 6.2.4.1.

\(^{45}\)See section 4.2.2.1.

\(^{46}\)In the dreambook, the glosses for entries 124, 151, 204, and 219 do not correspond with the Latin. In addition, Old English \textit{spiwæn} in entry 61 is written \textit{swiwan} with a ‘wynn’ instead of ‘p’. The prognostics in CCCC 391 show large spacing between the syllables of words to such an extent that the final syllable of one word and the first syllable of the
copied from tenth- or eleventh-century exemplars, but a number of eleventh-century prognostics may indeed be copies of earlier texts.

In the eleventh century, prognostics were glossed and translated into Old English on a large scale. Glossed prognostics, in particular, are only attested for this century. Glossed and Old English prognostics were made possible through the vernacularisation of computi in the eleventh century, which accounts for sixteen prognostics. Twenty-nine prognostics, either glossed or in the vernacular, are found in prognostic sections. One more Old English text occurs in Titus D.xxvii, which is the first filler prognostic in Old English. Harley 585, finally, contains the sole Old English prognostic from the eleventh century in a medical context. This century witnessed a rise in popularity of the prognostics, irrespective of language. Moreover, prognostics developed from a Latinate genre in the ninth and tenth centuries, to a Latinate and vernacularised genre in the eleventh century. The fact that computi came to be written partly in Old English in the eleventh century facilitated the transition from Latin to Old English prognostics. The emergence of prognostic sections, finally, guaranteed the large-scale production of prognostics in Latin, Old English, and with glosses. I have not found any significant differences between pre- and post-Conquest eleventh-century manuscripts and their treatment of the language in which the prognostics were written.

Twelfth-century prognostics are fewer in number than eleventh-century ones, but this decline is not as pronounced as is the increase from the tenth to the eleventh century. One would have expected the twelfth-century prognostic corpus to be even more extensive than that of the eleventh century, because manuscripts from the first half of the twelfth century are more than twice as numerous as post-Conquest eleventh-century manuscripts.\footnote{Gameson (1999: 5).} Gameson has noted considerable growth in English libraries at the end of the eleventh century, owing to both import and production of manuscripts.\footnote{Gameson (1999: 5-10, 14-19).} If the number of prognostics more than halved in the twelfth century and the production of manuscripts more than doubled compared to the eleventh century, this disparity cannot be ascribed to accidental influences such as the loss of manuscripts. Instead, there must have been a change in policy, such as extensive copying projects which took up so much time and effort that relatively less important genres such as prognostics did not receive the attention they held in the eleventh century.

Gameson studied the frequency with which texts were copied in the period c. 1066-1130, and concluded that in decreasing order of importance, English foundations focussed on: (1) patristic writings; (2) post-patristic theology; (3) biblical and (para-)liturgical books; (4) history; (5) hagiography; (6) texts in Old English; and (7) Latin classics.\footnote{Gameson (1999: 20-27).} Works outside these categories were produced in significantly smaller numbers, and comprise ‘Latin Christian poetry, grammatical and pedagogical works, medical texts, computistical treatises, decretals, and Rules’.\footnote{Gameson (1999: 27).} The only contexts fit for prognostics in this group of writings are marginalised. Compared to eleventh-century scribes as a whole, those of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries seem to have turned their focus elsewhere,

next sometimes seem to form a word. This practice would suggest dictation. The repeated β-sequence (see sections 3.2.2.2, 4.2.2.3) in Harley 3271, finally, indicates that an exemplar was used since the second sequence cannot have been copied from the first.

\footnote{Gameson (1999: 5).}
and to have worked in a more programmatic manner. As a consequence, attention to the prognostics, a genre not covered by any of the major categories, flagged noticeably.

The first thing to be noticed is a lack of glossed prognostics from the twelfth century. Of the twelve prognostics in Old English, nine derive from the single prognostic section in booklet 5 of Hatton 115. The remaining prognostics in Old English are a tract on the humours and the Dog Days in the medical manuscript Harley 6258B, and two filler prognostics from Vespasian D.xiv. The medical context continued to exist in the twelfth century, though this context was never really popular in Anglo-Saxon England. Again, the late dates of Harley 6258B (s. xii) and Vespasian D.xiv (s. xii) may seem remarkable because both manuscripts contain texts in Old English. However, Elaine Treharne has convincingly argued a case for the continued dissemination of the Old English literary tradition well into the twelfth century. In view of this vernacular tradition, therefore, it need not come as a surprise that Old English prognostics have benefited as well, albeit on a smaller scale than the production of these texts in the eleventh century.

There are three twelfth-century filler prognostics in Latin: two in CCCC 422 and one in Tiberius C.vi. Immediately following the prognostic in the latter manuscript is another one in Anglo-French, probably the first of its kind in England. The majority of the Latin prognostics from the twelfth century, though, is found in calendars and computi. Two of these computi, Tiberius C.i + Harley 3667 and St. John’s College 17, are assumed to be copies of Byrhtferth’s computistical notebook, which he used in developing his computus. Byrhtferth was working on this notebook between 988-996. Before concluding that the prognostics in the computistical manuscripts mentioned above should, therefore, be placed in the late tenth century, it is to be noted that only three of the prognostics in St. John’s College 17 (two of which also appear in Tiberius C.i + Harley 3667), formed part of Byrhtferth’s computus, to wit the entries on the Egyptian Days in the calendar, and two Apuleian Spheres. The other prognostics in the manuscripts may not have formed part of Byrhtferth’s computus, and may date to a later period. The Latin text on the twelve Egyptian Days, in Tiberius C.i and St. John’s College 17, for instance, is not attested in pre-twelfth-century English manuscripts. Moreover, there are several Old English representatives of the texts on the three and twenty-four Egyptian Days, but not one for the twelve Egyptian Days. If Byrhtferth had included a text on the twelve Egyptian Days, it would certainly have made its way into eleventh-century manuscripts, and it would probably have been translated into Old English as well. This also applies to the Latin sortes sanctorum in St. John’s College 17, of which no pre-twelfth-century copies have been attested either in Latin or in Old English. Between them, Tiberius C.i + Harley 3667 and the computus of St. John’s College 17 harbour twenty prognostics in Latin. The remaining Latin prognostics are in a medical section, computi and calendars.

52 See section 4.3.2.1.
53 Treharne (1998, 2001, 2003), Swan and Treharne (2000), particularly Treharne (2000), and Irvine (2000). Treharne and Swan (2000: 1-2) listed the following English writings attested in twelfth-century manuscripts: ‘the majority of texts are homiletic and hagiographical pieces written by Ælfric and anonymous authors. There are also two copies of the Gospels, a copy of the Rule of St. Benedict, Laws, apothegms and dialogue literature, prognostications, translations from Alfred’s “most necessary” books, and Psalters’. It is striking that twelfth-century manuscripts containing prognostics are usually discussed in some detail, though without any noteworthy study of the prognostics contained in these volumes (an exception is Treharne 1998: 237-39).
The yield for the thirteenth century consists of one Old English text fragment on the three Egyptian Days in the Tremulous Worcester hand, in CCCC 391. Why the scribe chose this particular prognostic is not clear; there are ten other prognostics in Old English in CCCC 391. Franzen wrote that ‘somewhere... someone with a trembling hand was glossing Old English manuscripts, for some reason’.\textsuperscript{56} She adduced various motives for a revived interest in Old English on the part of the Tremulous hand, such as educational or pastoral intentions.\textsuperscript{57} The reason that would underlie the copying of a prognostic, however, may have been an antiquarian interest in the Old English language.\textsuperscript{58} Fortunately for us, the Tremulous hand has furnished us with an Old English prognostic that became a relic even as it was being copied. Since I have not investigated the contents of thirteenth-century manuscripts, no conclusions can be drawn for this period.

One final matter that requires study is the connection between date and place of origin, displayed in table 5.9:

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</table>

Table 5.9: date and origin

The earliest Anglo-Saxon prognostic is a series of entries on the twenty-four Egyptian Days in the calendar of Digby 63. The opening quires of this manuscript were brought to England by the Frankish scribe Rægenbold in the ninth century, and the writer continued to work on the book in England. Thus, fol. 36rv contains prognostics which were copied on the continent, while the calendar on fols 40-45 was compiled in England. Six prognostics from the tenth century are attested, five of which originated in Canterbury and Winchester. These were thus important places with regard to the early prognostics from Anglo-Saxon England.

Twenty-three prognostics dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries derive from a number of places which are not considered major centres for the dissemination of prognostics. Prognostics from places here unspecified often concern entries in the calendar on the Egyptian Days or Dog Days, e.g. in CTC O.7.41 (Colchester), Vitellius A.xii (Salisbury), Vitellius A.xviii (Wells?), Harley 863 (Exeter), and Douce 296 (Crowland). In addition, a number of prognostics in medical texts cannot be assigned a place of origin, which applies to those in Harley 585, Harley 6258B, and Sloane 475. Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester and *Ramsey produced the majority of the eleventh- and twelfth-century prognostics: 140 texts in all. I have already studied the texts from *Ramsey and the only thirteenth-century prognostic, so I will not discuss these here.

Of the Canterbury prognostics, only three seem to have been copied at St. Augustine’s, and these

\textsuperscript{56}Franzen (1991: 189).
\textsuperscript{58}Franzen (1991: 190).
are all entries in the calendar on the Egyptian Days or Dog Days, in CTC R.15.32, CUL Kk.5.32, and Add. 37517. Gameson remarked that St. Augustine’s is characterised by ‘a fairly barren stretch in the couple of generations before the Conquest’, followed by ‘leisurely growth’ and imports after the Conquest and in the twelfth century. This certainly applies to the prognostics from this Canterbury foundation. The overwhelming majority of prognostics from Canterbury, however, hail from Christ Church. This foundation had an extensive library which sustained heavy losses in the fire of 1067. Nevertheless, twenty-five prognostics originated in Christ Church and antedate 1067. That this number is so high is mainly owing to the two prognostic sections in Tiberius A.iii, which contain twenty-two prognostics in all. The other ones are found in calendars. After the fire and the arrival of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury from c. 1070-1089, manuscript production increased and remained steady until well into the twelfth century. Prognostics from Christ Church in this period, however, are not so numerous, amounting to twenty texts attested in calendars, computi, prognostic sections, and as filler texts. Caligula A.xv and possibly booklet 5 of Hatton 115 deserve mention as major contributors of prognostics from post-Conquest Christ Church. This Canterbury foundation remained an important centre for the production of vernacular texts well into the twelfth century.

Of the Winchester prognostics from the eleventh and twelfth centuries two derive from Old Minster, forty-nine from New Minster, and one from St. Mary’s. A further three prognostics in computi from Winchester have not been assigned to a specific foundation. It is remarkable that so many prognostics have survived because Gameson speaks of ‘a comparative dearth of extant manuscripts’ from Winchester in this period. Prognostics are found in calendars and as filler texts. Additionally, computi and prognostic sections from Old and New Minster contribute many prognostics, indicating that such contexts received considerable attention in these foundations, see for instance Titus D.xxvi, xxvii, Vitellius E.xviii and Harley 3271.

Eleventh-century prognostics from Worcester are concentrated in the prognostic section of CCCC 391, the exceptions being Dog Day and Egyptian Day entries in the calendars of CCCC 9 and Hatton 113. The eleven prognostics in Old English and the one in Latin in CCCC 391 are remarkable, because Worcester had no history of prognostics prior to these. This prognostic section appears out of the blue, whereas the prognostic genre was well-established in Canterbury and Winchester before these places started to produce prognostic sections. As Gameson pointed out, Christ Church was an important source of exemplars. There are links between booklet 5 of Hatton 115 (from Christ Church, Canterbury?) and the prognostics in CCCC 391, e.g. the otherwise unattested sunshine prognostic in the vernacular, and the α-sequence in Old English present in both manuscripts. The Old English weekday brontology in CCCC 391 is also found in Tiberius A.iii and in Hatton 115, both probably from Christ Church, Canterbury. At the same time, the γ-sequence in CCCC 391 is attested in Old English in Vitellius E.xviii, from New Minster, Winchester. The origin of an exemplar for the


60 On the manuscripts owned by St. Augustine’s and Christ Church, Canterbury, see James (1903: xix-lxxxvii).


62 Ibid.


64 Gameson (1999: 18).


66 See section 3.2.2.
Old English prognostics in CCCC 391 may, therefore, be posited either in Christ Church, Canterbury, or in New Minster, Winchester.57

The above study of the date of the prognostic corpus has elucidated that the genre experienced a slow start in ninth-and tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England, enjoyed a peak in the eleventh century and suffered a moderate decline in the twelfth. It has been observed that prognostic sections are first attested in the eleventh century, which is also the only period in which prognostics came to be glossed. The role of Canterbury and Winchester as centres which propagated prognostics emerges in the late tenth century, accompanied by Worcester in the eleventh, and *Ramsey in the twelfth century.

5.2.3 LATE ANGLO-SAXON PROGNOSTICS AND THE BENEDICTINE REFORM
A point I have not yet addressed is that of the rationale underlying the vernacularisation of a Latinate genre such as the prognostics. At several points in this chapter I have referred to Old English prognostics, their emergence, their place of origin and date. Three observations have been made: (1) prognostics flourish in the eleventh century; (2) prognostics were vernacularised in the eleventh century; and (3) most of these texts originated in Canterbury, Winchester and Worcester. These observations seem to point at influences from the Benedictine Reform, an endeavour which Frantzen called ‘a movement without an official beginning’.68 The Benedictine Reform commenced somewhere around the mid-tenth century, during the reign of King Edmund (939-946), and gained new impetus under King Edgar (959-975). The latter assigned the archbishopric of Canterbury and the bishoprics of Winchester and Worcester to Dunstan (959-988), Æthelwold (963-984) and Oswald (961-992), respectively. These three prelates propagated a reform which led to the reinstatement of Benedictine monastic life in foundations which had become lax or secularised, the foundation of new monasteries, and an enlightenment in scholarship. The Winchester school established by Æthelwold employed both Latin and English in teaching, with the result that the vernacular gained a foothold in scholarship and learning. This is best exemplified by Ælfric, a pupil of the Winchester school, and writer of a Latin grammar in Old English, several series of homilies in the vernacular, and the Old English computistical tract De temporibus anni.

It is in the period of the Reform that prognostics developed wide currency in Anglo-Saxon England. I must point out that monks working during and after the Benedictine Reform did not focus primarily on prognostics, but that prognostics gained interest through learning and increased manuscript production. In the Reform period, prognostics were translated into Old English, and they flourished in calendars, computi and prognostic sections, as table 5.10 illustrates:

57The sole Latin prognostic in CCCC 391, a dream lunary is unlike any other such lunary from Anglo-Saxon England in that it has psalm verses at the end of each lunar phase. This setup is more common in continental dream lunaries (see section 3.2.1), which makes a continental exemplar for this particular prognostic likely.
Out of the total corpus of 171 prognostics, 112 (over 65%) were copied in the era of the Benedictine Reform and its aftermath, i.e. from the second half of the tenth century to the second half of the eleventh century.\textsuperscript{69} It cannot be ascribed to coincidence that such a high proportion of prognostics were copied in this period. Instead, the Benedictine Reform must at some point have inspired learning in many fields, including that of prognostication. Additional support for this idea is the vehemence with which a Reform writer such as Ælfric opposed some forms of prognostication, while slightly earlier homiletic collections such as the Blickling and Vercelli homilies do not mention prognostication even once.\textsuperscript{70}

The three contexts which feature prognostics most extensively are: calendars and computi (fifty-four texts) and prognostic sections (fifty-four texts). Calendars and computi found a welcome audience in adherents of the Reform. Evidence for this conclusion is twofold: (1) that of the manuscripts themselves; (2) that of a concern with time reckoning exemplified by Ælfric and Byrhtferth. First, most Anglo-Saxon computi date from the eleventh century, which must be a direct result of the Benedictine Reform. I have already indicated that these eleventh-century computi show a higher concentration of prognostics than those from the tenth century and earlier.\textsuperscript{71} Second, time reckoning proved of considerable interest to the Reformers. Oswald, one of the reformers, founded Ramsey. Oswald was trained in Fleury, and Ramsey maintained close ties with this place. At Oswald’s request, Abbo of Fleury, an acclaimed computist, was invited to stay and teach at Ramsey. It is likely that Abbo brought computistical materials with him.\textsuperscript{72} One of Abbo’s pupils, Byrhtferth, wrote the computistical \textit{Enchiridion}. For this purpose, he collected computistical writings, which included a number of prognostics, as exemplified in Tiberius C.i + Harley 3667 and St. John’s College 17.\textsuperscript{73} Another example of a concern with time reckoning is Ælfric’s \textit{De temporibus anni}. While Byrhtferth’s computus displayed a certain affinity with prognostication, Ælfric’s \textit{De temporibus anni} strongly opposed the consultation of prognostics.\textsuperscript{74} Nevertheless, we know from Ælfric’s writings that he was familiar with several prognostic genres.\textsuperscript{75} Perhaps more important than the fact that reformers were timekeepers is the vernacularisation of computi. Both Byrhtferth’s \textit{Enchiridion} and Ælfric’s \textit{De temporibus anni} are in Old English. In addition, a number of computi were composed (partly) in the vernacular in the eleventh century. I have already adduced CCCC 422, Caligula A.xv, Vitellius C.viii, Vitellius E.xviii

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & calendar & computus & filler & medicine & prognostic section & n \\
\hline
OE & 0 & 12 & 1 & 1 & 22 & 36 \\
L/OE & 1 & 3 & 0 & 0 & 7 & 11 \\
L & 24 & 14 & 2 & 0 & 25 & 65 \\
n & 25 & 29 & 3 & 1 & 54 & 112 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Language and context, s. x²-xi²}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{69}Stenton (1971: 456-57) noted that the importance of the Benedictine Reform is ‘misunderstood if it is dismissed as one of the many movements which have merely influenced a generation and then passed into history’. Furthermore, the Reform ‘opened a new phase of English culture which survived the political catastrophe of the Norman Conquest’.

\textsuperscript{70}See section 6.2.3.

\textsuperscript{71}See section 4.2.2.2.

\textsuperscript{72}A good example of a continental computus containing prognostics is the ninth-century manuscript Harley 3017.

\textsuperscript{73}See sections 4.2.2.2, 4.2.5.3, 5.2.2.2.

\textsuperscript{74}See section 6.2.3.

\textsuperscript{75}See section 6.2.1.
and Harley 3271. These five manuscripts also contain prognostics in Old English.

Prognostic sections first appear in the eleventh century. They reflect an attempt at a systematic collection of prognostics which were probably culled from a variety of other contexts. Four eleventh-century manuscripts contain prognostic sections: CCCC 391, Tiberius A.iii, Titus D.xxvi and Harley 3271. Of these, Titus D.xxvi is the only one which does not contain any prognostics in Old English. The compilation of prognostic sections in the eleventh century cannot be ascribed to coincidence because we do not find such sections before, and only sporadically after, the eleventh century. This means that the emergence of these sections may be linked with the interest in learning promoted in the Benedictine Reform.

Before drawing conclusions, let us look at the monasteries which were responsible for the dissemination of prognostics during, and immediately following the Benedictine Reform:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Canterbury</th>
<th>Winchester</th>
<th>Worcester</th>
<th>other</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Table 5.11: origin, s. xi-xi²

Table 5.11 illustrates that the foundations where prognostics were copied in large numbers are identical to those which played a crucial role in the Benedictine Reform. I have shown that the dissemination of prognostics in these centres compared to that in the rest of Anglo-Saxon England is not entirely haphazard. Hollis has advanced the idea that the production of prognostics emanated from a single foundation, to which Liuzza assigned the name of Winchester. Hollis’s claim is based on the supposedly pastoral function of prognostics, whereas Liuzza connects the rising popularity of prognostics with the development of the Winchester computus. I have already discussed the way in which prognostics are transmitted via the computus. Winchester computi with prognostics seem to take pride of place, but one should not rule out the Canterbury and Leofric-Tiberius computi (Canterbury/Winchester) and that of Byrhtferth (*Ramsey), all of which feature prognostics. Moreover, as I indicated, the contribution of prognostic sections should not be neglected. When it comes to prognostic sections in the vernacular, the foundations of Christ Church, Canterbury, and Worcester Cathedral played a seminal role in the production of prognostics. Even as late as the middle of the twelfth century, a prognostic section in Old English was copied in Canterbury. Winchester is known for prognostic sections in Latin. The testimony of computi and prognostic sections, therefore, makes it improbable that any one of the foundations of Christ Church, Canterbury, New Minster, Winchester, Worcester Cathedral, or *Ramsey Abbey, was alone responsible for the production and dissemination of prognostics. Furthermore, the ties with continental foundations – Dunstan’s Canterbury with Ghent, Oswald’s Worcester and Ramsey with Fleury – would seem to indicate that the prognostics may have entered English Reform centres from the continent via a number of different

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76 See section 5.2.1.1.
77 See section 5.2.2.
78 Booklet 5 of Hatton 115 is a twelfth-century prognostic section.
79 See section 5.2.2.1.
81 See sections 6.2.4, 6.2.4.1.
82 See sections 4.2.2.1, 4.2.2.2.
routes. These considerations indicate that all four centres seem to have played an equally important part in the propagation of prognostics.

I have focussed on the influence of the Benedictine Reform on the popularity of Anglo-Saxon prognostics. Three facts substantiate my claim that prognostics gained acceptance and currency during and following the Benedictine Reform: 1) the period of production coincides with the Reform; 2) vernacularisation of the prognostics coincides with Reform policy of teaching and learning in the vernacular and in Latin; and 3) the overwhelming majority of prognostics originated in the religious foundations crucial to the impetus of the Reform.

5.3 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have concentrated on some key issues in the transmission of Anglo-Saxon prognostics: the language, place of origin and date. Prognostics in the vernacular constitute only a small part of the entire corpus. The language of the prognostics tends to coincide with that of the context, and since all five contexts can be in Latin, this is the language for the majority of the prognostics. Computi, medical sections, and the filler context also exist wholly or in part in Old English. This implies that prognostics in these context can be found in the vernacular. Prognostics in separate sections have been shown to be relatively free from outside influences when it comes to language. The fact that these prognostic sections have texts grouped together by language, e.g. in Tiberius A.iii, indicates that they adhere to internal language preferences. The prognostic corpus originated in a considerable number of places in Anglo-Saxon England, but in only a few of these were prognostics produced on a large scale. Christ Church, Canterbury, New Minster, Winchester, Worcester and *Ramsey appear to be the main centres for the dissemination of the prognostics. Calendars with prognostic material were produced in many English foundations, but particularly in Canterbury and Winchester. The computus seems to have enjoyed popularity in Canterbury, Winchester and *Ramsey. Medical manuscripts are hard to connect with a specific foundation, so that the prognostics contained therein cannot be assigned any definitive place of origin. The filler context was especially used for prognostics in Winchester. Prognostic sections, finally, were produced in Canterbury, Winchester and Worcester. The vernacularisation of prognostics seems to have been largely restricted to these same places. In investigating the date of the prognostics, I have indicated that the spread of the genre reached a peak in the eleventh century. Prognostics were still a marginal genre in the ninth and tenth centuries. The popularity of the genre in the eleventh century can be explained by the influx of continental manuscripts; the increased production of manuscripts following the Benedictine Reform; a growing interest in the computus and the coming of age of the accretive process in computi; the emergence of prognostic sections; the possible loss of older exemplars. Even though manuscript production and import was twice as extensive in the first half of the twelfth century compared to the second half of the eleventh century, prognostics were already losing ground in the twelfth century. This is mainly due to the programmatic manner in which twelfth-century scribes replenished libraries and depends to a certain extent upon the language of the texts copied: utilitarian writings were dropped in favour of theology, history, and Latin classics. Finally, I have advanced evidence for the popularity of the prognostics during the period of the Benedictine Reform and its aftermath.
6
SUPERSTITION AND PROGNOSTICATION

6.1 INTRODUCTION
In the preceding two chapters, I investigated the context in which the prognostics have come down to us, and the way in which the context determines the language of a prognostic. Furthermore, the date and place of origin have been examined of the manuscripts which feature prognostics. These studies were, of necessity, of a rather technical character. The present chapter and the one following build upon the data gathered so far. It has become evident that the prognostics can be grouped together in various ways, e.g. by context, language, genre, date and place of origin. The term ‘prognostics’, used to describe a genre, unifies many text types of a diverse nature, found in a variety of circumstances. Prognostics do not seem to be a group of homogeneous texts. If we inspect the structure of prognostics, for instance, it appears that some are ordered by time sequences, and others by the alphabet, numbered sequences or colours. Even within these broad categories, further distinctions can be made. Temporal prognostics may employ hours, days, months (absolute time), lunar phases (relative time), or systems of arbitrarily appointed days. Non-temporal prognostics may use the alphabet, as in the alphabet prognostic or dreambooks, numbered sequences, as in the sortes sanctorum, or colours, as in the prognostic on the colour of the moon. In spite of this diversity, all prognostics can be accommodated within the larger framework of superstition. It is my aim to clarify the status of prognostication as a superstitious practice. To accomplish this, I will first investigate the authority that is voiced by the prognostics themselves, after which I examine a system to subdivide the field of superstition. The results are employed to discover the position of prognostication in Anglo-Saxon England as gleaned from written sources and the intended audience of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics.

6.2.1 PROGNOSTICS AND AUTHORITY
In the course of history, several prognostics changed from anonymous texts to ones supposedly written by historical or Biblical figures, while some prognostics came to incorporate verbal echoes from learned or homiletic writings. These two features are a matter of authority. Verbal echoes testify to the erudition of the composer, which increases the status of the prognostic. Texts written by scholars such as Hippocrates or Galen were thought to be more reliable than anonymous works. Moreover, a prognostic attributed to Augustine, for instance, was more likely to escape censure than the same text written anonymously. We must distinguish between prognostics in which the alleged author is mentioned, and those that have been attributed to historical figures by editors and collectors of medieval texts.

Prognostics which disclose the name of the author are found repeatedly. Swan wrote that authors sometimes mentioned the authors of their source text, because ‘they are interested not in the authorial identity of the individuals named, but rather in the status of those individuals as authoritative sources.

1It is to be noted that I use the term ‘superstition’ in an unprejudiced sense to denote a group of practices which fall outside a dominant religious system, with which they often coexist. Such a religious system assigns the predicate ‘superstition’ to customs which it wishes to suppress or marginalise. I will elaborate upon the word ‘superstition’ in section 6.2.2.1.

2In section 3.2.1, the attributions for each prognostic genre are mentioned. I have made a distinction between medieval and post-medieval attributions.
which set up a chain of affiliation and validation for the text which names them’. There is no reason not to extend this chain of reasoning to compilers who added attributions to extant anonymous texts, as in the case of Apuleian Spheres. The earliest example of this genre, in a demotic papyrus, states that the Sphere is devised by Democritus. Medieval versions of this genre also mention Apuleius, Pythagoras and Petosiris. The terms ‘Apuleian Sphere’ and ‘Pythagorean Device’ bear witness to these attributions, as does the so-called letter of the Egyptian astrologer Petosiris to Nechepso. The text on the development of the foetus was ascribed to, among others, Hippocrates and Galen, but was actually composed by Vindicianus, Augustine’s physician. Old Frisian redactions of this text name Augustine, which makes the text virtually impregnable to criticism. The Old English text, incidentally, carries no attribution. Medieval dreambooks were supposedly devised by Daniel. A wealth of alphabetical and thematic dreambooks has been transmitted in Greek, notably those of Artemidoros, Astrampsychos, Daniel, Germanos, and Nikephoros. Western medieval literature is only familiar with Daniel’s alphabetical dreambook. The glossed dreambook in Tiberius A.iii, for instance, is entitled ‘De somniatorum diuersitate secundum ordinem abcdarii danielis prophete’. The alphabet prognostic was invented by Joseph. This, however, is a late medieval attribution. The earliest representative of this genre, in Old English but undoubtedly a translation, is unattributed and does not explain how the prognostic is to be used. The fact that fifteenth-century alphabet prognostics are ascribed to Joseph and used oneirocritically has led modern scholars to describe this genre as the pseudo-Joseph dreambook. The year prognosis has been called the Revelatio Esdrae de qualitatibus anni, after the Old Testamentary Ezra. It is to be noted that none of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics of this type carries a title or preface to this effect.

Four prognostic genres were not attributed to a specific author, but have nevertheless been identified with groups of people: the Egyptian Days, and the sortes sanctorum. The Egyptian Days have been known under this name throughout their existence. Medieval commentators claimed that these days represent the nine or ten plagues suffered in Egypt, relics of unlucky days from the Egyptian calendar, or unlucky days through a semantic link between Egypt and darkness. Augustine and Ambrose already warned their audience not to observe Egyptian Days. The sortes sanctorum (bibliorum) or apostolorum, finally, were connected with the New Testament books of the apostles. The Latin redaction in St. John’s College 17 does not make the attribution explicit, but we know from various sources that this prognostic genre was known under the name sortes sanctorum.

Some prognostics have been attributed to an author by editors of medieval texts. The earliest Anglo-Saxon prognostic dates from the ninth century, but we would seem to have antecedents in the prognostics attributed to Bede, erroneously so, however. These texts comprise De tonitruis libellus ad Herefridum (a collection of brontologies by direction of the wind, by month, by weekday); the hexameter verses on the twenty-four Egyptian Days in the calendar and a stand-alone text; an astrological tract entitled Pronostica temporum (comprising a year prognosis and a prognosis of the year

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3Swan (2001: 77-78).
4See section 3.2.1. All references to attributed genres can be looked up in section 3.2.1.
5From text 7/4.
6Attributions are also discussed in section 3.2.1.
7See section 3.2.1.
to come based on judicial astrology); the three Egyptian Days; De natiuitate infantiun libellus (a collection of texts on the development of the unborn child, followed by the three miraculous birthdays and a birth prognostic by weekday); De minutione sanguinis siue de phlebotomia (a medical tract on bloodletting with Dog Days, three and twenty-four Egyptian Days, a bloodletting lunary, and a moonbook); and an Apuleian Sphere of the Petosiris type, entitled De diuinatione mortis et uiae. Of course, these attributions are entirely spurious, and although some of these prognostics – mainly bloodletting ones – were connected with Bede in the later Middle Ages, most attributions are the work of the sixteenth-century scholar Noviomagus.

Another method by which the authority of a text can be increased is by verbal echoes. An added bonus of verbal echoes, perhaps intended, is that they show the extent of learning of the composer or editor of the text. I bring together three instances of this practice, from the sunshine prognostic, the Old English redactions of the twenty-four Egyptian Days and Ælfric’s homily ‘Octabas et circumcisio Domini’.

First, one of the entries of the sunshine prognostic reads as follows: ‘if the sun shines on the fourth day [of Christmas], then the camels will carry off much gold from the ants which must guard the gold hoard’. This entry is clearly a reference to the story of the camels and the ants in the Wonders of the East, two Old English and one Latin versions of which have been preserved in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

Second, the Old English text on the Egyptian Days contains the following note: ‘nis þis nan wiglung, ac wise menn hit afunden þurh þone halgan wisdom swa heom god ælmihtig gedihite’ (‘this is no divination, but wise men discovered it through the holy wisdom as the almighty God revealed to them’). This quotation echoes a phrase from Ælfric’s homily ‘Octabas et circumcisio Domini’: ‘nis þis nan wiglung ac is gecyndelic þing þurh geseceapynysse’ (‘this is no divination, but it is a natural thing through creation’). The phrase ‘þis nis nan wiglung’ also figures in Ælfric’s ‘De auguriiis’. The translator of the text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days must have been familiar with Ælfric’s work, because the collocation ‘nis þis nan wiglung’ is not found anywhere else and must have originated with Ælfric.

The third instance of a verbal echo is transmitted from a prognostic to a homily rather than the

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9To my knowledge, judicial astrology was a type of superstition not practised in Anglo-Saxon England, see section 6.2.2.2.
11Jones (1939: 45-47, 73, 87-90).
12For instance, the appearance of a uniped in Eirik’s Saga is said by Magnusson and Pálsson (1965: 101, n. 3) to be ‘symptomatic of the author’s fondness for medieval learning’.
13Gyf þy .iii. dæge sunne scyneð. þon þæ oðfenda mycel gold oðberað þan ættmætum þa þone goldhord healden scolden’ (text 14/2).
14Förster (1906: 369, n. 1; 1912a: 65, n. 1). The relevant passage is in Orchard (1995: 177, 190-91 [§9]). The Liber monstrorum also refers to giant ants guarding a hoard of gold (Orchard 1995: 296-97 [II.15]).
16From text 8.3/1.
17Clemoes (1997: 230/195-96). I return to this homily in section 6.2.3.
18Skeat (1881-1900: I.370/87).
19A proximity search in Healey and Venezky (2000) revealed that the phrase is exclusive to the two homilies from Ælfric and the Old English texts on the twenty-four Egyptian Days.
other way round, and therefore merits close inspection. In the homily ‘Octabas et circumcisio Domini’, Ælfric remarked that many people ‘nellað heora þing wanian on monandæge’,\textsuperscript{19} Thorpe translated this as ‘will not undertake anything on Monday’.\textsuperscript{20} Meaney, however, sees in this phrase a verbal echo from the text on the three Egyptian Days, and translates it as ‘will not let blood from their livestock [on Monday]’.\textsuperscript{21} One Old English redaction of the three Egyptian Days contains the following comment: ‘Pry dagas syndon on geare... on þam natoþæshwon for nanre neode ne mannes ne neates blod sy to wanienne’ (there are three days in a year... on which man’s or cattle’s blood should not, for any reason at all, be let).\textsuperscript{22} These Egyptian Days concern three Mondays, as explicated by the Old English and Latin redactions of this genre. Both the homily and the text on the three Egyptian Days would seem to contain references to the bleeding (‘(blod) wanian’) of cattle (‘þing’ or ‘neat’) on Mondays. Meaney’s supposition has merit, but her translation is awkward because it would suggest that Ælfric focussed on the bleeding of cattle on Mondays. The text on the three Egyptian Days, however, mentions bloodletting for both people and cattle. The phrase ‘heora þing wanian’, translated by Thorpe as ‘undertake anything’, features a third person plural pronoun in the genitive.\textsuperscript{23} Meaney’s reading ‘let blood from their livestock’ preserves this pronoun. Förster argued that ‘þing’ is used indefinitely in conjunction with ‘wanian’ to denote ‘blood’, and that the phrase means ‘diminish their blood’, i.e. ‘bleed themselves’.\textsuperscript{24} Here, the verb ‘wanian’ does not mean ‘to undertake’, as Thorpe speculated, but ‘to weaken, reduce by medical treatment’.\textsuperscript{25} I prefer Förster’s translation over Thorpe’s or Meaney’s because it is grammatical, and it moves the emphasis from the bleeding of cattle to that of people. Ælfric may have frowned upon the belief that some animals deteriorate through blessing,\textsuperscript{26} but it is unlikely that the bleeding of cattle rather than people may have preoccupied him in the homily.

The passage from the homily continues as follows: ‘[many people] will not bleed themselves on Monday, because of the beginning of the week; but Monday is not the first day in the week, but the second’.\textsuperscript{27} It is to be noted that there are only three Egyptian Mondays in the year, whereas Ælfric would seem to suggest that every Monday is observed. Moreover, the texts on the three Egyptian Days do not state that these days are Mondays because of the primacy of this day. Meaney supposed a

\textsuperscript{20}Thorpe (1844-46: I.101).
\textsuperscript{22}From text 8.1/5.
\textsuperscript{23}Thorpe (1844-46: I.622) admitted that his translation was ‘purely conjectural’.
\textsuperscript{24}Förster (1944: 61, n. 1).
\textsuperscript{25}Bosworth and Toller (1898: 1167, s.v. \textit{wanian} I 3a). To illustrate this denotation, Bosworth and Toller adduce the passage from Ælfric’s homily, the text on the three Egyptian Days, and the tract on bloodletting and Dog Days (text 6/3, in Royal 12.D.xvii): ‘Læcas lærðon þa þe wisoste wæron þa ðæt man on þam monþe ne drenc ne drunce ne ahwær his lichoman wanige butan hís nydþearf wære’ (‘the wisest physicians taught that in this period no one is to drink [medicinal] potions nor to bleed his body except out of necessity’). This quotation illustrates that ‘wanian’ need not collocate with ‘blod’ – as is the case in the homily – in order to mean ‘to let blood’, although the collocation is more common. Another collocation is ‘blod lætan’, cf. the collective lunary 9.1/1 (in Tiberius A.iii), where ‘sanguinem minere’ is glossed by ‘blod lætan oððe wanian’.
\textsuperscript{26}Clemoes (1997: 230/171-74).
\textsuperscript{27}nellað heora þing wanian on monandæge, for angynne þære wucan, ac se monandæg nis na fyrmest daga on þære wucan, ac is se oðer’ (Clemoes 1997: 230/167-69).
possible contamination of the three Egyptian Days with another kind of superstition, but there is no reason to support this view.\textsuperscript{28} The superstition envisaged by Meaney would have to take the form of an agenda weekday prognostic (analogous to an agenda or bloodletting lunary), but such an agenda prognostic has not been attested in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.\textsuperscript{29} It is more likely that Ælfric exaggerated in order to make the point that was the subject of the homily: the observation of wrongful times.\textsuperscript{30} In addition to the circumcision of Christ, Ælfric’s main concern in the homily was to denounce the custom of observing 1 January as the first day of the year.\textsuperscript{31} The observation of the three Egyptian Mondays gave him the opportunity to deal with yet another ‘gedwylde’ (‘error’) along the same lines, that of Monday being the first day of the week. Ælfric, with considerable homiletic licence, amplified this error to denounce its practice. The ulterior motive, for which Ælfric used the three Egyptian Days as a scapegoat, was not to display the gravity of the offence, but to point out a mistake in logic.\textsuperscript{32}

In the above discussion I have introduced two methods by which a text gains in authority. Many prognostic genres are attributed to authors, three to Egypt, and one to the apostles. These ascriptions were current in the Middle Ages, and will have contributed to the credibility and status of the text. The fact that the attributions are spurious does not negate the idea that the texts may have enjoyed a certain status in the Middle Ages precisely on account of these attributions. For one thing, the ascriptions reflect a desire on the part of the composer or scribe for these prognostics to be drawn into the canon of respectable texts. Verbal echoes function in the same way: they inherently augment the authority of the text because they reveal the amount of learning on the part of the composer.

6.2.2.1 AN ANATOMY OF SUPERSTITION

Judging from the writings of Wulfstan, Ælfric, and others, the Anglo-Saxon church,\textsuperscript{33} and indeed the entire medieval church, were well aware of what constituted superstition. Someone living in the twenty-first century, however, is likely to understand the word ‘superstition’ only in a vague sense. Indeed, in a paper entitled ‘Superstitious Medicine’, Payne wrote: ‘I hope you will not demand of me a definition of the word “superstition,” for to frame one would be a difficult task. I take the word in the usual

\textsuperscript{28}Meaney (1984b: 125).
\textsuperscript{29}However, a bloodletting weekday prognostic exists, in the allegedly English manuscript Sloane 475, fols 125-231 (see the description in section 3.2.1). Oddly, this prognostic reports favourable times for bleeding rather than unfavourable times, which cannot have been what Ælfric intended.
\textsuperscript{30}N.B. not the wrongful observation of times.
\textsuperscript{31}Godden (2000: 45-47). For more information on the beginning of the year, see Harrison (1973), Harmening (1979: 120-45). Meaney (1984b: 124) remarked that Ælfric probably heard of the custom of observing 1 January ‘among the rural English’, whereas Godden (1992, 2000: 46) ascribed this kind of knowledge to a learned environment. Meaney’s claim is unsupported, especially in view of the evidence in favour of Godden’s supposition. First, Ælfric himself mentioned that English time reckoning (‘gerim’) starts on 1 January (Clemoes 1997: 22). Second, several sermons and Martin of Braga’s De correctione rusticorum may have influenced Ælfric’s ideas (Godden 2000: 46). Third, there are prognostics (a bookish genre) which use 1 January to predict the future. For instance, the year prognosis predicts the future based on the weekday on which 1 January falls. Seven attestations of this prognostic testify to the popularity of this genre. Therefore, one does not need to presume a rural or heathen source for the observation of 1 January. Moreover, Meaney referred to Bede, who mentioned in De temporum ratione XV (Jones 1943: 211-12): ‘Incipiebant autem annum ab octauo kalendarium Ianuarium die’ (‘They [the English people of the past] began the year on the 8th kalends of January [25 December]’). Wallis 1999: 53). Interestingly, one of the year prognoses, 17/3 (in Hatton 115), predicts the future based on the weekday of ‘middeswintres messedeg’ (25 December) rather than on that of 1 January.
\textsuperscript{32}Godden (2000: 52).
\textsuperscript{33}See section 6.2.3.
sense'. It is likely that a medieval person will have had a much more acute sense of superstition than we do. In this section, I will attempt to provide a serviceable description of superstition. Moreover, it is my aim to provide a typology of superstition, of necessity anachronistic, in order to discover the vocabulary Anglo-Saxon writers may have used to signify prognostication.

Superstition is a phenomenon which is hard to grasp. The denotations of ‘superstition’ are manifold, and they all seem to be biased. The Oxford English Dictionary gives the etymology of ‘superstitio’ as ‘standing over a thing in amazement or awe’, and continues: ‘other interpretations of the literal meaning have been proposed, e.g. “excess in devotion, over-scrupulousness over-ceremoniousness in religion” and “the survival of old religious habits in the midst of a new order of things”’. The following denotations are provided: (1) ‘unreasoning awe or fear of something unknown, mysterious, or imaginary, esp. in connexion with religion; religious belief or practice founded upon fear or ignorance’; (2) ‘an irrational religious belief or practice; a tenet, scruple, habit, etc. founded on fear or ignorance’; (3) ‘an irrational religious system; a false, pagan, or idolatrous religion’; (4) ‘a religious ceremony or observance of a pagan or idolatrous character’; (5) ‘religious observance’; and (6) ‘idolatrous or extravagant devotion’.

It is to be observed that denotations (1) to (3) pronounce a value judgement to the effect that superstition is regarded as irrational. Leaving aside the implications of ‘pagan or idolatrous’, the attribution of ‘fear or ignorance’, in particular, does not do justice to the elaborate systems of superstition in existence in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, the religious element in these denotations, in so far as religion itself is not understood as a system of observance, testifies to a belief in a higher power on the part of the compiler of the dictionary. Harmening devoted some space to the meaning of ‘superstition’, but did not offer an acceptable sense other than the German translation ‘Aberglaube’. In view of the topic of this chapter, prognostication as a component of superstition, I describe prognosticatory superstition as ‘a system, which, if properly applied, yields knowledge of the future’.

In the twelfth-century Decretum Gratiani, many superstitious practices are denounced, including several kinds of prognostication. It is striking to note, however, that this text makes no effort to distinguish between different types of superstition. The Decretum Gratiani is a source which could not have been known to an Anglo-Saxon audience, but Augustine’s Enchiridion, for example, surviving in

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Payne (1904: 99).
Simpson and Weiner (1992: s.v. superstition). About a year after having written this chapter, I read Jahoda’s The Psychology of Superstition, and discovered that he used the same dictionary approach to superstition as I have done here (1969: 2-3). The correspondence is entirely coincidental.
For an overview of superstitions known in Germanic cultures, see Philippson (1929: 223-30), Bächtold-Staubli (1927-42: I.942-48, s.v. Bauernpraktik; I.948-54, s.v. Bauernregeln; V.1351-86, s.v. Los, losen; V.1386-1401, s.v. Lausbücher; VII.335-38, s.v. Prognostikum; VIII.650-57, s.v. Tagwählerei).
Religion strongly implies a belief in a higher power, cf. Simpson and Weiner (1992: s.v. religion). The Oxford English Dictionary professes the primacy of Christianity among religions: a pagan, for instance, is ‘one of a nation or community which does not hold the true religion, or does not worship the true God’ (Simpson and Weiner 1992: s.v. pagan).
Please note that this is not a definition. For a working definition of the term ‘prognostic’, see section 1.1.
Richter and Friedberg (1879-81: I.1044-46 [causa 26, questio 7, chapters 13-18]). The observation of times and divination in general is prohibited. Year prognoses, Apuleian Spheres, alphabetical dreambooks, sortes sanctorum are mentioned separately.
no less than seven pre-twelfth-century English manuscripts and one continental manuscript of English origin,\textsuperscript{42} claims the following:

For who would believe it to be such a great sin to observe days and months and times – as those do who on certain days, in certain months, or in certain years will or will not begin something, because they consider the time favourable or unfavourable in accordance with vain human doctrine – if we could not weigh the magnitude of this evil from the fear of the Apostle, who says: ‘I am afraid of you, lest perhaps I have laboured in vain among you [Gal. 4:11]’.\textsuperscript{43}

In the Expositio ad Galatas, Augustine expressed himself in the same way.\textsuperscript{44} It is clear from the quotation that Augustine targeted the wrongful observation of times. In view of the reputation Augustine’s writings enjoyed in Anglo-Saxon England, the injunction not to observe times cannot have remained unnoticed. As we have seen, Ælfric concerned himself with this topic in the homily ‘Octabas et circumcisio Domini’, but in speaking of the Egyptian Mondays he did not denounce the practice on moral but on logical grounds.\textsuperscript{45} The irony of resistance against the wrongful observation of times is that prognostics were a popular genre throughout the Middle Ages, despite the fact that nearly all of them deal with the observation of times. Between the vagueness of the Decretum Gratiani, and the specific injunctions by Augustine lie many categories of superstition, which will be my next concern.

Dieter Harmening’s book Superstithio addressed the issue of superstition in the Middle Ages.\textsuperscript{46} In doing so, Harmening devised a highly practical categorisation of superstitious practices, consisting of a threefold typology.\textsuperscript{47}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure6.1.png}
\caption{Typology of Superstition}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{42}Gneuss (2001: 40 [132], 46 [188], 87 [512], 103 [653], 111 [742], 112 [751], 119 [794.5], and 141 [919.3]). Similarly, the pseudo-Gelasian decree De libris recipiendis et non recipiendis, in which the sortes sanctorum were declared apocryphal, is attested in six manuscripts of English origin (Gneuss 2001: 55 [263], 94 [573], 109 [713], 112 [749.5], 119 [800], 121 [808.2]). On other writers which denounce superstitions, and which were familiar to Anglo-Saxon writers, see Meaney (1984b), Godden (2000: 46-47, 52).

\textsuperscript{43}‘Aut quis existimaret, quam magnum peccatum sit dies obseruare et menses et annos et tempora, sicut obseruant qui certis diebus siue mensibus siue annis volunt uel nolunt aliquid inchoare, eo quod secundum uanas doctrinas hominum fausta uel infausta existiment tempora, nisi huius mali magnitudinem ex timore apostoli pensaremus, qui talibus ait: “Timeo uos, ne forte sine causa laborauerim in uobis?”’, Enchiridion XXI.79 (Evans 1969: 93).


\textsuperscript{45}See section 6.2.1.

\textsuperscript{46}Harmening (1979).

\textsuperscript{47}Harmening (1979: 46-48). There are more ways of dividing superstition into categories (e.g. Thomas of Aquinas, Summa theologiae II.2.92-96, cf. Harmening 1979: 310-16), but the present one can be implemented successfully with regard to the Anglo-Saxon data.
I will describe each group and indicate where the various prognostic genres belong. 48

First, the observation of signs and times simply entails observing properly and interpreting the results. 49 This branch of superstition requires an observer who interprets the findings, but this observer need not participate in any activity to disclose that which is to be observed. A sign that can be observed is, for instance, the behaviour of animals. Omens such as the call of birds or the neighing of horses do not require an elaborate system of knowledge, and can be interpreted fairly easily once the questioner knows what to look for. The same applies to the observation of comets. Signs for which more insight is needed are dreams. The knowledge required for interpreting dreams correctly is contained in the prognostic genre of dreambooks, which can run to impressive length. Another prognostic genre that belongs to the observation of signs is the text on the colour of the moon.

The group of observation of times contains all temporal prognostics, which make up the larger part of the Anglo-Saxon prognostic corpus. Time is a rather diverse subject, and may involve lunar phases (lunaries), weekdays (year prognosis), dates (Egyptian Days), and periods (Dog Days). Again, this group of superstitions entails observing and interpreting. There are some prognostic genres which rely on the observation of both signs and times. Examples are the Apuleian Sphere, which uses a system of lunar phases and weekdays (times) combined with the letters in one’s name (signs), and the sunshine prognostic, which predicts the future based on sunshine (signs) on the twelve days of Christmas (times).

Second, divination is a type of superstition that is more elaborate to practise and requires more knowledge. 50 Divination necessitates a participant who is more than an observer, and who must carry out an action before the information to be observed is disclosed. This action needs to be performed in a proper fashion and as prescribed. Examples of divination are judicial astrology, 51 prophecy, 52 lot-casting, geomancy, aeromancy, necromancy, and haruspex. For each type of divination, rules exist which must be followed in order for the consultation to be successful. Two Anglo-Saxon prognostics which exemplify divination are the alphabet prognostic and the sortes sanctorum. The purpose of the alphabet prognostic is lost to us as the text is not prefaced by an explanation of its use, but it may have served as a rhapsodomantic device. The sortes sanctorum is a form of astragalomancy. In order for this prognostic to work, it is necessary for the participant to throw three dice, sort the numbers of the throw from high to low, and consult the text. These sortes show that we are dealing not with observation, but with divination. The distinction lies in the fact that the former requires a questioner who merely observes, and the latter a questioner who participates to disclose what is to be observed.

Third, the superstitions belonging to magic are exceedingly hermetical and ritualistic. 53 Examples of magic practices are the use of amulets, 54 incantations, potions, and witchcraft. If divination is more intricate than observation because the participant needs to disclose the information to be observed,
magic is the culmination of superstition in that it requires an even more hermetic procedure which must be followed to the letter for it to be a success. Moreover, magic is not merely a means to foresee the future. More often than not it is a way to influence the future, i.e. to accomplish a desired result in the future. There are no prognostics which belong to this group of superstitions, which is why I will not discuss magic any further.

Superstition was, and still is, a rather amorphous subject which lacks clearly marked boundaries in early writings on this topic. The Decretum Gratiani, for instance, does not distinguish between different types of superstition. Augustine’s Enchiridion, on the other hand, shows that the observation of times was a major issue in some circles. Based on Harmening’s book Superstitio, I have outlined a threefold typology of superstitious practices: observation, divination, and magic. Observation requires an observer, divination requires a participant to disclose what is to be observed, and magic requires a participant who must follow a strict protocol to influence the future. These three types of superstition reflect increasing stages of participation and knowledge. Prognostication seems to occupy a place somewhere between observation and divination, of which the observation of times is represented most frequently due to the primacy of temporal prognostics.

### 6.2.2.2 AN OLD ENGLISH VOCABULARY OF OBSERVATION AND DIVINATION

In section 6.2.1, we saw that Ælfric used the word ‘wiglung’ to distinguish lunar influence which is natural (‘gecyndelic þing’) from that which lies outside Creation (‘wiglung’). ‘Wiglung’ is not the only word employed in writings on superstition. In this section, I introduce an Old English vocabulary of observation and divination, compiled with the help of the Thesaurus of Old English, Bosworth and Toller’s Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, and the Old English Corpus Online from the Dictionary of Old English Project.

Five preliminary remarks will help delimit the subject at hand. First, this survey is not exhaustive. Second, the superstitions of magic are not included because I am interested in prognostication, which is limited to the fields of observation and divination. Third, items relating to prophecy have been omitted. Prophecy is a type of divination which is condoned by the church since many aspects of the

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55Thorndike (1923-58: I.512) wrote that ‘prediction of the future and attempting to influence events go naturally together’, and also ‘that arts of divination cannot be separated either in theory or practice from magic arts’. I strongly disagree with this notion, because there is a fundamental difference in purpose between observation/divination and magic even though all may end up influencing the future.

56In terms of purpose, the boundary between observation and divination is not as clear-cut as that between magic on the one hand, and observation and divination on the other. Both observation and divination aim to foretell the future, while magic tries to influence the future. In terms of the hermetic nature of superstition, Harmening (1979: 46-48, 178-79) contrasted observation with divination and magic. In general, the latter two require more knowledge than observation does, but I do not agree with Harmening (1979: 179) that, for this reason, observation belongs to ‘Volkskultur’ (‘popular culture’) and divination and magic to ‘Hochkultur’ (‘high culture’). Kieckhefer (1989: 85-90) distinguished magic from divination. He uses the term ‘divination’ for observational and divinatory superstition, which he calls observational and experimental divination. Although Kieckhefer’s terminology differs somewhat from mine, the distinction is the same.


58Divination includes the mantic arts, notably necromancy, which belong to divination but which are sometimes linked with magic in Anglo-Saxon England. See, for example, Bosworth and Toller (1882-98: 833, s.v. scin-lac).
religious experience are tied up with prophecy. Examples include the prophets of the Old Testament, references in the Old Testament to events in the New Testament, the fifteen signs before Judgement Day, and the many prophecies uttered by saints. Arguably, one could distinguish between those kinds of prophecy which are (1) inspired by God or Satan and their minions; (2) ‘gecyndelic’; and (3) examples of ‘wiglung’ – lacking divine or infernal inspiration and not ‘gecyndelic’ either. In practice, however, most, if not all, words relating to prophecy must be interpreted as inspired. The part of the vocabulary which covers prophecy will, therefore, not be included.59 Fourth, although I make a distinction between observation and divination, it should be kept in mind that this may not be how the Anglo-Saxons would have perceived it. Thus, compounds signifying the observation of birds all make use of elements meaning ‘diviner’ rather than ‘observer’. This means that some words for divination might also be used for observation. Fifth, it will appear that most words are culled from glosses and glossaries. The findings from glossaries in particular are highly ambiguous if one does not place them in their original context.60 Since I merely intend to introduce the vocabulary of superstition (and not to study the semantic field), I admit to using the glosses and glossaries without relating them to their context. The following is an example of a problem encountered in glossary material.

The Old English *hapax legomenon* ‘wigbedwiglere’ (‘one who divines from altars’)61 glosses Latin ‘ariolus’ in one of the Plantin-Moretus glossaries.62 In another of the Plantin-Moretus glossaries, ‘ariolus’ is a secondary gloss to ‘augur’, which is glossed in Old English by ‘wicca’.63 There are more *interpretamenta* for ‘ariolus’ in glossaries and glosses: ‘diuinos’ and ‘sacerdotes idolorum’ (for ‘ariolos’),64 ‘diinus’ and ‘erepticius’ (for ‘ariolus’),65 ‘qui in ara connecturam faciunt’ (for ‘arioli’),66 and Old English ‘dreas’ and ‘wigleres’ (for ‘arioli’),67 ‘wicca’ (for ‘ariolus’),68 and ‘witgan’ (for ‘ariolos’).69 I do not need to pursue this matter further for anyone to realise that there is no end to this exercise. ‘Augur’, for instance, is glossed as, among others, Latin ‘auspex’,70 Old English ‘fugelweohlere’, ‘hælsere’, ‘wiglere’ and ‘wielare’.71 We started out with ‘wigbedwiglere’ (‘one who divines from sacrifices’), which would seem, through ‘ariolus’, to be correlated somehow to observers, e.g.

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60With regard to glosses and glossaries, the articles of Lendinara (1999) on this topic have proved very helpful.

61Bosworth and Toller (1882-98: 1220, s.v. *wigbed-wiglere*). Bosworth and Toller use the word ‘sacrifices’ instead of ‘altars’, the latter being the correct translation of Old English ‘wigbed’.

62Wright and Wülcker (1884: I.108/10).

63Wright and Wülcker (1884: I.183/31).

64Oliphant (1966: 142/d742, 22/a42).

65Hessels (1890: 20/a800), Oliphant (1966: 156/e320).

66Hessels (1890: 21/a823).

67Wright and Wülcker (1884: I.312/38, 540/22).

68Wright and Wülcker (1884: I.108/12).

69Wright and Wülcker (1884: I.108/12), Hessels (1890: 23/a953), Wright and Wülcker (1884: I.312/38, 540/22).
‘fugelweohlere’ (‘diviner by birds’, i.e. observer of bird omens), diviners, e.g. ‘wiglere’ (‘diviner’ in general), ‘witega’ (‘prophet’), and magicians, e.g. ‘drea’ (‘sorcerer’), ‘wicca’ (‘witch’). A ‘wigbedwiglere’, however, is not necessarily a magician, and certainly not an observer of bird omens.\textsuperscript{72} It is important, therefore, to realise the limitations of glossary material as used in this survey. A large part of the Old English vocabulary of superstition consists of \textit{interpretamenta} from glosses and glossaries. Words such as ‘wigbedwiglere’ and ‘fugelweohlere’ are uniquely attested. While it is possible to determine what they mean, I do not establish whether they are accurate glosses.

The following is an overview of the Old English vocabulary of observation and divination:\textsuperscript{73}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{OBSERVATION OF SIGNS:}
\begin{itemize}
\item [-] birds:\textsuperscript{74} ‘fugelhwata’\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{a}}, ‘fugelweohlere’\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{a}} (‘diviner by birds’), ‘wigol’(fugel)\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{a}} (‘divinatory bird’)\textsuperscript{75}
\item [-] dreams: ‘swefenracu’ (‘interpretation of dreams’), ‘swefen reccan’ (‘to interpret dreams’), ‘swefenrecerre’\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{a}} (‘interpreter of dreams’)\textsuperscript{76}
\item [-] omens: ‘hel’ (omen), ‘hwatu’ (omen)\textsuperscript{77}
\end{itemize}
\item \textbf{OBSERVATION OF SIGNS AND TIMES:}
\begin{itemize}
\item ‘cepan’ (to observe, to regulate by)\textsuperscript{78}
\end{itemize}
\item \textbf{DIVINATION:}
\begin{itemize}
\item [-] general: ‘frıht’ (‘divination’), ‘frıhtere’ (‘diviner’), ‘frıhtrian’\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{a}} (‘to divine’), ‘frıhtrung’\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{a}} (‘divination’), ‘halsend’\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{a}}, ‘halsere’\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{a}} (‘diviner’), ‘halsian’\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{a}} (‘to divine’), ‘halsung’\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{a}}, ‘hwata’\textsuperscript{79}, ‘hwatung’\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{a}}, ‘wammfreht’\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{a}}, ‘wigle’\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{a}} (‘divination’), ‘wiglere’ (‘diviner’), ‘wiglian’ (‘to divine’), ‘wiglung’ (‘divination’)\textsuperscript{80}
\end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{72}Wigbedwiglere’ literally means ‘a diviner (‘wiglere’) from altars (‘wigbed’, i.e. ‘weofod’). This collocation relies on a mistaken reading of ‘ara-’ (‘altar’) in the word of ‘(h)ariolus’. This mistake has also been made in the secondary gloss ‘qui in ara coniecturam faciunt’ (Hessels 1890: 21/a823). All in all, ‘wigbedwiglere’ as a gloss for ‘ariolus’ strikes me as being a one off translation.

\textsuperscript{73}In this list I follow the conventions of the \textit{Thesaurus of Old English} (Roberts, Kay and Grundy 2000: I.xxi-xxxi) by using the following flags: superscript \textsuperscript{a} = a word mainly found in glosses and/or glossaries, superscript \textsuperscript{b} = a word infrequently used (including \textit{hapax legomena}), or a word rarely used in the applicable denotation. One should be aware that a word can have more than one denotation, in which case I have chosen the denotation having to do with superstition. ‘Halsian’ and derivatives can mean both ‘to exorcise’ and ‘to divine’, the former is the more usual denotation, the latter is rare (Bosworth and Toller 1882-98: 500, 505, s.v. \textit{halsian}, \textit{halsian}; Toller 1908-21: 497, 503-04, s.v. \textit{halsian}, \textit{halsian}). Abbreviations used for reference works: BT = Bosworth and Toller (1882-98), C = Campbell (1972), Cea = Cameron \textit{et al.} (1980-), T = Toller (1908-21), Th = Thorpe (1840).

\textsuperscript{74}BT (343, s.v. \textit{fugel-helsero}) adduce the spurious compound \textit{fugelhelsero}.

\textsuperscript{75}BT (343, s.v. \textit{fugel-hwata}); BT (343, s.v. \textit{fugel-wohlere}); BT (1222, s.v. \textit{wigol}).

\textsuperscript{76}BT (1882-98: 946, s.v. \textit{swefen-racu}); BT (945-46, s.v. \textit{swefen-recerre}); BT (1222, s.v. \textit{swefen-recerre}).

\textsuperscript{77}BT (499, s.v. \textit{hel}), T (496, s.v. \textit{hel}); T (579, s.v. \textit{hwata}).

\textsuperscript{78}T (122, s.v. \textit{cepan} Ia, II), Henel (1942: 98), Cea (fiche C 1.2, s.v. \textit{cepan} B.l.c.).

\textsuperscript{79}BT (572, s.v. \textit{hwat}, \textit{hwata}) give the denotation of ‘hwata’ as ‘diviner’ instead of ‘divination’. ‘Hwata’ can mean both, but as a simplex it has not been attested as ‘diviner’ (in compounds this denotation exists, e.g. ‘fugelhwata’).

\textsuperscript{80}Th (II glossary, s.v. \textit{fyrht}), BT (353, s.v. \textit{fyrht}), T (267, s.v. \textit{fritrea}); BT (338, s.v. \textit{frihtere}); C (28, s.v. \textit{frihtrian}); BT (337, 338, s.v. \textit{frictrung}, \textit{frihtrung}), T (267, s.v. \textit{frihtrian}); BT (500, s.v. \textit{halsend}), T (497, s.v. \textit{halsend}); BT (500, s.v. \textit{halsere}), T (497, 503, s.v. \textit{halsere}, \textit{halsian}); BT (500, 505, s.v. \textit{halsian}, \textit{halsian}), T (497, 503-04, s.v. \textit{halsian}, \textit{halsian II}); BT (500, 506, s.v. \textit{halsung}, \textit{halsung II}), T (497, 504, s.v. \textit{halsung}, \textit{halsung II}); Th (II glossary, s.v. \textit{hwata}), BT (572, s.v. \textit{hwat}, \textit{hwata}), T (579, s.v. \textit{hwata}); Th (II glossary, s.v. \textit{hwatung}), BT (572-73, s.v. \textit{hwatung}); BT (1164, s.v. \textit{wammfreht}); BT (1221, s.v. \textit{wige}), T (746, s.v. \textit{wige}); Th (II glossary, s.v. \textit{wiglere}), BT (1221, s.v. \textit{wiglere}), T (746, s.v. \textit{wige}); BT (1221, s.v. \textit{wiglaiant}), BT (467, 1221-22, s.v. \textit{ge-wiglung}, \textit{wiglung}), T (746, s.v. \textit{wiglung}).
The above list contains some sixty words, compounds and collocations for observation and divination. If the words for prophecy and the mantic arts were included, this number would be about doubled. This seems a considerable vocabulary, but if we look at the incidence of these lemmata compared to the entire vocabulary of Old English, they are almost negligible. Most of the lemmata (in observatory or divinatory denotations) are rare, hapax legomena, and/or culled from glosses and glossaries:

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This table shows that over fifty percent of the Old English vocabulary of observation and divination stems from glosses and glossaries, while over ninety-three percent is rare.

The observation of signs, and divination by astrology are almost entirely confined to glosses. The former can be considered a marginal issue, whereas the latter seems to have been rather popular to some Anglo-Saxons distinguished between astrology and astronomy, also called 'lex astrorum' ('tungolæ') in Aldhelmian glosses: “astraloea”, þæt ys þonne tungolcraeft, and “astronomia”, þæt ys tungla gang (‘astrology, i.e. starcraft, and astronomy, i.e. [knowledge of] the course of the stars’) (Kotzor 1981: II.258/17-19). Lemmata which are used for astronomy only are not included. This pertains to ‘tungolæ’, ‘tungol-craeft-wise’ (BT 1020, s.v. tungolæ, tungol-craeft-wise), which Roberts, Kay and Grundy classed under astrology (2000: 1.660, s.v. 16.01.04.06.01). Some words are used for both astronomy and astrology, e.g. ‘tungolæ’, ‘tungol-craeft’, while others are also used to denote astrologers or the three magi, e.g. ‘tungol-craeftiga’; ‘tungol-witega’ (BT 1020, s.v. tungolæ, tungol-craeftiga, tungol-witega). For more information on natural vs judicial astrology, see below.


- sortilege: ‘behleotan’, ‘gehleotan’ (‘to appoint by lot’), ‘gehlytto’ (‘a lot’), ‘hleotan’ (‘to cast lots’), ‘hlyt’; ‘hlot’ (‘a lot’), ‘hlot sendan’; ‘hlot weorpan’ (‘to cast lots’), ‘hlytto’; ‘hlytere’ (‘diviner by lots’), ‘hlytman’ (‘to allot’), ‘tan’ (‘a twig used in casting lots’), ‘tanhlytto’, ‘tanhlyttere’ (‘diviner by lots’), ‘tohleotan’ (‘to divide into parts for which lots are to be cast’)

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The vocabulary of observation of birds and dreams are hapax legomena.
judge by the eighteen lemmata that have come down to us. This conclusion, however, is deceptive because most lemmata are *hapax legomena* or rare, and are furthermore found mainly in glosses to Aldhelm’s prose *De laude virginitatis*.\(^85\) We could conclude, then, that Aldhelm took an interest in astrology, which is somewhat surprising because no astrological texts have been transmitted in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.\(^86\) The signs of the zodiac were known,\(^87\) but these were not linked with prediction, and, therefore, do not constitute divination by astrology. In this respect, it is important to distinguish between ‘astrologia naturalis’ (astrology in the sense of astronomy for computational purposes) and ‘astrologia superstitionis’ (judicial astrology).\(^88\) When Aldhelm (c. 639-709) wrote his *De laude virginitatis*, he would probably have been familiar with the concept of natural astrology through learning.\(^89\) It is unlikely, however, that he, or any other Anglo-Saxon, had first-hand experience with judicial astrology. While astrology with an aim to predict the future was known in classical times, it surfaced first in Western Europe through Arab science, which drew upon earlier Greek works and showed a marked interest in judicial astrology.\(^90\) The earliest English examples of judicial astrology I have encountered, in the form of zodiacal prognostics, can be found in Egerton 821.\(^91\) This manuscript dates from the twelfth century.

A lemma in a gloss or glossary must not be considered evidence of the existence of the conventions implied by the lemma. Old English words for astrology, for instance, do not prove the existence of judicial astrology in Anglo-Saxon England. Moreover, the vocabulary of superstition must be related to evidence of superstitious practices. In the case of astrology, eighteen *interpretamenta* have been attested, but there is no evidence, documentary or otherwise, that judicial astrology was ever practised in Anglo-Saxon England.\(^92\) This is interesting because the reverse need not apply: a considerable corpus of prognostics has survived, but a specific vocabulary for this group of superstitions is almost non-

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\(^85\)Lemmatá which are typically attested in Aldhelmián glosses are, for instance, ‘steorglæw’, ‘steorwigle’, ‘steorwiglung’, ‘tungolgescead’ and ‘tungolspræc’.

\(^86\)Astrology is a highly codified form of divination, which means that textual evidence of its existence must be attested.

\(^87\)In the calendars of Arundel 60 and St. John’s College 17, for instance.

\(^88\)Harmening (1979: 181-82). Systems of propitious and unpropitious times such as the Dog Days, and lunaries and the sunshine prognostic, are classed under observation rather than under divination, because their ulterior astrological basis derived from natural astrology, not judicial astrology. Prognostication in the form of Egyptian Days and Dog Days was a calendric matter in Anglo-Saxon England, witness the frequent entries of such days in calendars (see section 4.2.1). Cf. Liuzza (2001: 192-93, n. 64).

\(^89\)From Aldhelm’s letter to Leuthere (Lapidge and Herren 1979: 152-53, 199, n. 4), written c. 670-672 while the former studied at the Canterbury school of Theodore and Hadrian (Lapidge and Herren 1979: 137-38), it appears that Aldhelm was familiar with natural astrology from his study of the computus, cf. Hollis (2001: 188). The kind of astrology Aldhelm referred to, then, was auxiliary to the computus rather than a form of judicial astrology.


\(^91\)See section 2.2.2.

\(^92\)Similarly, the Old English vocabulary for sortilege exceeds direct evidence of the practice of sortilege in Anglo-Saxon England. It has never been proven conclusively that sortilege was anything more than a topos in Anglo-Saxon literature. An instance of a typical, imaginative approach to sortilege can be found in Elliott (1989: 82-90). Even if one is willing to acknowledge actual uses of sortilege in Anglo-Saxon England, one must be careful to distinguish between references to prognostic, biblical (e.g. Acts 1:26), and runic sortilege. Unfortunately, most defenders of Anglo-Saxon runic sortilege do not discriminate between these categories, nor do they find it reprehensible to get their evidence from widely different periods, cultures and countries.
existential. Nevertheless, the Anglo-Saxons had a clear conception of the boundaries of the genre of prognostics as a whole, so including all subgenres which we are able to distinguish today. Indications for this are the premeditated inclusion of different types of prognostics depending upon the manuscript context and the creation of prognostic sections. Calendars feature temporal prognostics using a structure of absolute time, while computi include temporal prognostics which employ structures of absolute and relative time, and tabular material, such as Apuleian Spheres. Medical sections, on the other hand, have medical prognostics with a focus on bloodletting. Prognostic sections, finally, incorporate both temporal and non-temporal prognostics, and show a wider range of temporal prognostics than in computi. Therefore, Anglo-Saxon compilers were able to tally genre and context. The collection of texts in prognostic sections is the strongest kind of evidence we have. The fact that compilers gathered a wide variety of prognostic genres in sections which are sometimes even on separate quires, strongly suggests that these collectors knew that such texts belonged to one larger genre.

In this section I have compiled an Old English vocabulary of observation and divination. With the help of the words for astrology I have shown that the vocabulary should be treated carefully if it is to serve as evidence for superstitious practices in Anglo-Saxon England. In order to investigate the lexicon, it will prove necessary to view the lemmata in their proper context. This is what I will do in the next section with regard to the vocabulary of prognostication.

6.2.3 REFERENCES TO PROGNOSTICATION IN ANGLO-SAXON SOURCES

There can be little doubt that the late Anglo-Saxon church, notably represented by Ælfric and Wulfstan, was concerned with the repression of superstition. Ælfric was so preoccupied with the topic of divination, it seems, that he even used the word ‘wiglere’ in his Grammar to illustrate a grammatical construction: ‘án ðissera is COMMVNIS GENERIS: hic et haec augur þes and ðêos wiglere’. Like Ælfric, Wulfstan had a predilection for alliterative lists of enemies of the faith (based on Deut. 18:10-11, and 1 Cor. 6:9-10), and included these in a number of homilies and laws, always featuring ‘wigleras’ (‘diviners’). The persistence with which Ælfric and Wulfstan, the laws and the penitentials, oppose all forms of superstition must be interpreted as a policy or programme on the part of the Anglo-Saxon church. The topicality of a subject such as superstition in late Anglo-Saxon England need not be questioned, therefore. I presume the reader to be familiar with Anglo-Saxon writings pertinent to

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The most recent overview of Anglo-Saxon opinions on superstition is Liuzza (2001: 190–98). Instead, I want to focus on texts in which prognostication is explicitly mentioned. To this purpose, the writings of Anglo-Saxons are a poor source of information. There are Old English words which denote divination, but there is no collective designation for prognostication. This means that I have to rely on periphrastic descriptions mostly.

The first mention in the vernacular of prognostication is found in the writings of Ælfric. About three centuries before Ælfric, Bede had narrated in his Ecclesiastical History that St. John of Beverley was called upon to heal a nun who fell ill after having been bled:

> Then [John] asked when the girl had been bled and, on hearing that it was on the fourth day of the moon, he exclaimed, ‘You have acted foolishly and ignorantly to bleed her on the fourth day of the moon; I remember how Archbishop Theodore of blessed memory used to say that it was very dangerous to bleed a patient when the moon is waxing and the Ocean tide flowing. And what can I do for the girl if she is at the point of death?’

Of course, John, having holy enhancements that other people lacked, healed the girl. The passage of St. John of Beverley healing a nun has become a locus classicus for our knowledge of medical practice in the relatively undocumented earlier stages of Anglo-Saxon history. It is customary to draw attention to this passage for one of two reasons: (1) the text comments upon the medical practice of bloodletting in Bede’s time and upon the study of medicine at Theodore’s Canterbury school; or (2) the text seems to offer evidence that prognostication was practised in Bede’s time, apparently against the express directions of an authority such as Theodore. While it is warranted to point out that bloodletting was indeed practised in Bede’s time on the basis of the above quotation, it is not legitimate to read a commentary on prognostication into the passage. This passage may at first glance call to mind a bloodletting lunary because mention is made of lunar phases and bleeding. Many bloodletting lunaries agree that the fourth lunar phase is good for bloodletting ‘in matutina’ (‘in the early morning’). St. John of Beverley, however, is not made to refer to a bloodletting lunary, but to an opinion held by Archbishop Theodore, his erstwhile teacher. This notion expounds the growing and dwindling

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97The most recent overview of Anglo-Saxon opinions on superstition is Liuzza (2001: 190–98).
100Grattan and Singer (1952: 49), Bonser (1963: 297) and Stevenson (1995: 51) mentioned the passage in connection with Egyptian Days, but there is absolutely no basis for assuming that it has anything to do with Egyptian Days. It is striking that some of the more sensible writers on Anglo-Saxon medicine and/or prognostics fail to interpret the passage correctly. Liuzza (2001: 202) seems to be under the impression that ‘such belief served to permit, with, as it were, Bede’s imprimitur, a broader range of less rational medical calendars’. Likewise, Cameron (1993: 27) saw evidence of the existence of bloodletting lunaries in the seventh century in the passage from Bede. With regard to the spurious attribution of the bloodletting prognostics to Bede, Jones (1939: 89) already pointed out that ‘blood-letting according to Egyptian Days is definitely superstition uncharacteristic of Bede’.
101For instance, in CCCC 422, Arundel 60, Tiberius A.iii, Titus D.xxvi, Titus D.xxvii, Harley 3271, and St. John’s College 17.
influence of the waxing and waning of the moon upon the sublunar, a theory current in medieval natural science. The waxing moon is said to have detrimental effects on bloodletting. In this light, it is dangerous to let blood on the fourth lunar phase. This idea, however, stems from science, not from an arbitrary listing of dangerous phases of the moon in a bloodletting lunar; in the words of Payne: ‘the reasons assigned by the bishop for avoiding certain days were physical facts, not superstitions’. Therefore, the above passage from Bede’s Ecclesiastical History cannot be used as a commentary upon prognostication.

The influence of the moon on the earth and its inhabitants is not one of prognostication, but must be relegated to the field of natural science. This becomes evident from its inclusion in such writings as Bede’s De temporum ratione, Ælfric’s De temporibus anni, and Byrhtferth’s Enchiridion. Indeed, lunar influence upon sublunar Creation has been expounded from classical times onwards. Wallis remarked that ‘medieval thinkers... were careful to distinguish this natural or “environmental” [lunar] influence from astrological determinism’. Ælfric is quite specific on the distinction between natural science and prognostication, as is testified by the homily ‘Octabas et circumcisio Domini’:

Every bodily creature which the earth produces in creation, however, is according to nature, fuller and stronger in full moon than when the moon is waning. Therefore, trees also, if they are felled during full moon, are harder and more lasting for building, and especially if they are made sapless. This is no divination, but it is a natural thing through creation.

Here, Ælfric distinguished between ‘wiglung’ (‘divination’) and that which is ‘gecyndelic þing’ (‘a natural thing’). A bloodletting lunar relates to ‘wiglung’ as lunar influence does to ‘gecyndelic þing’.

Ælfric used the word ‘wiglung’ for ‘divination’. I have already shown that the same word was used to say that the text on the Egyptian Days did not represent divination. So far, though, no specific mention has been made of prognostication. The aforementioned homily ‘Octabas et circumcisio Domini’ does contain several references to prognostication:

Now foolish men practise many divinations on this day [1 January], with great error, after heathen custom, against their Christianity, as if they could prolong their life or their health, with which they provoke the Almighty Creator. Many are also possessed with such great error, that they regulate their journeying by the moon, and their acts according to days, and will not bleed themselves on Monday, because of the beginning of the week; though Monday is not the first day in the week, but the second. Sunday is the first in creation, in order, and in dignity.

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103Payne (1904: 15).
107‘Is hwæþere æfter gecynde on gesceapenysse ælc lichamlic gesceaft þe eorðe acenð fulre 7 mægenfæstre on fullum monan þonne on gewanedum. Swa eac treowa gif hi beoð on fullum monan geheawene hi beoð heardran 7 langfærran to getimbrunge 7 swiþost gif hi beoð unsæpige geworhte. Nis þis nan wiglung ac is gecyndelic þing þurh gesceapenysse’ (Clemoes 1997: 230/191-96).
108See section 6.2.1.
109Nu wigliað stunte men menigfealde wigelunga on þisum dæge, mid micclum gedwylde æfter hæðenum gewunan ongean hyra cristendom, swilce hi magon heora lif gelengan, oððe heora gesundfulnysse mid þam de hi gremiað þone ælmihtigan scyppend. Sind eac manega mid swa micclum gedwylde befangene, þæt hi cepað be ðam monan heora fær, 7 heora dæda be dagum, 7 nelað heora þing wanian on monanðega, for angynne þære wucan, ac se monanðeg nis
Again, the word ‘wiglung’ (and its derivative ‘wiglian’) is used, but now Ælfric links it with 1 January. This is an overt reference to the observation of times. In addition, Ælfric speaks of people who ‘cepað be ðam monan heora fær, 7 heora dæda be dagum’ (‘regulate their journeying by the moon, and their acts according to days’). This is an unambiguous reference to lunaries, in particular to the agenda lunary (Förster’s ‘Tagwählunare’\(^{110}\)) which tells the questioner what actions are to be undertaken on each lunar phase. Unfortunately, no complete agenda lunary from Anglo-Saxon England has come down to us, but agenda components are included in collective lunaries.\(^{111}\) Finally, Ælfric displayed his knowledge of the three Egyptian Days in the phrase ‘nellāð heora þing wanian on monandæge’.\(^{112}\) I already quoted a passage from the same homily in which Ælfric explained the influence of the moon. Immediately preceding this passage, Ælfric denounced divination with these words:

> The Christianity of a man who lives with devilish divination is void. He appears as a Christian, but is a wretched heathen, just as the same apostle [Paul] says about such a man: ‘I believe that I laboured in vain when I turned you to God. Now you observe days and months with vain divinations’.\(^{113}\)

More interesting than the phrase ‘mid deoflicum wiglungum’ is Ælfric’s free rendering of Gal. 4:10-11, which runs in the original: ‘Dies obseruatis et menses et tempora et annos. Timeo uos ne forte sine causa laborauerim in uobis’. I have already shown that Augustine used the same quotation from Paul’s letter to the Galatians to denounce the observation of times.\(^{114}\) Ælfric goes one step further when he translates Gal. 4:10 as ‘nu ge cepað daga 7 monða mid ydelum wiglungum’.\(^{115}\) There cannot be any doubt how ‘cepað’ should be interpreted here, because Ælfric added the phrase ‘mid ydelum wiglungum’. Moreover, Ælfric regularly employed the verb ‘cepan’ in connection with observational superstitions, particularly those relating to the observation of times.\(^{116}\) With four references, the ‘Octabas et circumcisio Domini’ is the richest Anglo-Saxon source of evidence for prognostication.

Ælfric’s concern with prognostication does not end here. In De temporibus anni, modelled upon Bede’s computistical writings, Ælfric added an injunction against divination by the moon, not present in Bede’s computus: ‘No Christian must divine anything from the moon; if he does so, his faith is void’.\(^{117}\) This is the second instance where Ælfric is not content to simply translate his source, but where he adds a reference to superstition. In a note to the above passage, Henel commented as follows:

> he [Ælfric] mentions only one type of such prognostication, forecasting the weather by the position of the

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\(^{109}\) Förster (1912c: 37).
\(^{110}\) A fragmentary redaction of the agenda lunary exists in Tiberius A.iii and Hatton 115. The agenda component in collective lunaries can be found in Tiberius A.iii, Titus D.xxvii and Sloane 475.
\(^{111}\) See section 6.2.1.
\(^{112}\) ‘Nis þæs mannnes cristendom naht þe mid deofflicum wiglungum his lif ædrið; he is gehiwod to cristenum menn, 7 is earm haþpengílda, swa swa se ylea apostol be swylcum cwæð: Ic wene þæt ic swunce on ydel þa ða ic eow to gode gebige. Nu ge cepað daga 7 monða mid ydelum wiglungum’ (Clemoes 1997: 230/186-91).
\(^{113}\) See section 6.2.2.1.
\(^{114}\) Emphasis is mine.
\(^{115}\) Cf. Henel (1942: 98).
\(^{116}\) ‘Ne sceal nan cristenman nan ðing be ðam monan wiglian; gif he hit deð, his geleafa ne bið naht’ (Henel 1942: 60 [VIII.7]).
moon in the sky. In his own time, this particular type does not seem to have been known; at least no texts explaining it have come to light in English MSS. of the tenth or eleventh centuries. But in the homily on the Octave of the Lord...Ælfric also mentions that people avoid doing business on Monday..., and that they will not undertake journeys on certain days of the moon. The latter type, superstitious beliefs and forecasts connected with the phase of the moon, was very common in Anglo-Saxon England. This is attested by a surprisingly large number of entries, both in Latin and Old English, in MSS. about coeval with Ælfric, or a little later.\(^{118}\)

Henel then continues with a list of the many prognostic genres known in England in Ælfric’s days. It is unfortunate that Henel sought to distinguish between ‘position’ and ‘phase’ when there is absolutely no need to do so. There is no mention of the position of the moon in the phrase ‘Ne sceal nan cristen man ðing be ðam monan wiglian’. Rather, the reference is to the phase of the moon, viz. to lunaries, exactly as in the homily he adduced: ‘many are also possessed with such great error, that they regulate their journeying by the moon’.\(^{119}\)

The homily ‘De auguriis’ is, as the title leads us to suspect, a rich source of references to superstition. The first mention of prognostication is:

\begin{quote}
Likewise, he who believes in divination either from birds, or snores, or horses, or dogs, he is no Christian but a wicked apostate. Neither must any one observe days, on which day one travels, or on which one returns, because God created all seven days which succeed in the week until the end of this world.\(^{120}\)
\end{quote}

Ælfric is once more concerned with ‘cepan be dagum’, a topic which he also introduced in the homily ‘Octabas et circumcisio Domini’. He opposed not only the observation of times, but also the observation of signs, which is evident from the phrase ‘wiglungum oððe be fugelum oððe be fnorum oððe be horsum oððe be hundum’. Ælfric’s inspiration for mentioning both types of superstition comes from one of the sermons of Caesarius of Arles, a source which he used extensively in composing ‘De auguriis’.\(^{121}\) It is, therefore, questionable to what extent Ælfric was merely copying his source, or commenting upon actual practice. The reference to the observation of birds is not unfamiliar, because there are three hapax glosses in Old English which cover the same subject.\(^{122}\)

There is another type of observation of signs which belongs to the field of prognostication, i.e. dream interpretation. It will not come as a surprise that Ælfric’s name appears once more in connection with this type of prognostication. In the hagiographic text ‘Natale Sancti Swyðuni Episcopi’, Ælfric relates the story of a bedridden old thane from the Isle of Wight. With the oneiric intercession of Saint Swithun, the man was healed, whereupon ‘he went very quickly to Winchester, and told the venerable

\(^{118}\)Henel (1942: 97-98). Emphasis is Henel’s.

\(^{119}\)‘Sind eac manega mid swa micclum gedwylde befangene, þæt hi cepað be ðam monan heora far’ (Clemoes 1997: 229). See above for a discussion of this passage.

\(^{120}\)‘Eall swa gelice se ðe gelyfð wiglungum oððe be fugelum oððe be fnorum oððe be horsum oððe be hundum, ne bið hé ná cristen, ac bið forcuð wiðersaca. Ne sceal nan man cepan be dagum on hwilcum dæge he fare, oððe on hwylcum he gecyrre, forðan þe god gesceop ealle ða seofan dagas, þe yrnað on þære wucan oð þysre worulde geendunge’ (Skeat 1881-1900: I.370/88-94).


\(^{122}\)See section 6.2.2.2.
bishop Æthelwold how he was healed through the holy Swithun'.

In addition to the previous reference to dream interpretation, I have found four more examples.

First, the uniquely attested ‘swefenrecerre’ glosses ‘coniectore m’ in one of the Cleopatra glossaries.

Second, another hapax, ‘swefenracu’, is found in a note to Thorpe’s edition of the Confessionale Pseudo-Egbertii: ‘on canone hit cwð, se dæ halsunga 7 galdorcraetas 7 swefenracu behealdæ, þæ boð on hæðena manna gerime’ (‘in the Canon it says that he who practises divination, magic, and dream interpretation is reckoned among heathen men’).

The Old English Confessionale Pseudo-Egbertii, more accurately entitled Scristhec, is adapted from, among others, the Poenitentiale Theodori. The Canons referred to are those of Ancyra (314), which seem to have served as a model for all references to dream interpretation in continental and Anglo-Saxon penitentials.

Third, the collocation ‘swefen reclan’ (in the sense ‘to interpret dreams’) occurs once, in the Old English Orosius. Here, Joseph tells that he learned sorcery in Egypt, and that ‘he mihte swa wel swefn reclan, 7 eac þæt he of dæm cræfte Pharaone þæm cyninge swa leof wurde’ (‘he was able to interpret dreams very well, and also that he became dear to Pharaoh because of this art’).

Fourth, dreams feature extensively in the Bible, especially in connection with Joseph and Daniel, who were famed dream interpreters.

Below, I list three excerpts:

(1) Genesis 40:8: They [Pharaoh’s baker and butler] answered: ‘we have dreamed a dream, and there is nobody to interpret it to us’. And Joseph said to them: ‘does not interpretation belong to God? Tell me what you have dreamed’.

And they said to Joseph: ‘we dreamt a dream but do not know any one who can tell us what it meant’. Then

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123 ‘he ferde.... to winceastr forraðe, and cydde aðelwolde þam arwurþan bisceope, hu he wearð gehæled þurh þone halgan swiþun’ (Skeat 1881-1900: I.466/399-401).

124 ‘Nu is to witenne þæt we ne sceolan cepan ealles to swyðe be swefnum, forðan þe hi ealle ne beoð of gode’ (Skeat 1881-1900: I.466/403-04).

125 Wright and Wülcker (1884: I.366/12).

126 In addition to the previous reference to dream interpretation, I have found four more examples.

127 Wright and Wülcker (1884: I.366/12).


129 See the Poenitentiale Martenianum XLVIII, (addition VII following) Vindobonense b., XXXV capitulorum XVI, Pseudo-Theodori XII, (Wasserschleben 1851: 291, 496-97, 516, 598), Theodori LXV, Cummeani (excarnus) VII, Cummeani (Remensi) IX (Wasserschleben 1851: 201, 482, 504; Schmitz 1883: 537-38, 633-34, 652).

130 McNeill and Gamer (1938: 239-30 [I.v]).

131 Their fame extends to the attribution of alphabetical dreambooks to Daniel, and the alphabet prognostic to Joseph (see section 6.2.1).

132 The translation of the Vulgate is taken from the Douay Version.

133 ‘qui respondunt somnium uidimus et non est qui interpretetur nobis dixitque ad eos Ioseph numquid non Dei est interpretatio referite mihi quid uideritis’.
Joseph said: ‘tell me what you saw’.133

(2) Leviticus 19:26: You shall not eat with blood. You shall not divine nor observe dreams.134

You shall not eat blood, nor practise divination or interpret dreams.135

(3) Deuteronomy 18:10-11: Neither let there be found among you any one that shall expiate his son or daughter, making them to pass through the fire: or that consults soothsayers, or observes dreams and omens, neither let there be any wizard, nor charmer, nor any one that consults pythonic spirits, or fortune tellers, or that seeks the truth from the dead.136

and take heed that you do not practise magic, nor observe dreams or practise divination or vain incantations, and neither must you request the counsel of a witch or seek guidance from the dead.137

Notwithstanding the omissions and the rather free translations in Old English,138 the Old Testament is the most important historical source of information on dreams in Anglo-Saxon England. The reference to dream interpretation in Ælfric’s ‘Natale Sancti Swyðuni Episcopi’, the three words for dream interpretation in Old English, and the quotations from the Bible illustrate that the practice of dream interpretation was known to Anglo-Saxons. Of all types of prognostication, this is the superstition most frequently mentioned.

So far, we have seen that references to prognostication are almost exclusively the domain of Ælfric and the Bible. There is another group of writings concerned with this topic, viz. the Anglo-Saxon penitentials.139 These writings are largely based on older penitentials and continental sources, such as the Canons of Ancyra, the writings of Martin of Braga, and of Caesarius of Arles.140 Caesarius’s works proved a popular source in Anglo-Saxon England, witness Ælfric’s use of one of Caesarius’s sermons for his homily ‘De auguriis’, and the (fragmentary) attestation of Caesarius’s writings in no less than sixteen Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.141 Like the writings of Ælfric and Wulfstan, penitentials abound in condemnations of superstition. These injunctions, however, may have originated on the continent,
circulated in England, and found their way into English penitential literature.\textsuperscript{142} Censure of
prognostication is aimed at three types: dream interpretation,\textsuperscript{143} \textit{sortes sanctorum}, and the observation
of times.

The \textit{Poenitentiale Pseudo-Theodori}, chapter XII [27], forbids a number of superstitions without
attempting to provide some kind of structure: divination by birds is named alongside idolatry, magic,
astrology, and fancy dress parties on 1 January.\textsuperscript{144} One particular type of divination denounced in this
chapter is lot-casting: ‘if anybody consults \textit{sortes} which contrary to reason are called \textit{sanctorum}, or
consults any kind of lots, or casts lots with whatever evil intent, or divines from them, he must do
penance for three years, one on water and bread’.\textsuperscript{145} Indeed, most medieval penitentials oppose the \textit{sortes sanctorum}.
\textsuperscript{146} Finally, the Old English penitential forbids the observation of times:

\begin{quote}
It is certainly not permitted for a Christian to practise vain divinations, as heathen men do, (i.e. that they
believe in the sun, the moon, and the course of the stars, and seek divination of the times at which to begin
their business).\textsuperscript{147}
\end{quote}

This penitential is an adaptation of the penitential of Halitgar, bishop of Cambrai (817-831), with
additions from other penitentials.\textsuperscript{148} The quotation is remarkable in that it mentions the observation
of times explicitly. The reading of Halitgar in Schmitz’s and Raith’s editions prohibits the observation
of times, but in a different way: ‘Christians are not permitted to observe the traditions of heathens, ...
either the moon or the course of the stars, or the vain delusion of the signs for building a house’.\textsuperscript{149}

\textsuperscript{142}Frantzen (1983: 74). Condemnations of the observation of dreams (see above) and the \textit{sortes sanctorum} (see below)
are found in continental, but not in the Irish and Welsh penitentials.
\textsuperscript{143}See above.
\textsuperscript{144}Thorpe (1840: II.32-34) presented this as the \textit{Poenitentiale Theodori}, whereas Wasserschleben (1851: 595-98) called
it the \textit{Poenitentiale Pseudo-Theodori}.
\textsuperscript{145}’si quis sortes habuerit, quas Sanctorum contra rationem uocant, uel aliquas sortes habuerit, uel qualicunque malo
ingenio sortitus fuerit, uel diuinauerit, iii. annos pœnitat, i. in pane et aqua’, Thorpe (1840: II.33 [XXVII.12]), cf.
Wasserschleben (1851: 597 [XII [27].12].
\textsuperscript{146}Cf. Schmitz (1883: 327-28), McNeill and Gamer (1938: 41, 229, n. 66, 276 [28], 288 [VII (104)], 305-06 [37]),
Raith (1933: 54 [IV.15]), the \textit{Capitula et fragmenta Theodori} (Thorpe 1840: II.84 [De incantatoribus, maleficis, et
XXVI, \textit{Bobiense} XXVI, \textit{Vindobonense} a. XXIX, \textit{Sangellense} VI.17, (addition VII following) \textit{Vindobonense b.} \textit{XXV capitulorum}*
XVI.1, \textit{Pseudo-Gregorii III} XXVI, \textit{Corrector Burchardi} LII, LVIII (Wasserschleben 1851: 272, 368, 381, 394, 409, 419,
428, 496-97, 516, 544-45, 643-44), \textit{Poenitentiale Valicellanum I} CXI, \textit{Valicellanum II} LVIII, \textit{Casinense} LXIX, \textit{Arundel}
XCI, \textit{Romanum} XXXVII, \textit{Cummeani} (\textit{capitula iudicorum}) XVI.1 (Schmitz 1883: 327, 379, 414, 462, 479, 665),
\textit{Egberti} VIII.1, \textit{Cummeani} (\textit{excarpsus}) VII.4, \textit{Parisiense} XX, \textit{Mediolanense} I (Wasserschleben 1851: 239, 481, 414, 707; Schmitz
\textsuperscript{147}’Homini Christiano certe non est permissum uana auguria facere, uti gentiles faciunt, (id est, quod credant in solem
et lunam, et in cursum stellarum, et auguria temporum exquirant, ad negotia sua incipienda)’, Wasserschleben (1851:
327 [II.23]).
\textsuperscript{148}Wasserschleben (1851: 40-52), Schmitz (1883: 565-73), McNeill and Gamer (1938: 295-97), Raith (1964: iii-iv,
\textsuperscript{149}’non liceat christianis traditiones gentilium obseruare, ... aut luna aut stellum cursum, aut inanem signorum
fallaciam pro domu facienda’, Raith (1964: 30-31), cf. Schmitz (1883: 727 [IV.26]).
Likewise, the Corrector Burchardi, from Burchard of Worms (d. 1025), prohibits observation of the new moon to build a house.\textsuperscript{150} I have not seen the observation of times referred to in any other penitentials but the Corrector and the Arundel penitential.\textsuperscript{151} Whoever compiled the Old English penitential must have known that Halitgar had an agenda lunary in mind. Agenda lunaries list appropriate actions for each phase of the moon. One of these actions is building a house, another to undertake business.\textsuperscript{152} If the compiler had been unaware of the fact that Halitgar’s injunction pertained to prognostication using agenda lunaries, he would not have changed the example from building a house into undertaking business. Halitgar’s source for this particular injunction are the decrees of the first Council of Braga (563),\textsuperscript{153} one of which forbids astrology, as a counter-argument to the Priscillian heresy.\textsuperscript{154} This decree, however, does not mention the observation of times, so Halitgar must have added this himself, after which it underwent a revision at the hands of the compiler of the Old English penitential.

I have come to the end of what I trust is a more or less complete survey of Anglo-Saxon documentary sources pertaining to prognostication. Superstition was a major concern in the Anglo-Saxon church. At the same time, prognostication is a practice which received little attention. Both Ælfric and Wulfstan inveighed extensively against superstition, but only the former mentioned prognostication explicitly.\textsuperscript{155} The sources which I have adduced are threefold: some of Ælfric’s homilies, the Bible and the penitentials.\textsuperscript{156} All three have in common that their perspective on prognostication did not originate in Anglo-Saxon England. In the case of Ælfric’s homilies, it is known that he used older sources on which he based, among others, his observations on superstition.\textsuperscript{157} Ælfric, however, was personally familiar with some prognostic genres at least.\textsuperscript{158} Three types of prognostication were singled out in this section: dream interpretation, the observation of times, and the sortes sanctorum. Evidence of the existence of the first two goes back to the Bible and patristic writings, but the third is an odd one out in Anglo-Saxon England. The sortes sanctorum had been known on the continent long before the English encountered them: the first text attested in an English manuscript is in St. John’s College 17, from c. 1110, the earliest continental evidence antedates the fifth century AD.\textsuperscript{159} This seems to suggest that references to this kind of prognostication in the English penitentials were copied as the result of ignorance.

\textsuperscript{150}Wasserschleben (1851: 643 [LIII]), McNeill and Gamer (1938: 330 [61]). The same chapter also preserves the reference to the sun, the moon, and the stars. On the variation between the contents of the Corrector in various manuscripts, cf. McNeill and Gamer (1938: 41-43, 321-23).

\textsuperscript{151}Schmitz (1883: 463 [XCV]).

\textsuperscript{152}The collective lunary in Tiberius A.iii, for instance, reads: ‘in domum nouam intrare’, and ‘omnibus rebus agendis utilis est’.

\textsuperscript{153}Schmitz (1883: 727 [IV.24])

\textsuperscript{154}Si quis duodecim signa de sideribus, quae mathematici obseruare solent, per singula animi uel corporis membra disposita credunt et nominibus patriarcharum adscripta dicunt, sicut Priscillianus dixit, anathema sit’ (Barlow 1950: 108).

\textsuperscript{155}Ælfric seems to have busied himself with correct doctrine, in which prognostication cannot have been regarded favourably. Wulfstan devoted his efforts to making policy and placing doctrine within an administrative perspective. As such, opposing superstition in general sufficed.

\textsuperscript{156}The popularity of these writings is illustrated by the number of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in which they are attested. Cf. Gneuss (2001: 150, s.v. Ælfric, 157, s.v. Bible, 176, s.v. Penitential literature).

\textsuperscript{157}Godden (2000: xxxviii-ixii).

\textsuperscript{158}Ælfric knew the agenda lunaries and the three Egyptian Days. See section 6.2.1.

\textsuperscript{159}See section 3.2.1.
from older sources without any regard for the currency of such superstitions in England at the time. In the next section I will look more closely at the status of prognostication in Anglo-Saxon England.

6.2.4 PROGNOSTICATION: FOLKLORE OR ‘MÖNCHSABERGLAUBE’?

If we are to believe Aldhelm, Ælfric, Wulfstan and the penitentials, superstition was rife in Anglo-Saxon England. The enthusiasm and frequency with which superstition was denounced, especially in the Benedictine Reform writings of Ælfric and Wulfstan, provides a picture of a clergy battling against hosts of astrologers, observers, diviners and magicians. Tempting though this image may be, it should be kept in mind that most Anglo-Saxon views on superstition did not originate in late Anglo-Saxon England. Furthermore, the frequency with which Ælfric and Wulfstan repeated themselves over the same issue (and in the same words!) makes it seem that they used stock phrases. The same applies to the penitentials, which are sometimes mere variations on a theme. The penitentials forbid sortes sanctorum whereas such prognostics are first attested in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in the twelfth century. Likewise, Aldhelm’s De laude virginitatis mentions judicial astrology, a type of divination not known in Anglo-Saxon England. These considerations serve to illustrate that one should not rely on commentary evidence alone. Many types of superstition are literary phenomena, which is particularly true of prognostication, judicial astrology, and magical rituals such as incantations and formulas. Of these categories, prognostics are attested most frequently, but they are referred to least often in contemporaneous commentaries. Nevertheless, with regard to the presence of Apuleian Spheres and other prognostics in the computus of Vitellius E.xviii, Pulsiano wrote: ‘the intersection of secular knowledge and divine operation...at once provides a view of beliefs and practices and, given the relative frequency with which such prognosticative texts, charms, and remedies occur in other manuscripts, a sense, although at best still vague, of how commonplace and thus how embedded these beliefs and practices were within at least the monastic circle and possibly within the lay community as well’.

Granted that the dissemination of prognostics reached a head in eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon England, and that Ælfric strongly forbade prognostication, who were the people most likely to have consulted prognostic texts?

People who believed in divination are called ‘stunte men’ (‘foolish men’) by Ælfric. Moreover, these people are ‘possessed with such great error’, that they ordered their life by prognostication. Judging from the attestation of prognostics as written texts from Antiquity onwards, such texts must be considered literary manifestations. Indications for the bookish nature of prognostication are: individual prognostic genres transmitted in different redactions which can sometimes be linked with each other even though they may hail from different places; attestations of several texts of one redaction so identical as to preclude oral transmission; the fact that all Old English prognostics are translated and that the texts sometimes resemble each other so closely that they must all have derived from the same

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162 ‘mid swa micclum gedwylde befangene’ (Clemoes 1997: 229/166). The notion of superstition as a persistent error is widespread. Ælfric’s ‘gedwylde’ signifies an error of a religious nature, while Singer’s many denouncements of Anglo-Saxon medicine and prognostication are accusations of an error of primitiveness.
The variants for are: (a) 31 December, 1 and 2 January, or 27 March, 13 August, and 30 January; (b) the fact that girls are not born on these days is or is not mentioned; and (c) the remark on the integrity of the body until Judgement Day.\(^\text{163}\) Looking at the texts, it follows that (1, 3, 5) are one redaction, (2, 6) are another, and (4) is yet another. Both the Old English and Latin texts of the first two redactions are closely related and differ only in criterion (c). Moreover, one text hails from Christ Church, Canterbury (2), one from *Ramsey (6), one from Worcester (1), and two from New Minster, Winchester (3, 5). The range in origins satisfies the requirement mentioned above, viz. that closely related redactions come from different places. This must be the result of written transmission, because oral dissemination would have led to greater textual variety. If we examine texts (1) and (3), it appears that requirements two and three are met: these prognostics are from one redaction and, aside from minor variants and spelling differences, the texts are identical. Furthermore, they are both translations of one Latin redaction, and hail from different places.

The point of this example is to illustrate that prognostics are a literary manifestation of superstition. Thus, when Ælfric spoke of ‘foolish men’, he was not speaking of illiterate people. In fact, there are strong indications that these ‘stunte men’ must be sought in the religious establishment. First, the texts were copied in a monastic environment. Second, the manuscripts were kept in libraries accessible to monks in particular. Third, literacy was elementary in a monastic environment, but not necessarily so outside monasteries. Fourth, the attributions to historical figures and verbal echoes in the prognostics would have been lost on less educated laymen. Fifth, most prognostic genres are closely dependent upon a correct observation of times. The number of computi and calendars in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts testify to an ecclesiastical preoccupation with timekeeping. I could advance more reasons, but it is understood that the Anglo-Saxon prognostics are essentially literary phenomena.

The importance of natural science in the wake of the Benedictine Reform resulted in a corresponding interest in prognostics. Furthermore, it is in this period that prognostication is forbidden by Ælfric. This is a curious convergence of facts which leads to the conclusion that the transmission of prognostics was on the rise in Anglo-Saxon England during the Benedictine Reform, as were the ‘stunte men’. Prognostication was not the domain of ‘Volkskunde’ (‘folklore’), which had its place among lay people. Rather, it was a manifestation of what Henel termed ‘Mönchsaberglaube’ (‘monkish superstition’).\(^\text{164}\) Henel contrasted this type of learned superstition with ‘Volkskunde’ and advanced the notion that prognostication must have received considerable clerical support despite translation yet are found in different manuscripts hailing from different places.

I will illustrate this using the texts on the three miraculous birthdays. This genre has been attested six times in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts: (1) CCCC 391 (Old English); (2) Caligula A.xv (Old English); (3) Vitellius E.xviii (Old English); (4) CCCC 422 (Latin); (5) Titus D.xxvi (Latin); and (6) St. John’s College 17 (Latin). Based on the texts, I distinguish three redactions, for which I have used the following criteria: (a) the dates assigned to the miraculous birthdays; (b) the notion that girls are not born on these days; and (c) the remark on the integrity of the body until Judgement Day.\(^\text{165}\) Looking at the texts, it follows that (1, 3, 5) are one redaction, (2, 6) are another, and (4) is yet another. Both the Old English and Latin texts of the first two redactions are closely related and differ only in criterion (c). Moreover, one text hails from Christ Church, Canterbury (2), one from *Ramsey (6), one from Worcester (1), and two from New Minster, Winchester (3, 5). The range in origins satisfies the requirement mentioned above, viz. that closely related redactions come from different places. This must be the result of written transmission, because oral dissemination would have led to greater textual variety. If we examine texts (1) and (3), it appears that requirements two and three are met: these prognostics are from one redaction and, aside from minor variants and spelling differences, the texts are identical. Furthermore, they are both translations of one Latin redaction, and hail from different places.

\(^{163}\)The variants for are: (a) 31 December, 1 and 2 January, or 27 March, 13 August, and 30 January; (b) the fact that girls are not born on these days is or is not mentioned; and (c) the integrity of the body is preserved, or the integrity of the body is preserved and the body does not decay.

\(^{164}\)Henel (1934-35). The word ‘Volkskunde’ was employed by Förster (1908a: 43-44) to avoid the connotations the term ‘superstition’ would have evoked in speaking of the prognostics. Moreover, Förster argued that prognostication started out as a literary, learned phenomenon, which penetrated lay culture in the later Middle Ages. It is to be noted, however, that Förster’s ideas do coincide with Henel’s notion of ‘Mönchsaberglaube’ with regard to prognostication in the early Middle Ages and in Anglo-Saxon England.
resistance from people such as Ælfric.\textsuperscript{165} This is indeed true if we consider the large corpus of prognostic texts that has come down to us from the eleventh century, and the fact that manuscripts connected with churchmen such as Wulfstan II, Leofric, Ælfwine and Byrhtferth contain collections of prognostics.\textsuperscript{166} Ælfric, then, responded to a development in superstitious practices which had become topical in his own time, and which was an integral part of the learning prevalent in England during the Benedictine Reform.\textsuperscript{167} The ‘foolish men’ may have been Ælfric’s fellow brethren, and should certainly not be sought among the laymen of Anglo-Saxon England.\textsuperscript{168} In this respect, it is a strange irony to see that some of the scribes who copied Ælfric’s works must have been ‘stunte men’ themselves, because many prognostics are found in manuscripts also containing Ælfric’s works, notably his \textit{De temporibus anni}.\textsuperscript{169}

\subsection*{6.2.4.1 THE PASTORAL HYPOTHESIS}

Recently, it has been argued that prognostics were copied not because monks or the clergy had any use for them, but because these texts fulfilled a pastoral function.\textsuperscript{170} Despite the bookish nature of prognostics, these texts would then have been accessible to a very different audience from monks and churchmen, viz. the lay community. On the basis of current research, I see no compelling reason to credit the pastoral hypothesis with regard to prognostication, but since it is working its way into modern scholarship, I will discuss the hypothesis here.

In a chapter entitled ‘Encouraged Magic’, Flint argued that ‘Christian’ magical practices, especially those dealing with sickness and health, were propagated to displace ‘pagan’ ones.\textsuperscript{171} It is to be noted that Flint’s ‘Christian’ magic incorporates prognostication,\textsuperscript{172} whereas I have argued that prognostication does not belong to the superstition of magic.\textsuperscript{173} Flint envisaged a clergy actively at work to prevent a pagan community from practising intolerable superstitions by replacing such practices

\begin{footnotes}
\item[165] Henel (1934-35: 329-31).
\item[166] See section 4.2.5.2.
\item[167] See section 5.2.3.
\item[169] In the case of Ælfric’s \textit{De temporibus anni}, this need not be marvelled at, because this treatise is found in the same computistical context as many of the prognostics, e.g. Caligula A.xv, Tiberius A.iii, Titus D.xxvii and Vitellius C.viii. Henel already remarked upon the frequent attestation of prognostics in conjunction with Ælfric’s \textit{De temporibus anni} (1942: xii-xiii). In addition, Henel (1942: xxxviii) recognised close links between those manuscripts contain both \textit{De temporibus anni} and prognostics (Henel’s manuscripts A, D, and E). Six manuscripts of English origin contain works by Ælfric as well as prognostics (Gneuss 2001: 67-68 [363], 70 [380], 73 [404], 74 [411], 77 [435], 100 [637]). One continental manuscript which was in England by s. xi, likewise features Ælfric’s works and prognostics (Gneuss 2001: 91 [541]).
\item[173] See sections 6.2.2.1, 6.2.2.2, and 6.2.3. Flint proves exceedingly vague in her terminology. She used the term ‘astrology’ to describe lunaries (Flint 1991: 131-35, 145), while the words ‘witchcraft’ and ‘magic’ seem to cover the whole gamut of superstitions. This practice leads to bewildering statements (I have added the threefold system of superstition in square brackets), e.g. ‘when speaking of the rescue of astrology [i.e. divination], I suggested that contemporary witchcraft [i.e. magic] was the context for the compilation of lunaria [i.e. observation of times]’ (Flint 1991: 321). Flint subsequently links this statement with the attestation of Anglo-Saxon lunaries, but such prognostics are descendants of a line of lunar prognostication antedating the Christian era. Lunaries are, therefore, not compiled under the influence of ‘contemporary witchcraft’, whether on the continent or in Anglo-Saxon England.
\end{footnotes}
with superstitions sanctioned by the church:

These magical healing practices are transformed, in this light, from unwelcome remnants of a religion wholly to be dispossessed into welcome and amenable holders of a ground that Christianity wanted badly to annex, and to annex securely. They were preserved then, even cherished, in the English material, as residents of areas within which compromise was still possible, and as a means by which (like the *Sortes Sanctorum*) wavering leaders, especially wavering leaders, might still be won over, bringing their followers with them.174

Flint concluded that this is how, among others, prognostication, was employed, viz. in pastoral ministration.175 I object to this train of thought for a number of reasons. First, to what extent this echo from Gregory the Great’s advice to Augustine of Canterbury was still applicable in eleventh-century England (the heyday of the prognostics), and exactly how untouched by Christianity the population was at the time, is a matter of opinion. It seems to me, however, that the intensified pastoral ministration of the clergy following the Benedictine Reform, targetted local, Christian communities, which is, in effect, preaching to the converted. These communities can hardly be expected to have reverted entirely to paganism in the period preceding the Reform. Second, the wavering (heathen?) leaders mentioned by Flint would not be won over by pastoral work, but by missionary activity. Third, Flint sees a polarity which relies heavily upon a happy coincidence: of the many superstitions available, pagans practise those which are most abject to Christians, while the latter propagate (not practise!) precisely those superstitions which are not practised by pagans. I cannot think of a way to justify a polarity as clear-cut as this one, in which one group of people has an intuitively bad taste, so to speak, and the other has not. Fourth, one would expect a prognostic vocabulary in the vernacular to have come into existence, and this did not happen.176 Fifth, clerical opposition to superstition covered all kinds of superstition,177 except that on which Christianity itself is based. To judge from the writings of Ælfric and Wulfstan, the laws and the penitentials, this opposition was a matter of policy, which makes it impossible for any promotion of ‘Christian’ superstition to be encouraged on the programmatic scale Flint suggests. Her example of the *sortes sanctorum* in the quotation above is particularly ill-chosen because all types of lot-casting, notably the *sortes sanctorum*, were condemned in the penitentials.178

An example of the workings of the pastoral hypothesis as outlined by Flint was first voiced by Singer and has been uncritically repeated by Jordan,179 who wrote the following with regard to the Apuleian Sphere in Bodley 579:

The figure [of Death] is part of a chart called the *Sphera Apulei* or the Sphere of Life and Death, which was used in the following manner. When visiting a sick person, the priest would add the numerical equivalents of the letters in the patient’s given name with the day of the moon on which the patient fell sick and divide the total by thirty. If the remainder from this answer appeared on the scroll held by Satan-Mors the priest would administer extreme unction; if the number was held by the adjacent crowned figure of Christ-Vita...

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176 See section 6.2.2.2.
The above description of how an Apuleian Sphere works is entirely factual, but I have not found any reference to priests and extreme unction in the texts of the Apuleian Spheres, nor in any of the other Anglo-Saxon prognostics of this genre. The framework of pastoral ministration added to the Apuleian Sphere is in fact a fabrication of present-day scholars.

As a thought experiment, let us credit the pastoral hypothesis. The things to do are (1) to find evidence that the prognostics were meant for a lay audience; (2) to investigate which manuscripts may have been used in a pastoral capacity; and (3) to discover the role of vernacularisation. First, it can be argued that some prognostics were not intended for monks or clergymen. What would a monk profit from consulting birth prognostics or year prognoses, for instance? A monk might profit from this more than we think: the income and supplies of a monastery depended to a certain extent upon the surrounding, lay community, so naturally interest in the success or failure of a harvest was an issue. Likewise, the character of new candidates for the clergy could be gleaned from birth prognostics. Moreover, Liuzza pointed out that ‘many churchmen, after all, were born and raised in the towns and villages and farms of their own region, and certainly shared with their lay neighbours a worldview which included a belief in celestial influence on earthly life, the existence of days of various qualities, and a desire to use knowledge of such things to one’s advantage whenever possible’. This means that monks and the clergy were just as curious about the future as laymen. Bloodletting prognostics, to give another example, might be equally important to the lay community as to monks and churchmen, because both groups would need medical assistance at times. A monk would benefit from consulting prognostics just as much as, and probably even more so than, a lay person would. I even think that monks gleaned more from prognostics than clergymen and laymen, because the learned nature of many of the prognostics could not be appreciated to the full extent by a less educated audience. This learned aspect of prognostics is borne out by the authorities mentioned in some prognostics, and the ecclesiastical preoccupation with elaborate methods of timekeeping displayed in both prognostics and computi. Conversely, it has in fact been argued that the authority of prognostics is not negated by a pastoral function, but that ‘their [i.e. the prognostics’] possible adoption as part of the pastoral duties of the monastic priest working amongst the laity, or the parish priest himself, illustrates their utility and authority within a Christian context’. There is some truth in this perspective, but as it hinges precisely on the debatable pastoral functions, I find it hard to credit.

Second, Hollis discerned five manuscripts which can be linked to pastoral ministry, to wit: CCCC 422, Titus D.xxvi, xxvii, Vespasian D.xiv, Vitellius E.xviii and Hatton 115. She categorised Caligula A.xv, Tiberius A.iii and Harley 3271 as manuscripts used in the education of priests. Liuzza, on the
other hand, distinguished CCCC 391, CCCC 422 and Titus D.xxvi, xxvii as devotional manuscripts, and Tiberius A.iii as having to do with pastoral ministry. Of the devotional manuscripts, Liuzza writes that their ‘primary use appears to have been securely within the monastic walls’. A comparison between Hollis’s and Liuzza’s lists illustrates that scholars are as yet divided on the function of the above manuscripts.

In speaking of the relevance of pastoral manuscripts containing prognostics, one should take into account the type of manuscript and the context in which the prognostics are found. Manuscripts such as CCCC 422, Titus D.xxvii and Vitellius E.xviii (adduced by Hollis) feature prognostics in the computus. It can be justified that a priest would use prayers for pastoral purposes, but would this priest also explain the foundations of time reckoning to a lay audience, and at the same time communicate the prognostics present in the computus? Vespasian D.xiv and Hatton 115 contain homilies and prognostics in Old English, which would make these manuscripts viable candidates for pastoral work. In Vespasian D.xiv, the prognostics were added at the slightly later date perhaps for a very different, utilitarian, purpose, though: to fill blank spaces. Moreover, the manuscript ‘does not show obvious signs of having been used in this way [i.e. in pastoral ministry]’. Hatton 115 can be disqualified for different reasons: the manuscript as it is now did not exist as such in the twelfth century. The prognostic section (booklet 5) was copied in the middle of the twelfth century (in Christ Church, Canterbury?) and was bound with four homiletic booklets, in Worcester, probably in the first half of the thirteenth century. The twelfth-century pastoral manuscript Hatton 115 advanced by Hollis, then, did not exist.

Liuzza mentioned ‘collections of prognostics’ such as those in Tiberius A.iii associated with pastoral ministry. This volume has been described as a reference book containing texts of, among others, religious and educational instruction. The manuscript itself may not have functioned in a pastoral capacity but as an instructional manuscript for monks or clergymen. Scragg emphasised that Tiberius A.iii is a monastic production, while ‘the audience intended for such material [viz. prognostics] is much harder to assess’. Among the devotional manuscripts listed by Liuzza are two which are numbered among the pastoral manuscripts by Hollis: CCCC 422 and Titus D.xxvii. The remaining volumes are Titus D.xxvi and CCCC 391. If I were to select pastoral manuscripts, CCCC 391 would have been my only choice on the following grounds. In contrast to those in Titus D.xxvi, the prognostics in CCCC 391 are in Old English, which makes it easier to communicate them to a lay audience. Moreover, the prognostics are conveniently gathered together in a prognostic section, and

188Liuzza (2001: 209-10)
190See section 4.2.4.
192See section 4.2.5.1.
195Budny (1997: I.631-32). But see section 4.2.5.3.
196I acknowledge that Liuzza did not explicitly link this manuscript with pastoral ministry.
197Scragg (2001: 275). In the same volume, Treharne and Polsiano (2001: 7) also referred to Tiberius A.iii as a ‘monastic manuscript’.
198The unlikelihood of prognostics in the computus being used for pastoral work has been pointed out.
199The former is a pastoral manuscript according to Hollis, while she does not mention the latter.
not scattered throughout the computus. Finally, it has been suggested that CCCC 391 was used in a pastoral capacity by Wulfstan II.\textsuperscript{200} As definitive support for the pastoral function of CCCC 391 is lacking, and since I consider prognostic sections the effort of collectors rather than of pastoral workers,\textsuperscript{201} I exclude even this one manuscript.

Third, another aspect of the pastoral hypothesis is that it hinges on language as a means to reach a lay audience. Such an audience would hardly have received instruction in Latin. The Benedictine Reform made the vernacular a viable alternative to learning in Latin, as appears from the large output in Old English by Ælfric, Byrhtferth and Wulfstan.\textsuperscript{202} Furthermore, the Winchester school provided instruction in Latin and Old English and served as a role model of late Anglo-Saxon education. In the eleventh century, we see that Latin prognostics are being glossed and translated into Old English. Translations of prognostics must have had a purpose and a prospective audience. It is tempting to ascribe this development to pastoral ministation and a lay audience, but before I do so, let us look at the evidence. During the Benedictine Reform, new monasteries were founded and Benedictine monks replaced a secularised clergy in old foundations where monastic life had declined. It was in the places mentioned last that prognostics gained their popularity, i.e. in a predominantly monastic setting. In other words, monks copied and translated the texts. Apart from booklet 5 of Hatton 115, a prognostic section, there are hardly any indications that manuscripts containing prognostics ever left the scriptoria in which they were produced. Some manuscripts containing prognostics in Old English, such as Tiberius A.iii, may have been intended for the instruction of priests. Moreover, computi in the vernacular containing prognostics in Old English may have been used in teaching time reckoning. However, since instruction in the vernacular was a possibility in the period of the Reform, selected material in Old English such as computi could be used for the education of monks just as well as priests and other churchmen who had contact with the lay community.

In conclusion, a case for the pastoral hypothesis with respect to prognostics cannot be made. There is no incontrovertible support for the theory advanced by Flint. The arguments she proposed are tenuous, and depend upon a polarity between allowed and disallowed superstition, which may not have existed. It is clear from all kinds of sources (laws, homilies, penitentials, even Ælfric’s Grammar and De temporibus anni), that superstition was proscrip tively rejected by the late Anglo-Saxon church. This same church would hardly propagate ‘Christian’ superstitions to displace ‘pagan’ ones, which is a feature of the early missionary church, rather. I have put the pastoral hypothesis to the test, and found that (1) prognostics may have been appreciated at least as much by monks as by a lay community; (2) there is no compelling manuscript evidence which corroborates Flint’s theory; and (3) the fact that prognostics exist in the vernacular does not prove they were intended for a non-monastic audience. It would require extensive research into the uses of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and the mind-set of Anglo-Saxon priests and laymen to render support for the pastoral hypothesis when it comes to prognostication. Therefore, I maintain for now that Ælfric addressed the clergy as ‘stunte men’, and that the prognostics are a bookish type of superstition which appealed more to the monastic than to the lay mind.

\textsuperscript{200}See section 4.2.5.2.
\textsuperscript{201}See section 7.2.2.4.
\textsuperscript{202}See section 5.2.3.
6.3 CONCLUSION
In this chapter I have discussed the status of prognostication as a component part of superstition. I have studied the use of authorship and verbal echoes in the Anglo-Saxon prognostics. These served to heighten the authority and credibility of the prognostics, while at the same time they are an indication that the intended audience of the texts must be sought among the educated. Then I discussed the concept of superstition in the Middle Ages. The threefold typology of superstition developed by Harmening was introduced: observation, divination and magic. Prognostication seems to belong mainly to the category of observation, with branches into divinatory superstition. Strangely enough, the Old English vocabulary of observation and divination does not reflect the fact that prognostication is the only superstitious genre which is attested abundantly in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The larger part of the vocabulary is rare and/or found in glosses and glossaries. The terminology for judicial astrology, for instance, occurs almost exclusively in Aldhelm’s *De laude virginitatis*, but this form of astrology was not practised in Anglo-Saxon England. It has become apparent that, although superstition is a major concern in late Anglo-Saxon orthodoxy, prognostication was a type of superstition that did not receive much focussed attention, and was particularly in demand following the Benedictine Reform. The final issue studied in this chapter is that of the intended audience of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics. Ælfric called prognosticators ‘stunte men’, and there are strong indications that these men were to be found among his own colleagues. This would seem to negate the pastoral hypothesis, i.e. the notion that prognostics were used in pastoral ministration. I have found no reasons to support the pastoral hypothesis.
INTENDED USE OF THE ANGLO-SAXON PROGNOSTICS

7.1 INTRODUCTION
In this chapter, it is my aim to study another aspect of the status of Anglo-Saxon prognostics: their intended use. The prognostic genre has been relegated to such diverse disciplines as magic, medicine, arithmetic, or combinations thereof in the form of medico-magic and magico-medicine, or iatromathematics. Recent studies of prognostics have allowed for a certain margin of functional ambiguity, but the medical basis of many of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics is still being emphasised. Since it is not my intention to provide a definitive answer as to the intended use of the prognostics, I will discuss some of the uses prognostics may have had in Anglo-Saxon England. In this respect, it is important (a) to distinguish between actual use (signs of use of the physical text), and theoretical use (indications of possible use revealed by the contextual setting and type of prognostic), and (b) to distinguish between the text-internal and contextual implications, and the opinions of scholarship. Below, I will focus on three main areas: signs of use, function and context, and shape and context.

7.2.1 SIGNS OF USE
It would be interesting to find signs of actual use on a page on which a prognostic is written. An outstanding example of this is in Vercelli, Bibliotheca Capitolare, MS CLXXVII (Arab. 42). Fol. 143r of this manuscript contains an Apuleian Sphere which has actually been consulted. In the right hand margin, a medieval person noted down the following two sequences: ‘iii xxiii xv xxiii v xxiii v viii’, and ‘xxx xxx xxx xxvi’. I have already explained the working mechanism of Apuleian Spheres, so it is understood that the first sequence presumably represents a proper name, and the second a reduction of the numerical outcome of the proper name by decrements of thirty. On the basis of the first sequence, Sigerist reconstructed several possible names of the person who copied the numbers into the margin, the most likely one being Aldemuelus. The second sequence shows that this Aldemuelus obeyed the instructions in the text of the Apuleian Sphere, ‘and gather this into one and divide by thirty and look up that which remains’. Allowing for the discrepancy between the outcome of sequence one (141) and two (146), which may be resolved by taking the lunar phase into account, these marginal notes establish beyond doubt that someone actually consulted the Apuleian Sphere in the Vercelli manuscript and lived to tell the tale, as ‘xxvi’ is listed in the top half of the diagram.

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1The terms ‘medico-magic’ and ‘magico-medicine’ were extensively used in Singer’s writings on Anglo-Saxon medicine.
2The term ‘iatromathematics’ was employed among others by Gundel and Gundel (1959) and Wallis (1995), and has found its way into accepted use in speaking of some prognostic genres, such as Apuleian Spheres (cf. Liuzza 2005: II.29).
4Sigerist (1942: 297) dates this manuscript to the tenth century.
5A reproduction of this page can be found in Sigerist (1942: 298, fig. 2).
6The second sequence actually reads ‘xxx xxx xxx xxx xx vi’, with a line break between ‘xx’ and ‘vi’.
7See section 3.2.1.
8A=iii, L=xxi, D=xxiii, E=xx, M=xxiii, V=v, E=xxv, L=xxi, V=v, S=viiii.
9& sic in unum colligis & partire in triginta & quicquid remanserit respicies’ (Sigerist 1942: 299).
10On which see Sigerist (1942: 299-300).
Unfortunately, the example just given is not from an Anglo-Saxon manuscript. The only signs of actual use present in English manuscripts, aside from prognostic texts being copied, are indirect, and constitute emendations or alterations of, and additions to the texts. I will list the more remarkable examples. First, the Apuleian Sphere in Caligula A.xv received the following thirteenth-century(? ) addition: ‘littera duplari. non uult nec bis numerari’ (‘double letters should be counted twice’). Moreover, yet another late hand added several scribbles to the diagram, and altered the explanatory text. A number was noted down in the diagram, which may possibly testify to a consultation of the Apuleian Sphere. Second, the bloodletting lunary in St. John’s College 17 has undergone extensive revisions in a hand identical to, or resembling that of the main scribe. These revisions are not in the manner of emendations, but amount to a switch from a familiar insular redaction of the text, to a redaction of which I have found no other representatives. The original readings have been expunged and supplanted by new readings on the same line, e.g. ‘Luna xxviii.[Non est bona.] ’Ab .vi. usque seram bona (est)’ ‘On the twenty-eighth phase of the moon, [It is not good (to let blood)] ‘From sext to evening it is good (to let blood)’), where the reading in square brackets is the expunged original, and the transposed reading the new text. Third, the Latin alphabetical dreambook in Titus D.xxvi has several interlinear emendations to the text. These emendations do not pertain to the contents of the dreambook, but to the language. Thus, ‘In piscinam ce’ ci’ disse gaudium significat’ (‘To fall into a fishpond signifies happiness’), and ‘Qui ’se’ currere non posse uidit: impeditionem significat’ (‘If you see ‘yourself’ unable to run, it signifies hindrance’). Fourth, the first β-sequence in Harley 3271, fols 120v-121r, was so poorly executed that it was repeated in its entirety on fol. 122rv. Fifth, several notae have been added in the margins of Bald’s Leechbook in the early thirteenth century, also next to the tract on bloodletting with Dog Days and moonbook. Sixth, finally, the text on the three Egyptian Days in Vitellius C.viii shows punctuation of a later date.

The examples above constitute evidence that, after having been copied, these prognostics were perused at least once, though not necessarily in the Anglo-Saxon period. The reasons for modifying the texts vary: some were emended in view of content or language, some were overhauled completely, others were changed to remedy poor composition, or were marginally annotated. There can be no doubt that the alterations were designed to improve the texts, probably with the aim to facilitate consultation of the prognostics, for why else would anyone revise, enhance, or emend a text but to increase its legibility or facilitate its use? Nevertheless, such textual signs of use are rather indirect, because there are no further indications that the prognostics under discussion have actually been used as predictive devices. As to the rest of the prognostic corpus, the fact that these texts have been copied in such great numbers testifies to their popularity, but direct evidence of actual use is lacking. Nevertheless, it would have been
a pointless exercise for these texts to have been transmitted without the express intent of consultation.

If we are to credit Ælfric’s comments on prognostication, some prognostics, such as agenda lunaries and Egyptian Days were quite well-known. Moreover, genres relating to bloodletting may have been extremely practical in a society where bleeding was standard medical procedure, so it is reasonable to assume that such prognostics have at least been consulted occasionally. Whichever way these findings are interpreted, it must be kept in mind that indirect evidence of the use of Anglo-Saxon prognostics is the strongest kind of evidence we have.

7.2.2 FUNCTION AND CONTEXT
I have shown that there are no unambiguous signs that the Anglo-Saxon prognostics have ever been turned to actual use. In view of the number of prognostics transmitted, this is somewhat puzzling. In the following sections, I will try to discover how the context may throw light upon the intended use of prognostics. I do not think all prognostics should be treated alike, but that their use may also depend upon the context in which they are attested.

It is perhaps instructive to plot the chronological development of prognostics in various manuscript contexts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type of Prognostic Material</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>Prognostic material in calendar (continent, 354)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400</td>
<td>prognostics in medical sections (continent, s. ix and earlier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>Prognostic material in calendar (England, s. ix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td>Prognostic sections (England, s. xi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>Prognostics in computus, medical sections and as filler texts (England, s. x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900</td>
<td>Prognostics in computus, medical sections and as filler texts (England, s. x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table does not take into account the fact that there are prognostic genres which go back a long way into the pre-Christian era, e.g. alphabetical dreambooks, nor does it reflect the emergence of individual genres. Rather, it represents the periods in which prognostics are first found in a certain context. Aside from the appearance of Egyptian Days in a continental calendar of 354 AD, not much is known of the prognostics until the ninth century, when they start to feature in continental medical manuscripts and in English calendars. In the tenth century, Anglo-Saxon prognostics find their way into computi, and they are used as filler texts. The eleventh century is the age when prognostic sections are first attested. Below, I investigate the shift from one context to another, after which I will give an example of how the shift operated on the textual level.

7.2.2.1 THE MEDICAL CONTEXT
The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines ‘medicine’ as ‘that department of knowledge and practice which is concerned with the cure, alleviation, and prevention of disease... and with the restoration and

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18 See sections 6.2.1, 6.2.3.
19 I have no data for continental prognostics in contexts other than calendars and medical sections, because these are the only contexts which have been documented sufficiently.
preservation of health'. This denotation is at most about a century old, but there is no reason to assume that the term ‘medicine’ meant something else in Anglo-Saxon times. Many genres of prognostics, as diagnostic tools for health and illness, can be encountered in a medical context. This is borne out by the etymological relationship between the medical term ‘prognosis’ (῾πρόγνωσις'), and the generic name of the observatory and divinatory superstitions under discussion, ‘prognostic’ (῾προγνωστικών’). There is one important way, however, in which prognostics differ from (other) medical texts: the former cannot offer a cure for illness. At most, prognostics warn of impending health hazards – eating gooseflesh on the Egyptian Days, for instance –, or of situations which may necessitate medical assistance or medical precautions. Therefore, prognostics are not part of curative medicine, but of diagnostic or preventative medicine. I distinguish three mutually non-exclusive categories of medical prognostics: (1) prognostics of overtly medical intent; (2) prognostics which refer explicitly to medical practice; and (3) not necessarily medical prognostics in a medical context.

Browsing through the prognostic genres known in Anglo-Saxon England, it appears that the majority of these texts deal with illness and health. There are genres which primarily serve a medical purpose: those which are concerned with bloodletting (bloodletting lunaries, moonbooks, Dog Days, Egyptian Days), those which deal with dietary concerns (regimens), birth prognostics, Apuleian Spheres, and illness lunaries. These are indeed the types of prognostics mentioned most frequently in studies on Anglo-Saxon medicine. In view of the many medical prognostic genres, it is not surprising to encounter prognostics in a medical context. This is the case with continental prognostics, but the Anglo-Saxon prognostics only marginally feature in medical sections. Despite the medical status of many prognostics, therefore, the Anglo-Saxon texts seem to have moved from there to new pastures.

Before providing an overview of the opinions of scholarship on the medical status of prognostics, let us turn to the prognostics and their contexts. The bloodletting prognostics must have been put to medical use, as is sometimes reflected in the texts themselves. First, marginal notae in Royal 12.D.xvii were entered against the bloodletting instructions of the text on the Dog Days, thereby implying that this part of the text deserved particular notice. Second, in Royal 12.D.xvii, the Dog Days are

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20Simpson and Weiner (1992: s.v. medicine n1).
21Indeed, even an outstanding study such as Cameron’s Anglo-Saxon Medicine (1993) does not offer a definition of medicine which does not agree with that of the Oxford English Dictionary.
22Simpson and Weiner (1992: s.v. prognosis, prognostic n1).
23The role of bloodletting as a medical procedure is outlined in Cameron (1993: 159-68).
25See section 4.2.3.1.
26See section 4.2.3.
introduced as follows: ‘The wisest doctors taught that in this period [i.e. the Dog Days] no one should drink any [medicinal] potion or bleed his body at any time, except when it is necessary’. Likewise, the text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days in Caligula A.xv contains a reference to medical practice:

The doctors of old wrote in Latin books that there are always two days in each month on which it is very hurtful to drink any [medicinal] potion or to let blood, because there is a time on each of these days that if one opens a vein on this time, it will cause death or protracted pain. A doctor knew this and bled his horse on such a time, and it lay dead immediately.

The last quotations are all the more remarkable, because it refers to a medical experiment, while I have not been able to trace any reference to this subject in Latin analogues of the Dog Days and twenty-four Egyptian Days. Doctors are also mentioned in the Latin texts on the Dog Days, e.g. ‘it is dangerous to accept a potion or let blood according to [the opinion of] doctors of old’.

Aside from the aforementioned three categories of medical prognostics, not all genres are medically inclined. It is debatable whether brontologies, for instance, serve a medical purpose. Moreover, there are only eleven prognostics in the corpus which are attested in a medical context, viz. about 6.5% of all texts under discussion. The meagre contribution of prognostics in medical sections is somewhat remedied by the number of medical prognostics in a non-medical context. The text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days quoted above is an example of a medical prognostic in a non-medical context. However, the fact that such texts of medical intent are attested outside a medical context (they move from a natural to a more artificial environment) may be relevant to the changing purpose these prognostics fulfilled.

Many studies have been conducted on the field of medicine in Anglo-Saxon England. Indeed, it is rare for these studies not to mention prognostics at all. Cockayne was the first to present the larger part of the vernacular corpus of Anglo-Saxon medicine. He edited a substantial body of medical literature and the majority of the Old English prognostics. Cockayne placed prognostics in the category of starcraft, preceded by volumes on wortcunning, and leechdoms. The incorporation of three diverse fields in one study is indicative of the way in which Cockayne perceived these topics. The emphasis in Cockayne’s work is on the popular science side of Anglo-Saxon literature, a quaint, folkloric,

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27Læcas lærdon þa þe wisoste wæron þæt nan man on þam monþe ne drenc ne drunce ne ahwær his lichoman wanige butan hís nydþearf wære’ (text 6/3).
28Da ealdan læces geseton on ledonbocum þæt on æcum monðe beoð æfre twegen dagas þa syndon swiðe d’e’ rígendlice ænigne drenc to drincanne. oþþe blod to lætenne forþam þe an tid is on æcum para daga gif man ænige æddran geopenað on þara tide þæt hit bið (his) lifleast. oððe langsum sar. þæs cunnede sum læce 7 let his horse blod on þære tide. 7 hit læg sona dead’ (text 8.3/1).
29See, for instance, the Latin text on the twenty-four Egyptian Days in Caligula A.xv, folls 129v-130r (the pages preceding the Old English redaction!).
30References to doctors are quite common in medical writings, as Bald’s Leechbook testifies to (cf. Rubin 1974: 99).
31Secundum (dictum) antiquorum medicorum cataricum accipere. uel fleoutomum facere periculosum est’ (text 6/12).
32With regard to many of the prognostics published by Cockayne (1864-66), Payne (1904: 17) commented succinctly: ‘but as they are not medical, I do not say more about them’. The exclusion of prognostics from Payne’s list of medical contents of Cockayne’s Leechdoms is significant as well (1904: 36-37).
33See table 5.2.
34Cockayne’s Medicine in the English Middle Ages (1998) is one of the few studies on medicine in which prognostics are not mentioned at all.
35Cockayne (1864-66).
vernacularised branch of learning at that, witness the title of his trilogy.\textsuperscript{36} The folkloric views of Cockayne were succeeded by the ‘medico-magical’ or ‘magico-medical’ predilections of Grattan and Singer, which in turn made way for the ultra-rational approach of Cameron. All three views present differing opinions on Anglo-Saxon medicine, subject to academic fashion, and the Anglo-Saxon medical prognostics share this fate. The view held by Singer is that prognostics belong to a degenerate, medico-magical branch of medicine, which sheds light on Singer’s phrase ‘a mass of senseless prognostications’.\textsuperscript{37} Cameron successfully tried to reinstate medicine as a rational branch of medieval science, going so far as to rationalise some of the more irrational recipes and charms.\textsuperscript{38}

Wallis, Hollis, and Liuzza investigated the Anglo-Saxon prognostics with ample consideration.\textsuperscript{39} They took care to take the manuscript context into account, but they do not always recognise the implications of a changing context on the intended use of the prognostics. Wallis made the important observation of the transition of temporal prognostics and other time-related or time-structured texts from a medical context to the computus.\textsuperscript{40} She called such prognostics iatromathematical texts, stressing both their medical and arithmetical side. Hollis distinguished several types of prognostics, including medical ones, and regarded the inclusion of prognostics in the computus a ‘superstitious’ analogue to computus study’.\textsuperscript{41} She perceived the difference between some of the contexts in which prognostics are transmitted, but calls all ‘medical’ prognostics medical irrespective of the context.\textsuperscript{42} Liuzza, finally, offered a more balanced overview, where texts in the computus serve a time-related function, and texts in a medical manuscript serve a medical purpose.\textsuperscript{43}

It is remarkable that prognostics are usually assigned an overbearing medical status, which obstructs ideas on other possible uses of these texts. If we look at the facts, the eleven Anglo-Saxon prognostics in a medical context do not speak in favour of an overall medical status of Anglo-Saxon prognostics. Medical prognostic genres, in particular, were taken out of this context in Anglo-Saxon England, and incorporated in calendars, computi and prognostic sections. On the basis of Wallis’s findings, I described this process in a previous chapter.\textsuperscript{44} Certain prognostic genres may have had an explicitly medical purpose, but in some cases this function was overridden by other considerations, such as the structure of the texts (in calendars and computi), the brevity of the texts (in a filler context), and the contents of the texts (through a general concern with the future in prognostic sections), as I will outline in the next sections.

\textsuperscript{36}To what extent Cockayne promoted prognostics as a vernacular genre is apparent in his edition of the glossed collective lunary in Tiberius A.iii, ‘glossing a Latin text’ in Cockayne’s words (1864-66: III.184). Even more to the point is his edition of the largest glossed dreambook, in Tiberius A.iii, fols 27v-32v, which is preceded by the casual note ‘the Saxon glosses some Latin’ (1864-66: III.199). See Cockayne (1864-66: III.ix-x) for his opinion on the Anglo-Saxon dreambooks.

\textsuperscript{37}Singer (1928: 144-46, 166; 1961: Lxiv-xxvi).

\textsuperscript{38}Cameron (1983, 1993). For an overview of opinions on Anglo-Saxon medicine held by Cameron and earlier scholars, see chapters 1, 12, and 13 of Cameron’s Anglo-Saxon Medicine (1993: 1-4, 117-58).


\textsuperscript{40}Wallis (1995:107-09).

\textsuperscript{41}Hollis (2001: 192).

\textsuperscript{42}Hollis (2001: 197).

\textsuperscript{43}Liuzza (2001: 196-209).

\textsuperscript{44}See section 4.2.2.1.
7.2.2.2 THE ARITHMETICAL SIDE: CALENDARS AND COMPUTI

The medical status of many of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics has been discussed above, but there is another side to prognostics, i.e. an arithmetical component. The arithmetical aspect is expressed in the structure of prognostics, and through the incorporation of prognostics in the calendar and the computus. All prognostics use a highly structured framework which serves as a formula for the interpretations. This observation applies to both non-temporal prognostics, such as alphabetical dreambooks and directional brontologies, and to temporal prognostics. The latter group in particular uses arithmetical systems by which the text is constructed, such as the thirty phases of the moon, or two Egyptian Days per month. The importance of the arithmetical component is corroborated by the wholesale inclusion of temporal prognostics in the calendar and computus.

Calendars are abstract contexts in which bare numbers and events are recorded. The contribution of Dog Days and Egyptian Days, ferial days, seasonal markers, and saints, is reduced to a rigid system which leaves no room for elucidation. The user of a calendar must be familiar with the theoretical background of the categories of information. The dangerous nature of Dog Days, for instance, is not explained in the calendar, but the period in which the Dog-star is visible is included in the calendar. Likewise, the Egyptian Day verses which often head calendars require some inside knowledge, otherwise a mnemonic line such as ‘Tercius in maio lupus est & septimus anguis’ may seem meaningless.\(^{45}\) Consulting a calendar, therefore, is a matter which required (and still requires) initiation into the knowledge contained therein. Prognostics such as Dog Days and Egyptian Days, which assign fixed dates in the year, are particularly well-adapted to feature in calendars, because the dates can be taken from a text and directly entered into the calendar.

Once at home in the art of calendar reading, there is a practical side to calendars in that users have access to a wide range of data, among which prognostic material. To what extent this prognostic material was actually put to practice is a question hard to answer. The indications available argue as much against as in favour of practical application. Whereas early medieval calendars were in need of information to avoid a vacuum or blank space, later Anglo-Saxon calendars did not suffer from a lack of information, so prognostic material must have been included for a purpose.\(^{46}\) Moreover, a number of Anglo-Saxon calendars had prognostic material added in the post-Conquest period, which means that such data were supplied intentionally. These two facts can be used to conclude that (1) a tradition came into existence which stipulated that calendars without prognostic material were somehow incomplete; (2) the purposeful introduction or addition of prognostic material into the Anglo-Saxon calendar probably meant it was there to be used. One of the conditions of (2) is that the user of the calendar knew what Dog Days and Egyptian Days are, and what to avoid on these days. Although these two prognostic genres are the most popular ones in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, it cannot be established how many of the users of a calendar recognised prognostic calendar entries and knew what to expect on these dates.

Computi exhibit a host of temporal prognostics through an accretive process, and through the transmission of prognostics from one computus to the next.\(^{47}\) It is, therefore, evident how computi came to include prognostics. It is not clear, however, what purpose these inclusions served. According

\(^{45}\)From text 8.3/5.
\(^{46}\)See section 4.2.1.
\(^{47}\)See sections 4.2.2.1, 4.2.2.2.
to Wallis, associative attraction drew medical texts of a diverse nature into the computus: ‘humoral physiology and pathology, prognostics, therapeutics, regimen, and herbal pharmacy’. Prognostics are here mentioned as a branch of medicine, but it must be realised that medical texts need not be structured by time, whereas I have shown that the prognostics are almost without exception temporal in a computistical context. The virtual absence of non-temporal prognostics can only be explained by the observation that time-ordered prognostics are favoured. This preference would seem to imply that the status of prognostics as medical texts is ignored, because the emphasis had shifted from the content to the structure of the text. If a connection between structure and status were non-existent, one would expect to find in the computus non-temporal prognostics just as frequently as temporal prognostics. Remarkably, none of the catalogues and manuals of Anglo-Saxon writings perceives a connection between function and structure. In this respect, it is instructive to consult Edwards’s *Middle English Prose*, in which prognostics are discussed in a chapter entitled ‘Utilitarian and Scientific Prose’, and not in the chapter on ‘Medical Prose’. The intended use of prognostics in the computus is debatable. Non-prognostic medical texts contained in computi show that the computus may have been consulted for various reasons, including time reckoning and medical issues. Nevertheless, the exclusion of non-temporal prognostics and the emphasis on the structure of prognostics would seem to indicate that these specific texts were incorporated on the basis of their time-ordered, arithmetical construction. This makes it hard to say anything concrete with regard to the practical use of prognostics in the computus. It is clear, though, that in moving from a medical context to the calendar and the computus, prognostics were no longer favoured because of their medical content, but because of their arithmetical structure.

7.2.2.3 THE UTILITARIAN APPROACH: PROGNOSTICS AS FILLER MATERIAL

A marginal group of nine prognostics found their way into Anglo-Saxon manuscripts as filler material. It is impossible to assert that these filler prognostics may have fulfilled a medical purpose, for the simple reason that the context in which they appear is unpredictable and invariably non-medical.

A pragmatic reason to add filler material to an existing manuscript is to make good use of blank spaces. Such blank spaces may exist at the end of a longer text, which is the case in the Regius Psalter, Royal 2.B.v, where filler texts were entered immediately following the canticles, in at least four different hands. The first series of additions concerns a group of chronological texts and a month bronotology. Another possibility is the addition of texts on blank spaces of quire endings, as happened in Vespasian D.xiv. This homiletic collection in Old English boasts two prognostics inserted by the main hand at two different quire endings. These examples will suffice to indicate the process of adding filler texts. Additions such as these served a utilitarian purpose, viz. to eliminate blank space. In addition, there may have been contextual considerations which led a scribe to add a particular text, but in the case of the prognostics, I have not been able to discover a link between text and context in terms of content.

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49See section 4.2.2.1.
50See section 1.3.
51Braswell (1984) and (Voigts 1984), respectively.
52See table 5.2.
53See section 4.2.4 for more examples.
I have shown that there are several practical constraints which determine not the genre of the text, but the type of text to be added. The most important constraints are the brevity of the text, the language of the context, and the availability of texts which meet the previous two requirements. There are prognostic genres which fit this description quite well, so it need not come as a surprise that prognostics were among the types of texts entered as filler material. The primary function of these prognostics as filler material may have been more relevant than either their content or their structure.

7.2.2.4 CONCERNS WITH THE FUTURE: PROGNOSTIC SECTIONS
The last context to be examined is that of the prognostic section. Over a third of the entire prognostic corpus is encountered in such sections. This proportion is significant enough to presume some sort of deliberate intent on the part of the compilers of prognostic sections. Since the contents of manuscripts which feature prognostic sections vary, the larger manuscript context need not reveal the function of the prognostics contained therein. A miscellany (e.g. Tiberius A.iii) will have served a different use than a psalter (CCCC 391) or a prayerbook (Titus D.xxvi, xxvii). Instead, let us examine the prognostic section and its contents in isolation.

Prognostic sections feature many different prognostic genres. Not only do they include temporal prognostics, as computi do, but non-temporal texts such as alphabetical dreambooks are also attested. In fact, many of the Anglo-Saxon non-temporal prognostics owe their survival exclusively to prognostic sections. In prognostic sections, medical prognostics, such as illness lunaries, occur side by side with all manner of non-medical genres, such as the sunshine prognostic. Two types of medical prognostics are only infrequently represented in prognostic sections, viz. the bloodletting prognostics, and Apuleian Spheres. If one were to make a distinction – which I do not(!) – between those prognostics which might be of more use in practice and those which are less useful, bloodletting texts would belong to the former category, and their relative absence in prognostic sections might testify to the level of intended use of these sections.

The flexibility with which prognostic sections incorporate both temporal and non-temporal prognostics illustrates that this context did not put any strong demands on the type of prognostic included. If the structure or type of prognostic does not influence its presence or absence in a prognostic section, what does? I have already argued that the only real constraint in prognostic sections is the language of the texts. Beyond that, the selective procedure may have relied mainly on the discretion of the compiler. The compiler chose the prognostics to include. For prognostic sections, these texts often turn out to be non-temporal prognostics, or texts which are semi-temporal, such as sunshine prognostics, thereby complementing a taste for purely temporal prognostics in computi. Moreover, there is a relative lack of bloodletting prognostics in prognostic sections, whereas these texts abound in computi and calendars. These observations give the impression that prognostic sections complement the range of prognostic genres in the computus. It would seem, therefore, that prognostic sections are compositions arranged with meticulous care and insight.

54See sections 4.2.4, 5.2.1.2, 5.2.2.1.
55See table 5.2.
56Nevertheless, the structure of the larger context of manuscripts featuring prognostic sections does seem to allow great variety in its inclusion of genres, just as prognostic sections allow a variety of prognostic genres.
57The only notable exception to this are the prognostics in Harley 3271.
58See section 5.2.1.2.
The density of prognostics is by necessity heaviest in prognostic sections, but the number of prognostics in these sections is also quite high. In other words, prognostic sections run to quite some length. Booklet 5 of Hatton 115 numbers eight folios, six of which contain prognostics. The prognostic section in CCCC 391 comprises nine pages. This may not amount to much in comparison to the length of a psalter, for instance, but it should be kept in mind that prognostics never enjoyed the attention psalters did. Furthermore, psalters and homilies formed fixed and extensive collections, respectively, while prognostic sections appear to be improvised collections of short texts which did not constitute a close-knit corpus in the Middle Ages. Seen in this light, prognostic sections are important, extensive collections.

In these sections, there is considerable freedom in arrangement and genre selection. Nevertheless, some genres are attested significantly more often than others. Dream lunaries and year prognoses, infrequently found in other contexts, and bronntologies and alphabetical dreambooks, not often found in other contexts and not at all in computi, are four genres prominent in prognostic sections. Although we do not today appreciate dream lunaries as much as an Anglo-Saxon audience would, dreams have always held people’s fascination. Knowing that we still use direct descendants of the dreambooks popular in classical times, the focus of prognostic sections on dreambooks is not unusual. These dreambooks may have known practical applications, because, unlike the arithmetical side to many of the temporal prognostics, there is nothing in dreambooks that could hold the attention of a reader but its value as a predictive device. Year prognoses and bronntologies are bound by a focus on the weather as a predictive device. All four genres are united in their concern with directly observable phenomena, which is not the case with many of the prognostics prevalent in computi. Six prognostics are found exclusively in prognostic sections, viz. the semi-temporal wind and sunshine prognostics, the non-temporal prognostic on the colour of the moon, the temporal month prognosis, and the medical prognostics on the development of the foetus and the prediction of the gender of the unborn child. The latter two may have felt better at home in a medical section, but the fact that they are found in a prognostic section rather than in a medical context may be indicative of the multifarious role of prognostic sections. In addition, the existence of four non-medical and rare prognostics would seem to appoint a preservative role to prognostic sections.

Although prognostic sections allow for a great deal of freedom with regard to the range of prognostic genres they can contain, the prevalence of certain genres does point in the direction of a programmatic, or at least systematic, approach to collecting prognostic texts. Previously, I have indicated that the transmission of prognostics in computi is, to a certain extent, a spontaneous process. This is not so in prognostic sections, where some genres are favoured over others. Examples are the alphabetical dreambooks and year prognoses adduced above: three out of six extant Anglo-Saxon prognostic sections feature these two genres. Moreover, some genres feature repeatedly in a single prognostic section. The first prognostic section in Tiberius A.iii, for instance, boasts no less than three dreambooks, and two year prognoses. Some prognostic sections do not show such a multiplicity of identical prognostic genres, but rather a diversity of certain types of prognostics. CCCC 391 includes four bronntologies, but each represents a different subgenre. The preference for some genres, and the aim

59 Without wishing to anthropologise, I do think the primacy of the solar calendar, and an increased reliance on artificial methods of timekeeping, does play a role in the waning interest in lunar time in Western-European society.

60 See section 4.2.2.2.
of completeness with regard to others, e.g. brontologies, testify to a taste for collecting prognostics, not only with an aim to gather a large range of prognostic genres in separate sections, but also to collect some prognostic genres in particular. This would indicate a systematic approach on the part of the compiler.

I have sketched an image of prognostic sections as compositions arranged with care and deliberation and with a collector’s insight. It seems as if these sections complement the range of prognostic genres encountered in computi, because they repeat only a small part of the computistical prognostics, and they consist of a large non-temporal component. Moreover, the emphasis on readily observable signs such as dreams, thunder, and signs such as New Year’s Day (for the year prognosis) and the twelve days of Christmas (wind and sunshine prognostics), point to the practicality and immediate usability of prognostics in separate sections.

7.2.3 TEXTUAL SHAPE AND CONTEXT

In the preceding sections, I have tried to shed light upon the way the context may have influenced the intended use of prognostics. As yet, I have drawn no conclusions, because another matter requires discussion first: that of the relationship between the shape of a prognostic and the context which contains the text. There are only a few genres in which context and shape are linked, but when this occurs, it also affects the reception of the text.

In chapter 4, I adduced Anglo-Saxon Apuleian Spheres as instances of a genre which is absent in a medical context. The context of this prognostic genre is restricted to computi in English manuscripts, whereas they are attested in (older) medical manuscripts on the continent. This is one example of how a prognostic is transferred from one context to another. For Apuleian Spheres, the phases in the transition from a medical context to the computus are lost to us, because the prognostic itself largely remains the same. Moreover, there is no intermediate context through which it passed on its way to the computus. Therefore, Apuleian Spheres are not good examples to illustrate the relationship between textual shape and context.

Fortunately, one prognostic genre does change its appearance depending upon the context: the Dog Days. Texts on the Dog Days are found embedded in medical tracts; extracted as a set of dates in the calendar; as stand-alone texts in computi; and as stand-alone texts in prognostic sections. The development of Dog Days is elucidated in the following diagram:

![figure 7.2: Dog Days in context](image)

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61 An exception is the Apuleian Sphere 2/11 (in St. John’s College 17), which consists of a diagram unaccompanied by the explanatory text and conversion tables (see section 4.2.2.1).
In classical times, the Dog Days were known as a period in which disease was rife. Therefore, texts dealing with Dog Days dictate hygienic measures to prevent illness in the period when the Dog-star is visible. These texts were intended as medical advice, and were often embedded in medical tracts pertaining to bloodletting, dietary rules and occasionally the humours. Therefore, Dog Days must be placed, in origin, in a medical context. English examples of Dog Days in medical tracts are in Harley 6258B, Royal 12.D.xvii and St. John’s College 17. In the Royal recipe, the prognostic is integrated in Bald’s Leechbook, though it forms an individual recipe in a collection of consecutively numbered recipes. The other two texts were copied in the twelfth century, which is not exceptional because medical tracts on the humours and dietary concerns were not in great demand in Anglo-Saxon England.

The Dog Days comprise a fixed period in the solar year. As such, they are excellent material to be reduced to a bare set of dates which can be transferred to a calendar. This is what happened to the twenty-four Egyptian Days in 354 AD, and also to the Dog Days at some point in time. This transition shows how the medical knowledge of the Dog Days is turned into a calendric affair. There are no fewer than seventeen English calendars with Dog Days. In this format, the entire contents of the text is dropped to the extent that a bare set of dates is all that remains. Where the medical texts on the Dog Days may contain information on dietary and hygienic precautions during the Dog Days and the way in which blood should be let in case of an emergency, Dog Days in calendars dispose of the arguments and consist of three entries at most: ‘Dies caniculares incipiunt’ (usually for 14 July), ‘Dies caniculares finiunt’ (for 5 September), and sometimes the appearance of the Dog-star, the ‘ORTVS CANICVLE’ (usually for 17 July).

In contrast to the overtly medical redactions of the Dog Days, references to these days in the calendar are meaningless if the user of a calendar does not know what the Dog Days refer to, or what one should do or avoid doing on these days. If the Dog Days in the calendar are not just ornamental, seasonal markers, a certain level of in-depth calendric knowledge on the part of the user must be assumed. This, in turn, implies that the typical user of a calendar was familiar with the medical background of the Dog Days.

Finally, the information focussing on the Dog Days, embedded in medical tracts, was stripped of its immediate environment, i.e. the tracts on bloodletting, the four humours, or the dietary rules. The resulting knowledge of the Dog Days started to function as a stand-alone text, sometimes still accompanied by a moonbook, another prognostic genre. Such distinct, stand-alone redactions of the Dog Days were drawn into the computus, as in Vitellius E.xviii and Titus D.xxvii, and thence into prognostic sections, in Titus D.xxvi and three times in Harley 3271. Texts on the Dog Days transmitted in the computus moved from this context into that of prognostic sections without any significant changes in shape. Prognostic sections are a final stage in the development of prognostic contexts in that they are the last novel context for prognostics to appear in. The period in which prognostic sections were developed coincides with the heyday of prognostics in the computus, yet their

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62 See section 3.2.1.
63 See section 4.2.2.1.
64 The first two entries are from text 6/13, the third from text 6/15.
65 See section 7.2.2.2.
66 See sections 4.2.1, 7.2.2.2.
67 See section 3.2.1.
intent differs in that computi attract temporal prognostics on the basis of their time-ordered or
arithmetical structure, whereas prognostic sections are a phase of specialisation in which texts were
collected on the basis of their ultimate goal: foreknowledge of the immediate future.

The example outlined above shows that the textual shape of information on the Dog Days changed
depending on the context: from an integral part of a medical tract to a set of dates in the calendar, or
to a stand-alone text in the computus and in a prognostic section. The same prognostic genre may be
attested in various contexts contemporaneously, as the Dog Days testify to.\textsuperscript{68} This coexistence implies
that the move of a prognostic from one context to another does not exclude the older context from
containing such a prognostic. It does indicate, however, that the intended use of such a prognostic
varied, depending upon the context in which it was encountered. The development from context to
context can be witnessed in other prognostic genres as well. Although evidence from English
manuscripts is lacking, the twenty-four Egyptian Days follow the same route: from a medical context
(in continental manuscripts), to calendars, computi, and from there into prognostic sections (in Anglo-
Saxon manuscripts).\textsuperscript{69} Again, the textual shape changed depending upon the context. Most prognostics
genres did not change their outward appearance, but still moved from context to context. At the same
time, some non-temporal prognostic genres, such as alphabetical dreambooks, have no place in the
computus or in a medical context. Remarkably, the only other prognostic genre, besides the Dog Days,
which moved from a medical context to the computus and prognostic sections in Anglo-Saxon
manuscripts is the text on the three Egyptian Days. The implication is that Anglo-Saxon scribes did
not regard the majority of prognostic genres as proper medical material at all. I already referred to two
medical prognostics uniquely attested in prognostic sections.\textsuperscript{70} In this light, the traditional and
widespread view of prognostics as medical, medico-magical or iatromathematical is untenable, if these
terms relate to the use of prognostics.\textsuperscript{71} Rather, prognostics may adapt themselves in intent, if not in
shape, to the context in which they are incorporated.

I conclude from the above that the majority of prognostic genres had a medical status, but that the
intended use of the texts depended upon the context. The following stages can be distinguished: (1)
a medical application; (2) an implicit application in the calendar;\textsuperscript{72} (3) a structure-driven, time-related
incorporation in the computus; (4) a utilitarian, space-consuming role as filler material; (5) a collective
effort at gathering texts dealing with foreknowing the future in prognostic sections. These various
applications, however, may at most influence the chances of a prognostic being put to use. A filler
prognostic in a homiletic collection, for instance, may have been included to fill a blank space, not as
a predictive device. Nevertheless, it is unacceptable to rule out the possibility that if a prognostic was
copied, this may have been done with the express intention of its being used, irrespective of the context.
To copy a text in order to ignore its purpose entirely would be an act which goes against common
sense. Even if prognostic sections were the work of collectors, these compilers must have appreciated

\textsuperscript{68}Dog Days are found in medical manuscripts, calendars, computi, and prognostic sections composed of the same
period.

\textsuperscript{69}See section 3.2.1 for the contexts of the twenty-four Egyptian Days.

\textsuperscript{70}See section 7.2.2.4.

\textsuperscript{71}There is no harm in considering a bloodletting lunary as a text with a medical status, which is not the same as
envisaging a medical use for every bloodletting lunary, regardless of the context.

\textsuperscript{72}Implicit in the sense that the precautions necessary on the Dog Days, for instance, are not explained in the calendar,
which presupposes familiarity with the genre on the part of the reader.
the potential of the texts they copied or the curiosity which these texts elicited.

The influence of the context is twofold. First, it bears on the preference for certain types of prognostics in a certain context, which is evident from the presence of temporal prognostics in the computus, for instance. Second, the chances of a prognostic being put to use after its codification is also influenced by the context. A prognostic placed in a context which lends itself to repeated perusal has a higher chance of being consulted or read than a prognostic in some forgotten tome. In other words, if the setting is favourable, the prognostics may have been consulted. Moreover, the context might push the reader of a text into a mode of appreciation which is not stable for that particular genre or type of text, but which depends upon the context as a whole.

7.3 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have tried to elucidate the intended use of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics. I have done so on the basis of three criteria: (1) actual signs of consultation; and a possible relationship between (2) function and context, and (3) shape and context. First, there are no definitive signs of use of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics beyond changes to the text, such as emendations, corrections and additions. However, indications exist that prognostics were (intended to be) consulted. Two such pointers are Ælfric’s commentary on the contemporaneous belief in some prognostics, and the practical design that must be inferred when a text has been copied. Second, the context may influence the way a text is employed to such an extent that the emphasis of this text shifts. In the case of prognostics, the move from a medical context to computi and prognostic sections, for instance, may reveal the intentions of the compiler. A medical prognostic may be included in a computus on the basis of its arithmetical structure, and in a prognostic section because it deals with the immediate future. In determining the intended use of such texts, therefore, the context should be taken into consideration as well. Third, in some cases, the context influences the physical shape of a text. This is clearly visible in texts on the Dog Days, which start to discard all kinds of medical knowledge on their way from a medical context to calendars, computi and prognostic sections. This change in shape is not a matter of preference on the part of the compiler, but purely utilitarian: a calendar can accommodate a set of dates for the Dog Days, but not a long piece on the medical precautions on these days.
CONCLUSION

When struck by a thunderbolt it is unnecessary to consult the Book of Dates as to the precise meaning of the omen.

The Anglo-Saxon prognostics studied here represent a brief but important phase in the history of the future. Prognostication is a practice which, in its codified form, dates back more than four thousand years. Despite their respectable age, the insular prognostics from before the thirteenth century have remained in relative obscurity.

In chapter 1, I survey the treatment of prognostics in the study of Anglo-Saxon England. The Anglo-Saxon prognostics have been actively studied for a period of roughly a century, from the second half of the nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth, after which attention to these texts wavered. Prognostics have always been considered in the light of their status as either folkloric or learned texts. Förster viewed prognostication in Anglo-Saxon England as an exponent of ‘Volkskunde’ (‘folklore’), whereas Henel regarded it ‘Mönchsaberglaube’ (‘monkish superstition’). The opinions of modern scholarship are apparent through the place of prognostics in indices and bibliographies. Ker relegated prognostics to the realm of folklore, as did Greenfield and Robinson, and, arguably more importantly, the makers of the Old English Corpus and the Dictionary of Old English. The Anglo-Saxon prognostics, therefore, run the risk of misrepresentation for at least another century, i.e. until the next dictionary of Old English appears. Throughout this study, I have pointed at many indications that the prognostics are a form of science in Anglo-Saxon England: prognostics were codified; they contained learned allusions and appeals to authority; they were brought from the continent in manuscripts of learning; they were translated into Old English in manuscripts containing science such as the computus; they were gathered into prognostic sections in Reform manuscripts which may never have left the medieval scriptoria. In short, while Förster may be correct in assuming that prognostication moved into the field of folklore in the later Middle Ages and in the Renaissance, it was a form of learning of interest particularly to monks in the Anglo-Saxon period.

In order to investigate the status of prognostication, it is necessary to know what prognostics are. Therefore, it is rather ironic that none of the scholars who busied themselves with prognostics provided a definition. The meaning of prognostication apparently is self-evident, which makes it understandable that scholars continue to misinterpret prognostication as a form of folklore. With the help of the characteristics of prognostics known in Anglo-Saxon England, I have defined prognostics as ‘a codified means of predicting events in the life-time of an individual or identifiable group of individuals, using observation of signs and times, or mantic divination’.

Prognostics establish a causal or synchronic link between an event in the future and a specific sign or time. To accomplish this, prognostics make use of a threefold structure which consists of the identification of what is to be observed, the subject of the query, and the outcome. The subjects to be queried are varied, but they have in common that they pertain to and take place within the life-time of an individual. Popular subjects are health (especially bloodletting and the outcome of an illness), birth and death, the relevance of dreams, and agricultural concerns.

It is possible to categorise prognostic genres on the basis of their structure. Structural features have been used to organise genres into larger groups, but many of these systems are haphazard in being too inclusive, too vague, or by showing overlap in genre descriptions. Moreover, the categories proposed by Ker, Cameron, Hollis and Wright, and, most recently, Liuzza distinguish a core of prognostics and texts placed outside this group. This categorisation gives the misleading impression that some genres are more ‘prognostic’ than others. Of the many systems that categorise prognostics, Förster’s method is still most useful, because it merely lists the genres without trying to create an order of precedence or centrality. I have adopted his system and added the factor of (non-)temporality to each genre, which proves useful in explaining the manuscript context in which specific genres appeared.

Chapter 2 provides an account of the text corpus I have used. The corpus consists of 171 prognostics, attested in thirty-seven (fragments of) manuscripts. Fifty texts are in Old English, eleven in Latin with running glosses in Old English, and 110 in Latin. These texts date from the Anglo-Saxon and early post-Conquest period with the exception of the prognostic added by the Tremulous Worcester hand in CCCC 391. The texts in the vernacular are a closed group, but there are more Latin prognostics than the 110 I found, as the supplemental corpus attests to.

In chapter 3, I devote considerable space to a description of the prognostic genres known in England before the thirteenth century. Each genre is described in view of its historical background, structure and purpose, and its transmission in medieval manuscripts. Furthermore, I have elucidated that some prognostic genres occur in fixed units in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. These units consist of prognostics which share thematic or structural features.

In chapter 4, the manuscript context is studied. It turns out that Anglo-Saxon prognostics were not written down at random, but confine themselves to a limited number of manuscript contexts, to wit in calendars, computi, medical sections, as filler texts, and in separate sections. Calendars have come to incorporate entries on Egyptian Days and Dog Days, i.e. temporal genres which are structured by a system of concrete dates. As has been pointed out by Wallis, early medieval ecclesiastical calendars included extra information in addition to saint’s days to fill up conspicuous gaps. Calendars from the Anglo-Saxon period and post-Conquest era, however, tended to include prognostics out of tradition rather than of necessity.

The medieval computus, a system of time reckoning for ecclesiastical purposes, gradually drew in text genres which were not central to time reckoning itself, but which testified to an interest in time keeping. This is certainly true for the Anglo-Saxon computus, because in this context no fewer than fifty-two prognostics are attested. Several types of computi were known in late Anglo-Saxon England, but it is striking that prognostics were not copied from one copy of a specific computus to the next. Instead, prognostics were transmitted vertically, i.e. between different types of computi. It is likely that this material was included in the computus if it came to hand during the production of a particular computus manuscript. Nevertheless, a certain degree of selection is apparent in the preference for temporal over non-temporal prognostics.

The appearance of prognostics in medical sections is to be expected, since many prognostic genres concern health issues. However, insular medical sections rarely feature prognostics. The level of integration of a prognostic in a medical context depends upon the way in which it is incorporated. Prognostics which are included in tracts on bloodletting, for example, are more fully integrated into the context than a prognostic which was just copied into a medical section without regard for its
position or purpose. In comparison with medical sections from continental medieval manuscripts, the insular medical context is a poor source of prognostics. Some genres which occur in a limited context in insular manuscripts, e.g. Apuleian Spheres in computi, are often attested in continental medical sections. Moreover, some genres are rare in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts but common in continental medical manuscripts, e.g. regimens. For these reasons, the origin of the medical manuscript Sloane 475, fols. 125-231, which has recently been posited as insular, should be referred to the continent.

It sometimes happened that a scribe had some blank space left after a certain part of a manuscript had been finished. These areas proved good environments for filler material, i.e. texts added at a later date with the aim to fill blank spaces. Filler texts need have no bearing upon the immediate context into which they are placed. Thus, prognostics may appear among homilies, in a psalter or a computus. There is no obvious contextual motivation which can sufficiently explain what type or genre of filler text was chosen, other than practical considerations such as the brevity of the text in view of the space available.

The fifth context is the prognostic section, a hitherto unnoticed gathering of prognostics. Prognostic sections are parts of manuscripts which are specifically designed to contain prognostics. These sections are an insular phenomenon and may be linked to the English Benedictine Reform. No continental representatives have been found, and prognostic sections were unknown in England before the eleventh century. The manuscripts containing prognostic sections were all produced in centres which played key roles in the Reform. The rationale behind the existence of prognostic sections is obscure, but there are strong indications that these sections were consciously intended as collections of prognostics. The range of prognostics that could be incorporated into prognostic sections is considerable, varying from temporal genres also present in computi, to (non-)temporal prognostics rarely encountered outside the sections. Prognostic sections often survive as independent units within a manuscript. Manuscripts such as CCCC 391 and Titus D.xxvi feature prognostic sections in separate quires, while the composite manuscript Hatton 115 features an entire booklet devoted to prognostics which is totally unrelated to the other booklets in the manuscript. Tiberius A.iii is an important manuscript because it has no fewer than two prognostic sections, the first of which contains a large number of prognostics in Old English, and in Latin with running glosses in the vernacular. Prognostic sections are the most important source of prognostics in the vernacular.

In chapter 5, I analyse the language, date and place of origin of insular prognostics. The transmission in insular manuscripts took place in Latin with or without glosses in Old English, and in the vernacular. The language of choice is not random or a matter of taste, but depends heavily upon the language of the manuscript context. The calendar is a Latinate context which does not allow for prognostic material in the vernacular. The only exception is the calendar in CCCC 422, which contains some glossed items, including entries for the Dog Days. The computus is fairly tolerant for prognostics in Latin, with glosses, or in Old English, i.e. if the computus in question is composed in the vernacular at least in part. Computi in Latin do not allow the inclusion of prognostics in the vernacular of with glosses in Old English. A number of eleventh-century computi contain computistical texts in the vernacular, and it is in these computi that prognostics with glosses or in Old English are encountered. Still, prognostics in the vernacular are a minority in computi as compared to ones in Latin. The medical context is very strict with regard to language. There appear to be no insular medical sections in which languages are mixed. This means that prognostics in a medical context always
follow the language of the context. Prognostics as filler texts generally adhere to the language of the context, although the Old English alphabet prognostic in a Latin context in Titus D.xxvii illustrates that this is not invariably the case. The language preferred in prognostic sections, finally, is independent of that of the immediate manuscript context. However, the language inside a prognostic section is closely followed, so that there is no mixing of prognostics with or without glosses, or in Latin or Old English. Prognostic sections are very important in that they are the only context in which prognostics in the vernacular and with glosses are more common than prognostics in Latin. Moreover, the majority of prognostics in the vernacular and with glosses hail from prognostic sections.

Most manuscripts containing prognostics can be placed in Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester and *Ramsey. Calendars and computi were mainly produced in Canterbury, Winchester and *Ramsey, medical sections and filler texts in Winchester, and prognostic sections in Canterbury, Winchester and Worcester. Prognostics in Latin were copied in all four places, glossed ones in Canterbury and Winchester, and vernacular texts in all places but *Ramsey. Prognostics were first incorporated into insular manuscripts in the ninth and tenth centuries. In the eleventh century, they were copied on a large scale. The twelfth century saw a moderate decline in the transmission of prognostics. The facts with regard to language, place of origin and date point to a correlation between the incorporation of prognostics in computi and prognostic sections in the eleventh century, the vernacularisation of prognostics in the same period, and the Benedictine Reform.

In chapter 6, I focus on the position of prognostics within the field of superstition. It has generally been assumed that prognostication went against orthodox Christianity in Anglo-Saxon England, but there are strong indications that this is not the case. First, several prognostics include references to classical and medieval authorities, which was intended to sanction the texts from a medical or religious perspective. In addition to authorities, verbal echoes were employed to link prognostics to a tradition of learning present in the *Wonders of the East, for instance, but also to Ælfric’s homilies.

With the help of Harmening’s analysis of superstition, it has been possible to devise a threefold system of superstition, consisting of observation, divination and magic. Prognostics make use of the observation of times and signs or mantic arts such as the use of letters or dice. Therefore, they should be placed in the categories of observation and divination. A study of the Old English semantic field of superstition significantly shows that there are no Old English words which adequately describe prognostication, except for the verb ‘cepan’. Moreover, most words for observation and divination are rare or exist solely as glosses. My analysis of the vocabulary of superstition reveals that prognostication received only little attention in the Anglo-Saxon period, even though Wulfstan and Ælfric inveighed extensively against superstition. Homilies, the Bible and penitentials sometimes refer to prognostication, but none of these sources specifically refers to prognostication in Anglo-Saxon England. It is impossible, therefore, to maintain that prognostication was in opposition to Christian practices in Anglo-Saxon times. In fact, there are strong indications that prognostics were popular mainly in a monastic setting during the Benedictine Reform. The audience for prognostics in Anglo-Saxon England is sometimes sought outside monastic libraries with the idea that prognostics played a role in the pastoral activities of the Anglo-Saxon clergy. However, there is no evidence which would support this pastoral hypothesis. Prognostics were just as useful inside as outside a monastery. Moreover, there is no agreement over which manuscripts also containing prognostics may have been used in a pastoral capacity.

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In chapter 7, the intended use of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics is explored. Aside from incidental additions and corrections, there are no physical signs that the prognostics have ever been used. The intended use of prognostics can be linked to the context in which the texts are found. Thus, the medical context attracted prognostics which are overtly medical in intent. Nevertheless, most prognostics with a medical status, such as bloodletting texts, are encountered in contexts other than medical sections. This might indicate that the medical status of such prognostics was of secondary importance in view of other features, e.g. the structure of the texts (in calendars and computi), or a general concern with the future (in prognostic sections). Calendars and computi proved attractive contexts for prognostics. The incorporation into a time reckoning context may have come about by a concern with the often tabular structure of prognostics, or the temporal aspects which are prominent in most prognostics. The filler context does not reveal anything about the intended use of prognostics other than that prognostics were useful as filler material on account of their briefness. Prognostic sections reveal a concern with texts dealing with the future. Here, prognostics were not necessarily valued for their tabular or temporal aspects, because prognostic sections include a wealth of genres which are not structured by time and are not as rigidly tabular as lunaries. Prognostic sections are probably the work of collectors.

The shape of a prognostic may be an indication that the function of the text in question was not invariably the same. Information on the Dog Days, for instance, was first embedded in a medical context in larger tracts on the humours and bloodletting. After this, the Dog Days were stripped of all information but their start and finish, in order for the genre to be included in calendars. At the same time, the Dog Days were taken out of the context of medical tracts and incorporated into computi, and later into prognostic sections. This example reveals that a prognostic could be lifted from its original context to other contexts, and that the demands of these other contexts actually changed the shape of the text depending upon what is considered relevant.

My study of the Anglo-Saxon and early post-Conquest prognostics adds new perspectives to what had already been discovered many decades ago by Cockayne, Förster and Henel. From the first substantial edition of prognostics by Cockayne in the mid-nineteenth century, knowledge of the prognostics took a flight in the writings of Förster. Förster’s idea of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics as a form of folklore was countered by Henel’s view of the genre as a form of monkish superstition. Regrettably, Henel’s observations went unheeded. My study has revealed that the Anglo-Saxon prognostics are indeed a form of ‘Mönchsaberglaube’ which gained an audience as a result of the Benedictine Reform. Moreover, the newly developed division of the manuscript context has proved its worth in analysing the placement of the prognostics, the language in which they were written, and the date and place of origin of the manuscripts in which they were transmitted.

Throughout this study I have regarded prognostics as a corpus of texts, but did the Anglo-Saxons do so as well? This is a difficult question to answer, but I would be inclined to answer in the affirmative. The purposeful introduction of prognostics into the computus is a sign that Anglo-Saxon scribes were able to recognise prognostics on the basis of their structure. The fact that temporal prognostics only were included shows the existence of a selective procedure. Furthermore, prognostic sections are indicative of an attempt to assemble a group of texts which share a set of distinctive features. Again, a selective procedure must have existed. The co-occurrence of both temporal and non-temporal texts
shows that prognostics were not gathered on the basis of their structure only, but that the compilers of prognostic sections knew that an alphabetical dreambook and a year prognosis, for instance, belonged to the same group of texts.

There are some issues which I have not fully addressed in this study, but which offer good opportunities for further research, some of which are beyond the immediate scope of the Anglo-Saxonist:
(1) the transition from prognostication in pre-classical to classical times, notably the move from Mesopotamian and Egyptian texts to Byzantine and Latin ones. A good starting point would be an investigation of the alphabetical dreambooks and meteorological prognostics in the works of Jastrow and Oppenheim;
(2) the influence of the context on the choice of prognostics in continental manuscripts of the early and high Middle Ages. Having studied the insular manuscript evidence I found that prognostics are treated differently as compared to those in continental manuscripts. The most notable difference lies in the medical status that prognostics seem to have enjoyed on the continent, but not in Anglo-Saxon England. The catalogues of medical manuscripts by Beccaria and Wickersheimer will prove useful;
(3) the process of vernacularisation of prognostics in languages other than Old English. This topic has rarely been dealt with, but see Hellmann and Weißer. The position of prognostication in insular post-Conquest manuscripts, particularly in Anglo-Norman medical manuscripts and miscellanies, might yield some results, see Digby 86 and the work of Hunt;
(4) the attitude towards prognostication in the twelfth century and after. Possible topics are the contribution of judicial astrology from Arabic learning, and the development of the almanac tradition of prognostics in the later Middle Ages and in the Renaissance (in which prognostics move from learning to folklore).
TEXT EDITION
EDITORIAL PROCEDURE

1 PRELIMINARY REMARKS
The following pages contain the text edition of the corpus of insular prognostics which formed the basis for my study. I initially based this edition on existing editions of the prognostics, which I then compared to microfilms, microfiches, photographs and facsimiles. In December 2002, I was able to inspect all manuscripts in person in London, Cambridge and Oxford, except for Bodleian 579 (which was not in a condition to be inspected).

My aim has been to provide a reliable working edition, i.e. an edition which is not burdened by exhaustive explanatory notes. This working edition is neither diplomatic nor critical. I do not uncritically offer manuscript readings, yet this does not mean that I provide grammatically correct texts. I have presented each text individually even if a specific text is attested more than once. Emendations, deletions and additions have been based on readings from other copies of these prognostics, and have all been accounted for. This working edition is the first ever to offer a representative sample of Anglo-Saxon prognostic texts in one volume, containing all prognostics in Old English, all Latin prognostics with Old English glosses, and a fair share of insular Latin prognostics from a wide range of manuscripts. Researchers are now in a position to consult these prognostics without first having to compile a small library of books and articles.

2 INTENTIONS
In the working edition of the prognostic corpus, I intend to represent the original texts as closely as possible to allow for the demands that different researchers might have concerning the texts. My main consideration is to keep the text edition as free from editorial intrusion as possible. It will not do, however, to have words in the main text that are unintelligible, because it cannot be expected that the correct form is implicitly understood. The weekday brontology in CCCC 391, for instance, has the meaningless collocation 'becland begena' for 'becnað landbegengena', the latter being the intended form supported by readings from other brontologies of the same type. Such emendations are placed in the main text to aid a better understanding of the text, with the manuscript reading in the critical apparatus. The editorial intrusions in the text edition are limited to the emendation of unintelligible words, the deletion or transposition of misplaced writing, and the addition of letters or words which were lost through accidental damage or through mistakes in the copying of the text, all of which are accounted for in the apparatus. The spelling of the texts has not been normalised. Throughout this thesis I have valued each prognostic individually. This approach is also apparent in my choice not to present collated editions of the prognostics: each text has been edited in its own right.

3 PRESENTATION OF THE TEXTS
The edition of the text is presented in the main body of the page. Line numbers are supplied in the left margin, numbered by threes. The text is mostly kept free from editorial symbols, except for the insertion or indication of text lost through accidental damage (indicated in round brackets when the text can be reconstructed or with raised stops when reconstruction is impossible, respectively), and the

1From text 5.1.3/1.
addition of missing text when required (indicated in angular brackets). The manuscript foliation is presented in notes.

Manuscript punctuation and capitalisation have been retained. The texts are exceedingly simple in content and often consist of items in consecutive order which are unambiguous in content and structure. There are no complex sentences whose understanding would benefit from implementing modern punctuation or capitalisation. I have subdivided the texts according to the structure of the prognostics. This division replaces the need for imposing modern punctuation because it brings out the internal order of the prognostic texts, the interpretation of which leaves room for little or no ambiguity. Word division has been modernised because it is often unclear from the manuscript whether compounds are written as one word or not. Moreover, some scribes practise a peculiar word division in which single words are broken up and the final syllable of one word is connected to the first syllable of the next.

Most prognostics are structured in a systematic framework, such as the twelve months, the phases of the moon, the weekdays, or the alphabet. I have used this division to structure my edition, irrespective of whether the text itself is divided accordingly on the manuscript page or whether the text is continuous. In this respect, I have followed Förster, who edited a large number of prognostics. In comparing existing editions, I noticed that the structure of the prognostics, an important aspect of the genre, was clearer in Förster’s editions than in Cockayne’s. Cockayne, for instance, reproduced the entries for a dreambook containing 302 entries consecutively, which makes finding a specific entry an arduous task. Förster applied a numbered structure to the same dreambook and thus presented a text that can be far more easily studied than Cockayne’s. Whenever the manuscript presents the prognostic as anything other than continuous text (e.g. in tabular form as some lunaries do), this is indicated in the apparatus.

Abbreviations and ligatures have been expanded. Expansions are indicated in italics. Sometimes idiosyncratic abbreviations were employed for words which were used throughout a text. This practice is most widespread in dreambooks, where ‘getacnað’ is soon abbreviated to ‘gē’ or ‘g’, and ‘significat’ to ‘s’.

I have consistently expanded the abbreviation ‘I’ to ‘iel’, even in Old English texts, where ‘oððe’ may have been intended. The signs ‘7’ and ‘&’ have not been expanded, except when they occur as part of a word, as in ‘surg&’ for ‘surgē’.

Rubricated letters are indicated in bold type.

The diagrams of Apuleian Spheres are not featured in the edition. I have described the type and contents of all diagrams in words. Most diagrams have been published in facsimile of microfiche, as the notes to the Apuleian Spheres indicate.

Cf. Godden (1977), Mitchell (1980). I have represented the punctus elevatus by a colon.

For instance, the scribe of Sloane 475, fols. 125-231.

Förster (1903, 1908a-c, 1910, 1911, 1912a-c, 1916, 1921, 1925-26, 1929, 1936, 1944).

Cockayne (1861, 1864-66).


Förster (1910: 47-70).

From text 7/4.

But see Förster (1908b: 303, n. 2).

From text 9.2.5/3.
4 CRITICAL APPARATUS
It is good practice to divide the critical apparatus into: textual notes on the manuscript or basic manuscript; lexical variants from other manuscripts; phonological and spelling variants from other manuscripts; and explanatory notes.\textsuperscript{11} Since I have not made collated editions of the prognostics, representing variants from other manuscripts does not apply. In view of the brevity of many of the texts, I have chosen not to make a physically layered system of the critical apparatus. The notes contain: information on damage and omissions when these cannot adequately be represented in the main text; alterations and corrections by the scribe or later hands; my emendations; errors and differences in existing editions;\textsuperscript{12} explanatory information for words which are spelled in an unusual way, or for a better understanding of a point in the text.

5 EDITORIAL SIGNS
The signs are based on those given in Clemoes’ edition of Ælfric’s First Series of Catholic Homilies:\textsuperscript{13} 
\texttt{<>} indicates my editorial additions: dates to texts on the Dog Days and Egyptian Days, numbered entries to alphabetical dreambooks, foliation in the notes, the presence of diagrams which are not displayed in the edition;
\texttt{\{\}} ‘indicates an omission’, e.g. \texttt{(A)quo}
\texttt{[\]} ‘indicates an erasure or deletion’, e.g. [s]tan;
\texttt{(\)} ‘indicates loss through accidental damage’, e.g. o(n þam ne bið) nan;
\texttt{<} ‘indicates an alteration, with the original reading following the sign, the altered reading is italicized if it is not in the main hand’, e.g. ær] æ- < [h];
\texttt{\'} indicates an addition or alteration to the text; the addition or alteration is italicized if it is not in the main hand, e.g. B’ir\textsuperscript{rr}um. Alternatively, a transposition from another part of the text may be indicated in apostrophes when this transposition is indicated in the manuscript. A note will clarify whether the apostrophes are used to indicate transposition, e.g. ‘7... utga(nge.)’ transposition indicated in manuscript;
\texttt{\[]} ‘follows a lemma’, e.g. wind] winð (i.e. the manuscript reads ‘winð’). If a reference to an edition directly follows the reading after the lemma, the reading is found in the edition but not in the manuscript, e.g. wind] winð Cockayne (1864-66) (i.e. the manuscript reads ‘wind’ but Cockayne transcribed this as ‘winð’). If, however, both the manuscript and an existing edition share an error, the note is phrased as follows: wind] winð, so Cockayne (1864-66) (i.e. both the manuscript and Cockayne read ‘winð’);
~ ‘substitutes for the lemma’ in the critical apparatus, e.g. On þam] ~ (O)n þam (i.e. the manuscript reads ‘On þam n þam’);
\ldots\ldots\ ‘indicates the approximate number of letters lost where erased text cannot be read or damaged text reliably guessed at’, e.g. c[\ldots]yðeð, or ca \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots

\textsuperscript{12} This pertains only to editions that offer individual texts or parallel editions of individual texts, e.g. Förster’s edition of the Old English birth lunaries (1912c: 21-26). Collated editions are not used because these are unreliable in representation of abbreviations, emendations, omissions, manuscript damage, numbers etc., e.g. Förster’s edition of the Latin birth lunaries (1912c: 18-21). Lists of incipits are likewise ignored, except for Liuzza’s recent overview of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics (2001), whose list of incipits contains a number of inaccuracies.
\textsuperscript{13} Clemoes (1997: 170-71).
Each entry starts on a new line. Skeat (1897) and Bradley (1897) suggested that the letters of the alphabet stand for the first letters of words in Latin, making this text a riddle or a puzzle rather than a prognostic (see section 3.2.1). For each letter I have included solutions, all of which are based upon Skeat (1897) and Bradley (1897), except for that of the letter z.

1. A~ may signify Latin auis ('bird'), or ambulauit ('he goes'), both of which would agree with the Old English interpretation.

2. B~ may signify bonum, Old English god.

3. C~ may signify caecitas ('blindness'), or caelum ('heaven'). Bradley (1897) translated the Old English into 'C significat felicitatem non esse in hoc mundo'. The Latin text edited by Sievers (1875) has 'C cecitatem cordis' ('C blindness of the heart'). If Old English bliðnysse ('happiness') is a mistake for blindnysse ('blindness'), a reconstruction along the lines of Bradley would read: 'Cecitatem significat non esse in hoc mundo', which would agree in spirit with the redaction edited by Sievers.

4. D~ may signify desiderium, Old English wilt.

5. E~ may signify ecclesia ('church'), or eueniet, Old English becum.

6. F~ may signify gratiam or gaudium, Old English geðeon.

7. G~ may signify inquitum or incipio, Old English ongin.

8. H~ may signify honor, which may fit the Old English description. Bradley's suggestion (1897) hoc is less convincing.

9. I~ may signify initium of incipio, Old English ongin.

10. J~ may signify kaue (i.e. caue), Old English beorh.

11. K~ may signify lauda, Old English hera.

12. L~ may signify magnificat, Old English gemiclað.

13. M~ may signify nuta, Old English hylt. Bradley (1897) suggested Old English nyle for hylt, Latin noli.
O. 25 ealle friðsum God on eallum his mihtum.

P. 26 Gyf þu riht nimst nelt þu wifes wesan.

Q. 27 forþam micel góð is 7 nergendlic swyðe 7 þu fintst blisse.

R. 28 forlæt al ða syn.

S. 29 þu bist hal gyf þu to gode gehwyrst se sit hal 7 mihtig.

T. 30 ne fyrhteð þa þe on synnum lyfiað 7 yfel þencad.

V. 31 Blis seo32 ðe biþ gescaeld 7 weg on geweald.

X. 33 Blisse 7 weg 7 éce lif.

Y. 34 Býcnað(ð)35 sibbe 7 gesynta.

Z. 36 Wuldor sy 7 wurðmynt wereda drihten

fæder on foldan37 fægere geméne38

mid sylfand sunu 7 soðum gaste.

amen::

25[O] - may signify omnia, Old English ealle.

26[P] - may signify probitatem or puritas, which would fit the Old English description.

27[Q] - may signify quaere or quoniam, Old English forþam.

28[R] - may signify relinquie or renuncia, Old English forlæt.

29[S] - may signify salus or saluus, Old English hal.

30[T] - may signify timete or terrebit, Old English fyrhteð.

31[V] - may signify uita, which would fit the Old English description.

32[Blis seo] - may be a mistake for Blisse. Marsden (2004) silently emended to Blisse; Sievers (1877), Birch (1878) and Günzel (1993) adhered to the manuscript reading. Blis seo is grammatically correct, but the sequence of a noun followed by its demonstrative pronoun is awkward.

33[X] - may signify Christus, which would fit the Old English description.

34[Y] - may signify ymnuus according to Skeat (1897), which seems reasonable.


36[Z] - is the last letter of the Latin alphabet, and may, therefore, be equated with Ω, the last letter of the Greek alphabet (cf. Revelation 1:8, where God is said to be the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end). - is followed appropriately by an Old English Gloria Patri, known as The Gloria II.

37[foldan] Günzel (1993) read soldan, but the f has an unambiguous horizontal stroke.

38[geméne] - || <fol. 56v>.
APULEIAN SPHERE
ORDER: 1-4, 12, 6, 9, 5, 7-8, 13, 10-11

2/1 London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.xvii, fol. 16r/9-19

(VITA VEL DE MORTE:—
Spera apulei platonici de uita uel de omnibus negotiis, & quicquid inquirere uolueris. 
sic computabis per omnes litteras. ut puta de nomine gri. Adde luna quota fuerit die. qua decubuerit 
& quotiens potueris diuide per triginta. & quicquid superauerit reuerteris ad organiolum infra
scriptum. & si superiori connuerit parti numerus uitalis erit. si autem inferiori connuenerit mortis
præsagium est. sic etiam & de omnibus negotiis. Ratio in sanitate hominis.

| A | iii |
| B | iii |
| C | xxii |
| D | xxiii |
| E | xv |
| F | iii |
| G | vii |
| H | vi |
| I | xv |
| J | xx |
| K | xv |
| L | xxi |
| M | xxiii |
| N | xv |
| O | viii |
| P | xiii |
| Q | xxi |
| R | xiii |
| S | ix |

(to) monandæge

S | Si dominicus dies fuerit addde .xii(i). si lune dies fuerit

<DIAGRAM>

1 The bottom margin is damaged; text illegible in the bottom left-hand corner. For a facsimile of the diagram, see Pulsiano
3uel et Förster (1912c).
5si] si[c].
6si] sin.
7&c] not in Förster (1912c).
8This regular circular diagram is placed to the right of the list of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet. The diagram
has three concentric rings around a central circle. No writing is placed in these rings. The central circle is divided into two
parts by two parallel horizontal lines. The top part (N) has six rows (r) of numbers and text in five columns (c), and the
bottom part (S) has five rows in three columns: Nc1r4/c5r4 VI/TA; Nc2r1-6 i ii iii iii vi x; Nc3r1-6 xi xii xiii xvi xvii
xix; Nc4r1-6 xx xxii xxiii xxvii xxvii x; Sc2r5 MORS; Sc1r1-4 v vi vili xii; Sc2r1-4 xv xili xiiiiii; Sc3r1-4 xxv xxvii
xxviii xxx.
Racio spere pytagorice quam apuleius descriptis, de quacumque re scire uolueris. ut putat de egris qua
die ebdomade eueneris. Adde noméni ipsius de quo inquiris. per litteras in
hac pagina scriptas. 7 in numero colligens partire per .xxix. 7 quicquid remanserit. in spera respicies.
si sursum in media linea iueneris: egger cito conservace. Si autem in lateralibus: longa egritudine peribit.
similiter de omnibus rebus. Multis modis hoc scriptum repperi. sed sicut hic annotauui uestum esse
probauui. Exceptis diebus egiptiacis. Iterum si uis cum litteris grecis nomen hominis 7 numero feriarum
hic descripsit. & lunam diei computa 7 partire per .xxix. & quod remanserit: in spera respicies sicut
supra. NVMERVS FERIA.2

<DIAGRAM>11

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11T viii] left and bottom edge damaged, no letters or numbers legible below –.

2A fourteenth-century hand has added (1) a Colligere verse in ring 3 of the diagram (see relevant note), (2) several numerical
values to correct or expand those provided for the letters of the alphabet in ring 2 of the diagram (see relevant note), and (3)
the numerical values of the weekdays after the diagram.

3NVMERVS FERIA] the numerical values of the weekdays are not included in the original text. The later hand responsible
for all additions also added the list of values after the diagram: Dies solis .xvi. Dies Lune .xvii. Dies martis .xv. Dies

9ccc .xviii. ceci ix ccc lvi.3 dcxii de ccc xiii dx

HAYOC.4 CYAHNH.5 APHC.6 HPMHC.7 ZHYC.8 \(\text{\AE}\) H\(\text{\AE}\) \(\text{\OE}\) \(\text{\OE}\).9 KP\(\text{\OE}\)\(\text{\OE}\)C.10

---

The regular circular diagram is placed underneath the examples of Greek deities. The diagram has three concentric rings
around a central circle. The central circle is divided into two main parts by two parallel horizontal lines. Both parts are
subdivided into three columns (c) by parallel vertical lines. The top and bottom part (N0 and S0) have six rows (r) of
numbers each: N0c1r2-6 i i iii vii ix; N0c2r1-6 xi. xiii. xiiii. xvi. xix.; N0c3r2-6 xx xxii xxiii xxvi xxvii.; S0c1r1-5
v vi iii xii; S0c2r1-3, r6 xv xviii xxi xiii. S0c3r1-3, r5 xv xxvii xxix i. A cross is placed at the top in rings one and two
(counting outwards from the central circle). The letters of the alphabet are placed in ring 1, the corresponding numerical
Collige per numeros quicquid cupis esse probandum. Iungeo simul nomen feriam lunamque diei.

3 Collectamque una summar partire triagens. Quodque superfuerit rotulus discernet uterque. Quos retinet utique necnon & mortis imago.

6 Si supra fuerit uiuet mortetur & infra.

<DIAGRAM>7


(iii.) underlute - in a later hand. (ii.) xxii. xxv. xxvii. xxviii. xxix. xxx.

MH. xxvii. xxviii. xxix. xxx.

MHCOTIS.

Minor.


6 Si supra fuerit uiuet mortetur & infra.

<DIAGRAM>7

This compartmentalised circular diagram is placed between the Collige verse and the explanatory text. The diagram has five concentric rings around a central circle. The central circle (0) contains numbers and numerical values for the letters of the alphabet. The ring verging on the central circle (1) contains numbers. Rings 2 and 5 are empty, while ring 3 contains Greek writing and ring 4 writing in Greek and Latin. Overall, the diagram is compartmentalised into eight parts, the top part on the centre.


(iii.) underlute - in a later hand. (ii.) xxii. xxv. xxvii. xxviii. xxix. xxx.

MH. xxvii. xxviii. xxix. xxx.

MHCOTIS.

Minor.


6 Si supra fuerit uiuet mortetur & infra.
Spera apulei platonici de uita & morte. *uel de omnibus egrotis & quicquid inquirere uolueris. sic
9 computabis per omnes litteras & puta de nomine egri. Addis lumen quota fuerit die qua decubuerit  
& quotiens potüeris dividest. per xxx. & quicquid superauerit. reuerteris ad organiolum infra scriptum. 
& si superiori conueniret parti numeros uitalis erit. Si inferiori parti conuenerit moriturus erit. Sic
12 & de omnibus negotiis aut causis requires. Si dies dominicus fuerit .xiii. Si lune .xviii. Si martis .xv.
Si mercurius .xxv.  
Si iouis .xi.  
Si ueneris .xv. Si saturnus .xxvi.

8de cuberit Pulsiano (1998b).
9 potüeris potüerit, so Pulsiano (1998b).
10 organiolum organiolus Pulsiano (1998b).
11 superiori superiora, so Pulsiano (1998b).
12 uitalis iota Pulsiano (1998b).
14 negotiis negotus, so Pulsiano (1998b).
16 .xi.] xi[i]. Added in the bottom margin, directly below .xi. and in a later hand: id est xii.
Ratio sperè pitagori philosophi quem apuleius\textsuperscript{2} (de)scripsit. ut de quacumque (re) scire uolueris uest
consulere. ut puta de egris qua die incurrerit. & ea die quota luna fuerit. 7 adde ei(s) 7 nomen secundum
litteras infra scriptas 7 sic in uno colligis. 7 partiris in .xxx. & quid remanserit in spera respeciens. 7 si\textsuperscript{3}
inuenies susum: uiuit. si autem iusum: morietur.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
A .iii. & B .iii. & C .xxviii. & D .xx\`iii\`i\`i. & E .xv. & F .iii. \\
6 & G .vii. & H .vi. & I .xv. & K .vi. & L .xx\`i\`i. & M .xxvi. \\
N .xv. & O .vii\`i\`i. & <DIAGRAM>\textsuperscript{4} & P .xii\`i\`i\`i. & Q .xx\`i\`i. & \\
R .xiii. & S .ix. & T .vii(i). & V .v. & & \\
15 & X .x. & Y .iii. & Z .iii. & & &
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textit{Pr}onuntians autem etiam & de preliatoribus sic facies. Amplius addis dierum uest horrarum. id est qua
die congregabis 7 partiris in .xxx. partem. & rescipiens in spera si susum remanserit uincit. Si autem
iusum: uincetur.\textsuperscript{3} Item unusquisque dies qualiter in augmentatione debeat computari. Si saturnus fuerit:
ponis .xvii.\textsuperscript{6} Si solis .xiii. Si lunis .xviii. Si martis .xv. Si mercurius .xxv. Si iuppiter .xi. Si ueneris .xv.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
A .iii. & H .vi. & D .xxiii\`i\`i\`i\`i. & L .xxi. \\
18 & G .vii. & O .ix. & K .xv. & Q .xxi. & \\
N .xv. & S .ix. & <DIAGRAM>\textsuperscript{7} & P .xiii\`i\`i\`i. & V .vi. & \\
R .xiii. & Y .xi. & T .xv. & F .iii. & & \\
B .iii. & I .xv. & Z .iii. & M .xxiii. & &
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{1}For a facsimile of the diagrams, see Murdoch (1984: 310) or Wilcox (2000: microfiche 8.5.1).
\textsuperscript{2}apuleius\textsuperscript{3} apuleius.
\textsuperscript{3}uincetur uincetur.
\textsuperscript{4}This regular circular diagram is placed between the first list of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet and between the second paragraph of explanatory text. The diagram has one ring around a central circle. No writing is placed in the ring. The central circle is divided into two parts by a single horizontal line. The top part (N) has seven rows (r) of numbers in three columns (c), and the bottom part (S) has four rows in three columns: \textit{Nc1r1-6} \textit{Sc1r1-5}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-4}\textsuperscript{+}. \textit{Sc1r1-3}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-2}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-1}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-6}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-5}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-4}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-3}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-2}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-1}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-6}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-5}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-4}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-3}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-2}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-1}\textsuperscript{+}
\textsuperscript{5}This regular circular diagram is placed between the first list of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet and between the second paragraph of explanatory text. The diagram has one ring around a central circle. No writing is placed in the ring. The central circle is divided into two parts by a single horizontal line. The top part (N) has six rows (r) of numbers in three columns (c), and the bottom part (S) has four rows in three columns: \textit{Nc1r1-7} \textit{Sc1r1-7}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-6}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-5}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-4}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-3}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-2}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-1}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-7}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-6}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-5}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-4}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-3}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-2}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-1}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-7}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-6}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-5}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-4}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-3}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-2}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-1}\textsuperscript{+} \
\textsuperscript{6}written over \textsuperscript{+} \textit{xxv}.
\textsuperscript{7}This regular circular diagram is placed underneath the second paragraph of explanatory text and between the second list of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet. The diagram has one ring around a central circle. No writing is placed in the ring. The central circle is divided into two parts by a single horizontal line. The top part (N) has six rows (r) of numbers in three columns (c), and the bottom part (S) has four rows in three columns: \textit{Nc1r1-6} \textit{Sc1r1-6}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-5}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-4}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-3}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-2}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-1}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-6}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-5}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-4}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-3}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-2}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-1}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-6}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-5}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-4}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-3}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-2}\textsuperscript{+} \textit{Sc1r1-1}\textsuperscript{+} \
\textsuperscript{8}written over \textsuperscript{+} \textit{xxv}.
Ratio sperzę phytagori phylosophi quem apuleius descriptis. ut de quacunque re scire volueris uel consuler-e. ut puta de egris qua die incurr-it. & ea die quota luna fuerit. & addes eis & nomen secundum litteras in-frac-ritas. & sic in uno colligis. & partiris in .xxx. & quid remanserit in spera respiciens. & si inueneris susum uiuit. Si autem iusu(m)1 morietur.

Pronuntians autem etiam & de pratoribus sic facies amplius addis dierum uel horarum. id est qua die congregabis. & partiris in .xxx. partem. & respiciens in spera. si susum remanserit: uincit.2 Si autem iusu(m): uincetur.3

<DIAGRAM>4


<DIAGRAM>5

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1iusu(m): iusum Liuzzo (2005).
3iusu(m): uincetur iusu unincipetur Liuzzo (2005).
4This regular circular diagram is placed between the first and second paragraphs of explanatory text. The diagram has two rings around a central circle. No writing is placed in the outer ring. The central circle is divided into two parts by a solid horizontal line. The top part (N0) has seven rows (r) of numbers in three columns (c), and the bottom part (S0) has five rows in three columns (columns are separated by vertical lines): N0c1r1-7 i ii iii vii ix x; N0c2r1-6 xi xii xiiii xvii xix xx; N0c3r1-5 xxi xxiii xxiiii xxvi xxix; S0c1r1-4 v vi viii xii; S0c2r1-4 xv xvi xviii xxii; S0c3r1-5 xxv xxviii xxix xxx.
5This regular circular diagram is placed underneath the second paragraph of explanatory text. The diagram has two rings around a central circle. No writing is placed in the outer ring. The central circle is divided into two parts by two sets of double horizontal lines. The top part (N0) has six rows (r) of numbers in three columns (c), and the bottom part (S0) has four rows in three columns (columns are separated by vertical lines): N0c1r1-7 i ii iii vii ix x; N0c2r1-6 xi xiii xiiii xvi xvii xix xx; N0c3r1-5 xx xxii xxiii xxvi; S0c1r1-4 v vi viii xii; S0c2r1-4 xv xvi xviii xxii; S0c3r1-5 xxv xxviii xxix xxx. Ring 1 has a cross at the top, and contains the numerical values for the letters of the alphabet (from the top, clockwise): A iii. B iii. C xxviii. D xxiii. E xv. F iii. G vii. H vi. I xv. K xv. L xxi. M xxiii. N xv. O ix. P xiii. Q xxi. R xii. S ix. T ix. V vi. X xvi. Y x. Z iii.

ix. viii.
(SP)ERE:–

(Ratio spere pythagori ph)ilosopi quam apuleius descriptis de quacumque (re scire ulteriori consulere ut) puta de egris qua die ebdomadis euenerit (& ea die quota lua)na (fuerti) scire debes addas & nomine ipsius secundum litteras (infra) scriptas & sic in unum colligas & partyris. in .xxx. partes quicquid remanserit in spera respicias & sic inuenies & si sursum inuenieris uiuet & prosperum erit. Si autem infra fuerit morietur. sic & de omnibus negotiis aut causis requiri res si dies dominicus fuerit addde .xiii. Si luna .xvii. Si martis .xv. Si mercurius .xxv. Si iouis .xi. Si ueneris .xxv. Si saturnus .xxvi. Prima littera nominis uiiri & posterior nominis puella. uel puerti illius. & anterior nominis (pu)eri hec uel puella a quo subdatur. Prima littera in prima pagina (& ant)erior in postrema lin(e)a. & pri ma & nona in media lina. adiunguntur (cum) positis rote & sine errore respiciam. quicumque inuenere ulterior (discern)nit. Amen. –

<DIAGRAM>11

---

1 The margins of the page are damaged. The diagram is irreparably damaged at the left-hand and bottom margins. For a facsimile of the diagram, see Puliano (1994b: microfiche 2.6.1).

3 partes] partem.
5 inuenieris] inuenieres.
6 prosperum] persperum.
8 pri ma] Liuzza (2005) reads primi and emends to prima.
9 nona] nonam.
10 errore] errorem.
& partíris in .xxx.² partes & quicquit remanserit in spera respiécies,³ & sic inuenies & si⁴ sursum⁵ inueneris⁶ uiuet. & prosperum erit. si⁷ autem infra fuerit morietur sic & de om(n)ibus negotiis.⁸ aut causis requires. Si dominicus. dies fuerit ponis xiii. Si lune x.viii. Si martis .xv. Si mercurius .xxv. Si iouis .xi. Si ueneris .xv. Si saturnus .xxvi. prima littera nominis uiri⁹ & posterior nominis puelle. uel pueri illius cuius asignatur posterior uere nomine¹⁰ uiri & anterior¹¹ nominis pueri uel puelle a quo subdatur¹² prima littera in prima pagina.¹³ & anterior¹⁴ in postrema linea & prima & nona¹⁵ (in) media līna¹⁶ adiuguntur¹⁷ cum positis rote.¹⁸ & sine errore. respiécies¹⁹ quicumque.²⁰ (inuenere) uolueris; (discernit)

9 Quodque super₂₁ fuerit. rotulus discernet `uterque’²¹

Collice per numeros quicquit cupis esse `probandum’²²
Quos retiner²³ uite nécnon²⁴ & mortis `imago’²⁵

12 Iunge simul nomen feriam lunamque `diei’²⁶
(Si) supra²⁷ fuerit uiuer morietur & infra
Collectamque una summand²⁸ partire. trigenos.²⁹

---

¹ Text is incomplete and lacks the diagram and opening lines. The six-line verse is jumbled, the correct order is: Collige [...], Iunge [...], Collectamque [...], Quodque [...], Quos [...], Si supra [...]. A dry-point circle on fol. 132v indicates that a diagram should have been drawn on this page.

⁴ si] ~c.
⁵ sursum] rursum.
⁶ inueneris] -nc- < [.].
⁷ si] ~c.
⁸ negotiis] negotus.
⁹ uiri] ~t.
¹⁰ nomine] nominis.
¹¹ anterior] autier.
¹² a quo subdatur] aquo sub alator.
¹³ [pagina] -n- < ti.
¹⁴ anterior] autier.
¹⁵ nona] nonnam.
¹⁶ [lina] litera.
¹⁷ adiuguntur] adiu[guntur <fol. 133v>.
¹⁸ rote] ~t.
¹⁹ respiécies] resspiciens.
²⁰ quicumque] quicumque.
²¹ `uterque’ ] transposition from line below indicated in the text.
²² `probandum’ ] transposition from line above indicated in the text.
²³ Quos retiner] Quodre timet.
²⁴ nécnon] néc. inon.
²⁵ `imago’ ] ‘in mago’; transposition from line above indicated in the text.
²⁶ `diei’ ] id est ‘id est diei’; transposition from two lines above indicated in the text.
²⁷(Si) supra] Supra.
²⁸ summand] summan.
²⁹ trigenos] tragenos.
COLLIGE PER NUMEROS QVICQVID CVPIS ESSE PROBAND (VM.)
(IVNGE SIMVL NOMEN FERIAM) LVNAMQVE DIEI.
3 COLLECTAMQVE VNA SVMMAM PARTIRE TRIGENOS--
QVODQVE SUPERFVERIT ROTVLYS DISCERNET2 VTERQVE--
QVOS RETINET VITAE NECNON ET MORTIS IMAGO.
6 SI SVPRA FVERIT VIVET MORIETVR ET INFRA--

A ii(i) A (dcccc)
B ii(i) B ccc
C xxviii C c
D xxiii D d
E xxv E ccl
F iii F xl
G vii G cccc
H vi H cc
I xv I i
J xvi K e
L xxi L l
M xxiii M i
N xv N xc
O ix O xl
P xiii P cccc
Q xxi Q d
R xii R lxxx
S ix S lx
T ix T clx
V xvi V v
W x X x
Y vi Y cl
Z iii Z i

1 The Collige verse is written along the margins of page, starting at the top-lefthand corner. The lists of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet are columnar. For a facsimile of the diagrams, see Wormald (1962: plate 125), Heimann (1966: plate 9a), Temple (1976: ill. 303), Desham (1977: plate VIIIa), Jones (1984: 66), or Pulsiano (1994b: microfiche 2.4.1).
2 DISCERNET] DISCERNAT.
3 xxiii] xxvi.
4 This diagram of a figure of life is placed between the first and second list of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet, and extends from the letters ‘a’ to ‘n’. To the right and left of the head is written: VI/TA. The figure holds a banner in his hands, the ends of which dangle to the ground. The banner depicts these numbers: i. ii . iii . iiiii . vii . viiii . x. / xi . xiii . xiii . xvi . xvii . xviiii. / xx . xxi . xxiii . xxiii . xxvii.
5 This diagram of a figure of death is placed between the first and second list of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet, and extends from the letter ‘r’ to the bottom margin. To the right and left of the leg is written: MO/RS. The figure holds a banner in his hands, the ends of which dangle to the ground. The banner depicts these numbers: v. vi . viii . xii . xv. / xviii . xxi . xxv . xx vi’ . / xxviii . xxiix . xxx.

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This incomplete Apuleian Sphere consists of diagrams (fol. 4vc), a list of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet (fol. 14va), and a list of numerical values for phases of the moon. Fol. 4vb contains a computistical table. For a facsimile of the diagrams, see Wilcox (2000: microfiche 8.9.1).

This regular circular diagram is placed underneath the header mentioned in the text and to the left of the list of numerical values for the lunar phases (extending to value for phase 5). The diagram has one concentric ring around a central circle. No writing is placed in the ring. The central circle is divided into a top and bottom part by two sets of double horizontal lines. Both parts are subdivided into five columns (c) by parallel vertical lines. The top part (N) has seven rows (r) of numbers and text, and the bottom part (S) has five rows: Nc1r3-4, c5r4-6 VI / TA / E/S/T; Nc2r1-7 i ii iii iiii vii ix x; Nc3r1-6 xi xii; Nc4r1-5 xxi xxiii xxiiii xxvi xxix; Sc1r1-2, c5r1 MO/RS / N; Sc2r1-4 v vi viii xii; Sc3r1-4 xv xvi xviii xxii; Sc4r1-5 xxi xxiii xxiiii xxvii xxviii.

This diagram of a figure of life is placed between the computistical table and the list of numerical values for the lunar phases, and extends from phases 6 to 22. To the left of the body is written vertically: VITA. The figure holds a banner in his hands, the ends of which dangle to the ground. The banner depicts these numbers: i . ii . iii . iiii . vii . ix . x / xi . xii(i) . xii ii’ . xvii . x’i’x . xx . xxi . xxiiii. / xxiii . xxvi . xxviii.

This diagram of a figure of life is placed between the computistical table and the list of numerical values for the lunar phases, and extends from phases 6 to 22. To the left of the body is written vertically: VITA. The figure holds a banner in his hands, the ends of which dangle to the ground. The banner depicts these numbers: i . ii . iii . iiii . vii . ix . x / xi . xii(i) . xii ii’ . xvii . x’i’x . xx . xxi . xxiiii. / xxiii . xxvi . xxviii.

This diagram of a figure of life is placed between the computistical table and the list of numerical values for the lunar phases, and extends from phases 6 to 22. To the left of the body is written vertically: VITA. The figure holds a banner in his hands, the ends of which dangle to the ground. The banner depicts these numbers: i . ii . iii . iiii . vii . ix . x / xi . xii(i) . xii ii’ . xvii . x’i’x . xx . xxi . xxiiii. / xxiii . xxvi . xxviii.

This incomplete Apuleian Sphere consists of diagrams (fol. 4vc), a list of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet (fol. 14va), and a list of numerical values for phases of the moon. Fol. 4vb contains a computistical table. For a facsimile of the diagrams, see Wilcox (2000: microfiche 8.9.1).

This regular circular diagram is placed underneath the header mentioned in the text and to the left of the list of numerical values for the lunar phases (extending to value for phase 5). The diagram has one concentric ring around a central circle. No writing is placed in the ring. The central circle is divided into a top and bottom part by two sets of double horizontal lines. Both parts are subdivided into five columns (c) by parallel vertical lines. The top part (N) has seven rows (r) of numbers and text, and the bottom part (S) has five rows: Nc1r3-4, c5r4-6 VI / TA / E/S/T; Nc2r1-7 i ii iii iiii vii ix x; Nc3r1-6 xi xii; Nc4r1-5 xxi xxiii xxiiii xxvi xxix; Sc1r1-2, c5r1 MO/RS / N; Sc2r1-4 v vi viii xii; Sc3r1-4 xv xvi xviii xxii; Sc4r1-5 xxi xxiii xxiiii xxvii xxviii.

This diagram of a figure of life is placed between the computistical table and the list of numerical values for the lunar phases, and extends from phases 6 to 22. To the left of the body is written vertically: VITA. The figure holds a banner in his hands, the ends of which dangle to the ground. The banner depicts these numbers: i . ii . iii . iiii . vii . ix . x / xi . xii(i) . xii ii’ . xvii . x’i’x . xx . xxi . xxiiii. / xxiii . xxvi . xxviii.

This diagram of a figure of life is placed between the computistical table and the list of numerical values for the lunar phases, and extends from phases 6 to 22. To the left of the body is written vertically: VITA. The figure holds a banner in his hands, the ends of which dangle to the ground. The banner depicts these numbers: i . ii . iii . iiii . vii . ix . x / xi . xii(i) . xii ii’ . xvii . x’i’x . xx . xxi . xxiiii. / xxiii . xxvi . xxviii.

This diagram of a figure of life is placed between the computistical table and the list of numerical values for the lunar phases, and extends from phases 6 to 22. To the left of the body is written vertically: VITA. The figure holds a banner in his hands, the ends of which dangle to the ground. The banner depicts these numbers: i . ii . iii . iiii . vii . ix . x / xi . xii(i) . xii ii’ . xvii . x’i’x . xx . xxi . xxiiii. / xxiii . xxvi . xxviii.

This diagram of a figure of life is placed between the computistical table and the list of numerical values for the lunar phases, and extends from phases 6 to 22. To the left of the body is written vertically: VITA. The figure holds a banner in his hands, the ends of which dangle to the ground. The banner depicts these numbers: i . ii . iii . iiii . vii . ix . x / xi . xii(i) . xii ii’ . xvii . x’i’x . xx . xxi . xxiiii. / xxiii . xxvi . xxviii.

This diagram of a figure of life is placed between the computistical table and the list of numerical values for the lunar phases, and extends from phases 6 to 22. To the left of the body is written vertically: VITA. The figure holds a banner in his hands, the ends of which dangle to the ground. The banner depicts these numbers: i . ii . iii . iiii . vii . ix . x / xi . xii(i) . xii ii’ . xvii . x’i’x . xx . xxi . xxiiii. / xxiii . xxvi . xxviii.
This diagram of a figure of death is placed to the left of the list of numerical values for the lunar phases, and extends from phase 23 to the bottom margin. In the aureola is written: MORS. The figure holds a banner in his hands, the ends of which dangle to the ground. The banner depicts these numbers: v . vi . viii . xii . / xv . xvi . xviii . xxii . / xxi . xxiii . xxiv . xxv . xxvi . xxvii . xxviii . xxix . xxx . xxxi . xxxii .

For a facsimile of the diagram, see Wilcox (2000: microfiche 8.9.1).

Parili\(^2\) modo cuius sit uictoria de his qui ad singulare certamen eunt. uerum etiam & causantium & negentiui. uel ariarum similiu reum. sic computa nomen iacentis uel fugitiui. uel contrarii cuiuslibet. adice haec numerum quem uideris (adiacere) presentis diebus lunæ. Collectum numerum diuide. quotiens potueris per .xxx. & quod remanserit quere in organum ubi sit. & si inueneris in magna uita. uelociter resurget. & si in media permultas dies ëgrotans saluabitur. Quod si in modica uita. tempus faciet resurgens. Si autem in media morte moritur infirmus. quod si in media luna computus es. & is qui laborat subterra est: periclitans saluabitur. si uno is qui laborat supra terram inuenitur. & luna subterra moritur. Demonstrandi enim gratia. Pone lunam esse .xxvi. dierum. quibus & summam

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\(^{1}\)This diagram of a figure of death is placed to the left of the list of numerical values for the lunar phases, and extends from phase 23 to the bottom margin. In the aureola is written: MORS. The figure holds a banner in his hands, the ends of which dangle to the ground. The banner depicts these numbers: v . vi . viii . xii . / xv . xvi . xviii . xxii . / xxi . xxiii . xxiv . xxv . xxvi . xxvii . xxviii . xxix . xxx . xxxi . xxxii .

\(^{2}\)For a facsimile of the diagram, see Wilcox (2000: microfiche 8.9.1).

\(^{3}\)PP. i.e. either P(itagori) P(hilosophi), or P(ro) P(reliatoribus) (the Apuleian Sphere in Braekman (1988: 93) reads pro preliatoribus).

\(^{4}\)This rhomboid diagram is on the left-hand side of the page, the text is outlined to the right of and underneath the diagram. The diagram is unusual in that the division between life and death is not from top to bottom, but from left to right. The diagram consists of a central area divided into two parts (N0 and S0) by two sets of double horizontal lines, in between is written: MEDIA. Around the central part are three rhomboid rings, the third (i.e. outermost) of which is empty. The central area (0) contains numbers and designations for the quality of life or death. The ring verging on the central area (1) contains designations for the quality of life or death, while the pertinent numbers are provided in ring 2. Overall, the diagram is compartmentalised into 8 parts (designated by the points of the compass): NW0, NE0 ME/DIA / VI/TA / Supra terram; N0 xi xii xiii xvi xvi i’ xx; NE1 MODICA VITA.; NE2 xxi . xviii . vii . ii . iii.; SE1 MAGNA VITA.; SE2 x . xxiii . xxvi . xix.; SW0, SE0 SVB/TERRA” / MO/DICA / MO/RS; S0 iii xv xix xxvi i’i; SW1 MAGNA MORS.; SW2 xxv . xxvii . xxx . xxviii.; NW1 MODICA MORS.; NW2 i. v . vi . ix . xii.

\(^{5}\)Supra terram] this is strange because the division is right/left rather than top/bottom. "SVB/TERRA] Ibid.

\(^{6}\)in uno] in -.
Comparison with other Apuleian Spheres reveals that this number is the numerical value for lunar phase 17. Some Spheres calculate the outcome on the basis of arbitrary numerical values for the lunar phases rather than the values of the lunar phases themselves. (cf. 2/7, 2/10, Riess 1891-93: 383, Wickersheimer 1914: 166-67). Neither 2/8 nor 2/13 incorporate a list of numerical values for the lunar phases.

This number stands for the numerical value of the name Achilles. The sum for Achilles’s name makes no sense, because the accusative AXYLLHYM adds up to 1+600+400+30+30+8+400+40 = 1509 (on these calculations, cf. notes to 2/2). Even if one or both upsilons (400) are counted as iotas (10), and/or eta (8) is counted as epsilon (5), AXYLLHYM does not give the number supplied, i.e. 1276. Since the reading 1276 is substantiated by the published Spheres, and by the calculations explained below, it must be correct. Note that Riess’s and Wickersheimer’s editions read Achilles and Achilles. AXYLLHYM would yield 1276 (1+600+400+30+30+5+10+200).

This example motivates the outcome of a struggle between an unknown person (hereafter X, Hector in Riess 1891-93: 383 and Wickersheimer 1914: 166) and Achilles. To do this, a calculation is needed in which the numerical value of the lunar phase is added to the values of the letters of the name. A list of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet is not needed, because the example employs Greek letters, which have a fixed value. The value for the lunar phase is 893 (see above), to which the value of the name Achilles, 1276, (see above) is added. The outcome of this sum is omitted in the text, but the editions by Riess (1891-93: 383) and Wickersheimer (1914: 166) mention 2169 (mmclxix, erroneously mmclxxviii in Wickersheimer). Factors of twenty-nine (not nineteen!, see above) are subtracted from the sum, which leads to Achilles = 23. If one consults the diagram, it transpires that Achilles is victorious over X.
De quacumque re scire uolueris ut consulere, ut puta de egris qua dies occurrerit ea die, & quota luna fuerit computa. & adde nomen eius secundum litteras infra scriptas. & sic in uno colligis. & partire per xxx. Et quicquid in spera remanserit in spera respicias. & sic inuenies. Et si sursum inueneris uiuet. si iussum morietur.

Parili modo cuius sit victoria. de his qui ad singularum certamen eunt. uerum etiam & causantium & negotiantium. uel aliarum similium terum. sic computa nomen iacentis. uel fugitui. uel contrarui cuiuslibet: adice haec numerum quem uideris adiacere presentis diebus lunæ. Collectum numerum diuide quotie(n)s potueris per xxx. & quod remanserit quære in organum ubi sit. Et si inueneris in magna uita uelociter resurgat. & si in media permultas dies egrotans saluabitur. Quod si in modica uita. tempus faciet resurgens. Si autem in morte media morietur infirmus. quod si in media luna compotus es. & is qui laborat subterra est periclitans saluabitur. si uno is qui laborat supra terram inuenitur. & luna subterra moritur, demonstrandi enim gratia. Pone lunam. esse xxvi. dierum. quibus & summam d(c)ccxciii. AXYLLHYM. m(c)clxvi. Diuide iterum per .(x)xix. & remanet unum. Veni ad organum & inuenies AXYLLHYM uictorem quia xxiii. habenTVR super terram unum autem subterra.

This diagram of a figure of life is placed between the first and second list of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet on fol. 49v. The figure holds a banner in his hands, the ends of which dangle to the ground. The banner depicts these numbers: i . ii . iii . vii . ix . x / xi . xiii . xvi . xix . xx . xxii . xxiii . xxvi. 

CLEAN IMAGE VIA OCR
This diagram of a figure of death is placed between the first and second list of numerical values for the letters of the alphabet, and those for the lunar phases. To the right and left of the head is written: MO/RS. The figure holds a banner in his hands, the ends of which dangle to the ground. The banner depicts these numbers: \( v \), \( vi \), \( viii \), \( xii \), \( xv \), \( xvi \), \( xxv \), \( xxi \), \( xxviii \), \( xxvii \), \( xxx \).

This rhomboid diagram is placed between the first fifteen numerical values for the lunar phases and the legs of the figure of death. The diagram is unusual in that some of the numbers for death are entered into the top half. The diagram consists of a central area divided into two parts (N0 and S0) by two horizontal lines, in between is written: SVB / TERRA. Around the central part are two rhomboid rings, the first (i.e. innermost) of which is empty and coloured. The central area (0) contains numbers and designations for the quality of life or death. Ring 2 contains designations for the quality of life or death, while the pertinent numbers are provided in the central area. Overall, the diagram is compartmentalised into 8 parts (designated by the points of the compass): NW2 MODICA VITA.; NW0 i ii iii vii viii; NE2 MAGNA VITA.; NE0 xix xx xxi xii xiii xxiii xiv; SE2 MAGNA MORS.; SE0 xii xxi xxv xxvii xxviii xxix xxx; S0 MEDIA MORS.; N0 x xi xii 'i' xii 'ii' x 'vi' xvi 'i'; SW2 MODICA MORS.; SW0 v vi vii xi xv xvi 'ii'.

\[\text{Diagram Mors}\]
This Apuleian Sphere consists of a diagram only. See Singer (1917: 121, fig. 1; 1928: 167, fig. 65; 1961: I.xxv, fig. 3), or Grattan and Singer (1952: 48, fig. 23) for a drawing of the diagram.

This compartmentalised circular diagram has three concentric rings around a central circle. The central circle (0) contains qualifications of life and death in Greek, and in Latin in the form of secret writing. The ring verging on the central circle (1) contains numbers. Ring 2 contains designations for the quality of life and death in Greek, while ring 3 contains the same in secret writing. Overall, the diagram is compartmentalised into 8 parts (designated by the points of the compass), the top half for life and the bottom half for death. Outside the diagram are Greek glosses in a later hand.

The numbers of the diagram are subdivided into groups designated by the Greek writing, as follows: W1-2 MHCOÌC; W0-E0 ÏPÔI ZOHC; / KPOΘANAΘOC.; NW0, NE0, SW0, SE0 NW3 c---rc:-l----s u / ï / c / m---r---s; E1-2 MHCOÌC; NW2 ZOH MIKPA; NW3 u---t: h---m---n / s; NW1 i . ii . ii' . iii . vii . ix . x.; N1-2 YoIPoHILo; N0 MECI ZOE. (xi xiii xvi xvii xix); NE2 ZOE MH'AAH.; NE3 u: t---c---t; NE1 xx . xxii . xxii' . xxvi . 'xxvii.' ""; SE2 ΘANAΘOC MIKPOC. ""; SE3 m---rs h---m---n---s; SE1 xxvii . xxix . xxx.; S1-2 YΠoHHYo; S0 MECOC TANATOC. (xv xviii xxi xxiii); SW2 ΘANAΘOC MH'AC; SW3 m---rs c---t; SW1 v . vi . viii . xii . xxv. The following glosses have been added at a later date outside the diagram (ring 4 for ease of reference): NW4 ãoµ, µiκρ; N4 ùπερτεiον; NE4 ãοη µεγάλη; S4 ùπότειν.

MIKPA] MICPA. ""'xxvii.'] transposed from NE0. ""'MIKPOC] MICPOC. 'YΠoHHYo] YΠoHHYo.
BIRTH, TEMPORAL, DEVELOPMENT OF THE FOETUS

3.1.1/1 London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fols 40v/18-41r/11

Her ongin⁴ secgan ymbe mannes gecynde⁵ hu he⁶ on his modor⁷ innoþe to men gewyrðed. ærest þæs mannes brægen bið geworden on his moder innoþe þonne biþ⁸ þæt brægen utan mid reaman⁹ bewefen on þære syxtan wucan.

On oðrum mondæ¹⁰ þa ædran¹¹ beoð geworden. on lvx. 7 þre o hundræd¹² scy(r)tran¹³ 7 lengran hi¹⁴ beoð todalede 7 þæt blod þonne flowed on þa fet 7 uppan þa handa. 7 he þonne byþ¹⁵ on limum todaled. 7 tosomme¹⁶ gea(r)wað.¹⁷

On þam þriddan¹⁸ monþe¹⁹ he biþ man butan sawle.
On þam feorþan monþe he bið¹⁵ on limum staþolfæst.

On þam fiftan monþe he biþ¹⁸ cwicu.¹⁹ 7 weaxed. 7 seo modur lið²⁰ witleas. 7 þonne þa ribb beoð geworden. þonne gelimpð þæra²¹ manigfeald sar þonne þæs byþnes²² lic on hire innoþe styrigende²³ bið.

On þam²⁴ syxtan monþe he byþ²⁵ gehyd. 7 ban beoð weaxende.
On²⁶ þam seofþan monþe þa tan. 7 þa fingras. beoð weaxende.

¹⁰scy(r)tran] emendation indicated in Cockayne (1861: 87), but scytran Cockayne (1864-66); scyrtan Deegan (1987); scyrtran Mitchell (1995).
¹⁶monþe] - || <fol. 41r>.
²⁴On þam] - (O)n þam, dittography, - iþam Cockayne (1861, 1864-66).
On þam eahtoþan monþe him beoð27 þa brestþping wexende. 7 heorte. 7 blod. 7 he bið eal
staþolfæstlice. geseted.

On þam niðoþan monþe witodlice wifum bið cuð28 hwæðer29 hi cennan magon.

On þam teoþan30 monþe þæt wif hit31 ne gedigð32 hyre33 feorre.34 gif þæt bearn accenned35 ne biþ.

forþam þe hit in þam magan wyrð hire36 to feorhadle37 oftost on tiwesniht.

32gedigð] gedigð Mitchell (1995), who invoked the verb gedicgan (‘to partake of’) with a transferred meaning ‘to escape
with’, whereas this is unnecessary in view of the manuscript reading gedigð, from gedigan (‘to survive, overcome, escape’).
34feorre] feor Deegan (1987). | hit ne gedigð hyre feorre] an echo of this phrase is found in the Dog Days text in Vitellius
Exviii (6/1); ‘hit sume heora feorre ne gedigð’.
BIRTH, TEMPORAL, THREE MIRACULOUS DAYS
ORDER: 1, 3, 2, 4-6

3.1.2/1 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 718/2-8

(D)ry¹ dagas synd on .xii.² monðum mid iii nihtum on ðam ne bið nan wif acenned 7 swa hwylc wæpman swa on ðam dagum acenned bið ne forealdeð his lichoma³ næfre on eorðan ær domesdæge

3.1.2/3 London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 15r/1-5¹

(D)ry dagas syndon on twelf monðum mid þrim niðrumオン ŋam ne bið) nan wif acenned² 7³ swa hwilc wæpman swa on ðam dagum acenned bið ne forealdeð his lichoma næfre on eorðan ær domesdæge. þet is an þære daga on æftewardan decembre 7 ii. on forewardan Januarií feawe men synd þe þas (dagas) cunan.

3.1.2/2 London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.xv, fol. 131r/5-11

Dreo dagas syndon on .xii. monðum mid þrim nihtum on ŋam ne bið nan wifmann akenned. 7 swa hwylc wæpnedmann on ŋam dagum akenned bið ne forrotað his lichoma næfre on eorðan ær ne

3.1.2/4 London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 42r/20-29

(D)ry dagas syndon on .xii. monðum mid iii nihtum on ŋam ne bið nan wif acenned 7 swa hwylc wæpman swa on ðam dagum acenned bið ne forealdeð his lichoma næfre on eorðan ær domesdæge. þet is an þære daga on æftewardan decembre 7 ii. on forewardan Januarií feawe men synd þe þas (dagas) cunan.

¹[D]ry¹ Dry Förster (1929) Liuzza (2001). Förster suggested that the initial D of the preceding line (i.e. the first letter of the last sentence of 9.2.5/1) properly belongs here, but this is unlikely in view of the fact that D is used as the initial of the preceding line and is therefore in the right place already.
²[D]ry... .xii.] the remainder (about half) of the line is left blank in the manuscript.
³lichoma] lichomo.
¹Margins damaged; text illegible on any medium except the manuscript itself.
¹december] dec(em)ber Cockayne (1864-66).
3.1.2/4 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422, pp. 49/8-12

In anno sunt. tres dies & tres noctes. in quibus si quis. homo. genitus. fuerit sine dubio corpus eius. integrum manebit. usque in diem. iudicii: hoc est vi kō aprilis. 7 idus. augustus 7 iīi kē februarius. 7 est
mirabile. misterium:

3 id est1 nouissimus de thebet. & duo primi de sabath.

3.1.2/5 London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fol. 4r/13-4v/1

Tres dies sunt in anno cum totidem noctibus ut fertur in quibus mulier nunquam nascitur. & uir qui natus fuerit in ipsis. nunquam corpus illius putredine soluetur (sed perdurabit) usque ad diem iudicii.

3 id est1 nouissimus de thebet. & duo primi de sabath.

3.1.2/6 Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 17, fol. 3va/36-41

Tres dies sunt in quoque2 anno cum tribus noctibus ut fertur2 in quibus mulierum nunquam3 nascitur. & uir si natus fuerit in ipsis nunquam corpus eius putredine soluetur. sed perdurabit usque ad diem iudicii. id est nouissimus de thebeth. & duo primi de sabath;

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1’est] - || <fol. 4v>.
BIRTH, TEMPORAL, DAY OF THE WEEK

3.1.3/1 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, p. 715/4-26

Gif mon bið acenned⁴ on sunnandæg oððe on nihte swa wer swa wif swa hweðer hit þonne bið nafað he na mycle sorge 7 he bið gesælig be his gebyrde.
3 Gif mon bið acenned on monandæg⁵ oððe on niht he bið manna góda gitsinge 7 lað 7 oft seoc 7 hunhal.
Gif on tiwesdæg oððe on niht bið acenned se bið æwfest 7 manþwære 7 gesibsum 7 manna leof.
6 Gif on wodnesdæg oððe on niht bið acenned se bið scearp⁶ on gewinne 7 wærwyrdre 7 grimful.
Gif on þurresdæg oððe on niht se bið gesælig 7 wifmannum leof gif hit wær bið 7 wif þægnum leof (gif) hit wif bið.
9 Gif mon bið acenned on frigidæg oððe on niht he bið awyried from munnum 7 he yfele craetfas leornad 7 he æfre bið yfelwyrdre 7 ôðra manna æhte srydeð⁷ 7 bið scort on västmum.
Gif mon bið acenned on sæternesdæg oððe on niht se gelimp dæda 7 biþ ealdorman be his gebyrdom 7 him beof men æfestgende⁸ ac se þeahwedre þa costunge þera æfestgendra manna he oferswided. 12

3.1.3/2 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, fol. 148v/19-149r/11

SWA hwilc man swa on sunnandæg. oððe on niht acenned bið. orsorglic e leofæð he. 7 bið fægger. Gif he on monandæg. oððe on niht acenned bið. he bið acweald fram munnum. lwede swa clæroc 3 swéfer he bið.

Gif he on tiwesdæg bið acenned. oððe on ða niht. se bið æwerd on his life. 7 bið manþwære. ¹ Gif he bið on wodnesdeig oððe on ða niht acenned. he bið scearp 7 biter. 7 swiðe wær on his wordum.
6 Gif he bið acenned on¹ þurresdæg oððe on þa niht. he bið swiðe gesibsum. 7 wæleði. 7 wel geweaxeþ. 7 he bið god lufiende. ¹ 7 eallis fram wifum.
Gif he bið acenned on frigendæg oððe on ða niht. he⁵ bið awerget f(r)am munnum. 7 he bið disicreafti.⁶ 9 7 f(r)am⁵ allum munnum he bið laþ. 7 æfre ifel þenceþ on his heortan. 7 he bið ðeof.⁸ 7 swiðe⁹

¹acenned] acennen.
²monandæg] munnandæg.
³scearp] -p < o.
⁴srydeð] i.e. strydeð.
⁵æfestgende] æfestgendra.
⁶manþwære] man þwære, so Cockayne (1864-66).
⁷dá] da.
⁸on] - || <fol. 149r>.
⁹lufiende] lufiend Cockayne (1864-66).
¹¹æ] wc.
¹²disicreafti] Cockayne read disi creafti and translated this with 'silly, and crafty', but see Förster (1912b: 300, n. 3).
¹³f(r)am] silently emended in Cockayne (1864-66).
¹⁴ðeof] deof Cockayne (1864-66).
¹⁵swiðe] swide.
ondenende. 7 he leng ne\textsuperscript{10} leofað; þonne\textsuperscript{11} on midre ilde.

Gif he bið acened on saternesdæg, oþðe on ða niht. his dæde beoð framlica.\textsuperscript{12} 7 he bið ealdorman swa weþer\textsuperscript{13} swa wif. swa wær\textsuperscript{14} he bið. tæla\textsuperscript{15} him gelimpeð. 7 lange he leofað:-

3.1.3/3 London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 65r/11-22

DE NATIVITATE INFANTVM.

Die dominico.\textsuperscript{1} hora diuturna\textsuperscript{2} siue nocturna utilissimus\textsuperscript{3} erit qui nascetur magnus\textsuperscript{que} & sp(l)endidus.\textsuperscript{4}
3 Die .ii. (feria) hora diuturna siue nocturna qui nascetur fortis erit omnibus rebus incipiendum bonum est.
Die .iii. feria. hora diuturna siue nocturna qui nascentur. fortis erunt\textsuperscript{5} & cupidi. & ferro peribunt. & uix ad ultimam perpetuam etatem omnibus rebus incipiendum bonum est.
Die .iii. feria. hora diuturna siue nocturna qui nascentur ad uerba dicenda plurimum. faciles erunt.
Die .v. feria. hora diuturna siue nocturna qui nascentur. affabiles & honorifici erunt. omnibus rebus incipiendum optimum est.
Die .vi. feria. hora diuturna siue nocturna qui nascentur\textsuperscript{6} utiles erunt. & luxuriosi. omnibus rebus incipiendum bonum est.
12 Die sabbato. hora diuturna siue nocturna qui nascentur rare utiles erunt nisi cursus lune contulerit.

\textsuperscript{10}leng ne] lengne.
\textsuperscript{11}þonne] þonn Cockayne (1864-66).
\textsuperscript{12}framlica] franlica; Cockayne (1864-66) suggested fragenlica.
\textsuperscript{13}weþer] wewer.
\textsuperscript{14}wær] ware, so Cockayne (1864-66).
\textsuperscript{15}tæla] the emendation into falsa proposed by Förster (1912b: 300-301, n. 13) was reversed in Förster (1912c: 49).
\textsuperscript{1}Die dominico] Die d- on erasure.
\textsuperscript{2}diuturna] read diurna in all instances.
\textsuperscript{3}utilissimus] uti illimus; utilis Liuzza (2001).
\textsuperscript{4}sp(l)endidus] silently emended Liuzza (2001).
\textsuperscript{5}fortes erunt] fortis erint.
\textsuperscript{6}qui nascentur] nascentes.
De natiuitate\(^1\) Infantium

Die dominico\(^2\) hora diuturna.\(^3\) Siue\(^4\) nocturna utilis\(^5\) erit qui nascetur magnus\(^6\) & splendidus.

\(^3\) diuturna\(^7\) read diurna in all instances.

Die .ii. feri\(^8\)a hora diuturna siue nocturna\(^9\) qui nascentur fortes erunt\(^10\) & cupidi. & ferro peribunt & uix ad ultimum\(^11\) aetatem omnibus rebus incipiendum bonum est.

Die .iii. feri\(^12\)a hora diuturna siue nocturna\(^13\) qui nascentur ad ueria dicenda plurimum faciles erunt.

Die .v. feri\(^14\)a hora diuturna siue nocturna qui nascentur affabies & honorifici erunt omnibus rebus incipiendum\(^15\) optimum est.

Die .vi. feri\(^16\)a hora diuturna siue nocturna qui nascentur\(^17\) rare utiles erunt. & luxuo\(^18\) siue nocturna qui nascentur\(^19\) rare utiles erunt nisi cursus lune contulerit.

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\(^1\) natiuitate\(^1\) nati[\^]uitate.

\(^2\) dominico\(^2\) domenico Liuzza (2001).

\(^3\) diuturna\(^3\) read diurna in all instances.

\(^4\) Siue\(^4\) sine Birch (1878).

\(^5\) utilis\(^5\) uti\(^6\) Birch (1878) Liuzza (2001).

\(^6\) no\(^7\)cturna\(^7\) no\(^8\)cturna Birch (1878).

\(^8\) feri\(^8\)a Birch (1878) Günzel (1993).

\(^9\) Siue\(^9\) nocturna - siue, so Birch (1878).

\(^10\) rebus incipiendum\(^10\) incipiendum rebus, so Birch (1878) Günzel (1993).

\(^11\) diuturna... nascentur - not in Birch (1878).

\(^12\) incipiendum... est - not in Birch (1878).

\(^13\) diuturna... nascentur - not in Birch (1878).

\(^14\) utiles - not in Birch (1878).

\(^15\) luxus\(^15\) siue Birch (1878).

\(^16\) incipiendum... est - not in Birch (1878).

\(^17\) utiles - not in Birch (1878).

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Die dominico hora diuturna sue nocturna qui nascentur utilli(ssi)mi erunt & magni;
Die .i. feteria qui nascentur fortes erunt. omnibus rebus incipiendis bonum est;
3 Die .ii. feteria qui nascentur fortes & cupidi. & ferro peribunt. & uix ad senilem etatem
peruenient omnibus rebus incipiendis bonum est.
Die .iii. feteria qui nascentur ad uerba dicenda multum faciles erunt;
6 Die .v. feteria qui nascentur affabiles erunt & honorifici omnibus rebus incipiendis bonum est;
Die .vi. feteria. qui nascentur utiles erunt & luxuriosi; Die sabbato qui nascentur raro utiles erunt nisi cursus lunœ contulerit;

BIRTH, NON-TEMPORAL, BEHAVIOUR OF THE MOTHER

3.2/1 London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fols 42v/9-43r/2

Eft is oðer wise be þissum þingum þe þu meht witan on bearneacenum wife hweþeres cynnes bearn
heo cennan sceal. gif heo gæð late 7 hæþ hole eagan heo cenneð cnih t. gif heo hraðe gæþ 7 hafað
apundene eagan heo cenneð mædencild. 3
Eft oðer wise genim þa twa wyrta on hand þæt is lilie. 7 rose. ber to bearneacenum wife hat niman þæra
wyrta swa hweþeres swa heo wille gif heo nimð lilian he(œ) cend cnyht gif heo nimð1 rosan heo
caðn mæden.2
Eft oðer craeft be þon gif þæt wif mid þam helum stæped swiðor on þa eorðan heo cenneð cnyht gift heo mid þam tan1 stæped swiðor on þa eorðan heo cenneð mæden.
Eft is oðer wise. gif þam wife bið þæt hrif upastigen heo cenneð cnyht. gif hit byþ nyþer asigen heo
cenneþ mæden.
Eft oðer wise gif wif bið bearneacen feower monode ofþe fife 7 heo þonne gelome eted hnyte ofþe
æceran ofþe ðæne niwe bleda þonne gelimpeð hit hwilum þurh þæt þet þæt cild biþ disig.
Eft is oðer wise be þon gef(heo) eted ðæres flæsc oððe1 rammes ofþe buccan ofþe þærres ofþe hanan
ofþe ganran ofþe ðænes þara3 neata þe strynan með þonne gelimpeð hit hwilum þurh þæt þæt
þæt cild bið hoferode 7 healede.

1 Each entry starts on a new line.
6 luxuriosi] -xuriosi; written three lines above for lack of space, transposition indicated.
1 nimð ni- m.
2 mæden] m- < a.
3 tan] [s]tan.
4 odde] o < a.
5 para] < fol. 43r>.
BLOODLETTING, TEMPORAL, DAY OF THE WEEK

4/1 London, British Library, Sloane 475, fols 135v/4-13

Incipiunt ora se quod. sanguinem\(^2\) minuare debes.
in primis die dominico hora .ii. & vi. &\(^3\) nona. bonum est.

3 Die lunis \textit{hora} .iii. &\(^4\) .primis. &\(^5\) .xi. bonum est.
Die martius. \textit{hora} .iii. & .vii. & x. bonum est.

Die mercur\textit{(ius)} .iii. \textit{hora} .iii. & vii. x bona est.

6 Die iouis.\(^6\) \textit{hora} .iii. & octaua. & .x. bonum est.

Die ueneris.\(^7\) \textit{hora} .v. & .octaua bonum est.

Die sabato. \textit{hora} .ii. viii. bonum est

9 quod om\textit{(n)i tempore. obseruandi sunt;}\(^8\)

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\(^1\) The entries for Tuesday to Saturday start on new lines.
\(^2\) sanguinem\] sanguinum \textit{Liuzza (2001).}
\(^3\) .ii. & vi. &\] & displayed as S in manuscript; ii\textit{ vi\textit{ Liuzza (2001).}
\(^4\) .iii. &\] & displayed as S in manuscript; . iii\textit{ Liuzza (2001).}
\(^5\) & displayed as S in manuscript; s \textit{Liuzza (2001).}
\(^6\) iouis\] ianis.
\(^7\) ueneris\] ueteris.
\(^8\) tempore. obseruandi sunt\] tenpore. obseruam dissunt.
BRONTOLOGY, TEMPORAL, CANONICAL HOURS (NIGHT OFFICE)

5.1.1.1/1 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, p. 714/5-10

Gif þunor cumde on forantniht se cyðeð hwylcehwugu deðlicnesse towearde
Gifð he cymð on middeniht sé becnad halie saule ofer worulde farende
3 Gif he on dæg cumð sé kyðeð kininges gebyrd oððe biscope

BRONTOLOGY, TEMPORAL, CANONICAL HOURS (DAY OFFICE)

5.1.1.2/1 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, pp. 714/19-715/3

Gif ðunor (cumð) æt þære þriddan tide dæges he tacnað godes gast cumende þis middaneard to
neosianne 7 to blisianne.
3 Gif þunor cumð æt þære vi tide dæges he becnad æhtnesse cristes folces
Gif ðunor cumð æt þære ix tide dæges se becnad gesib 7 genihtsumnesse
Gif þunor cumð æt þære x tide dæges from gode. oððe from mannum sé becnad ege in þam folce
6 Gif þunor cumð æt þære xii tide dæges hrohnessa 7 stormas se becnad.

BRONTOLOGY, TEMPORAL, (NON-CANONICAL) HOURS

5.1.2/1 London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 37r/12-37v/4

gif hit þunrað on tide æfen hit getacnað acennednysse sumes miceles
Si tonitruauerit hora uespertina. signifcat natuitatem cuiusdam magni.
3 gif on forman nihte tide hit getacnað cwealm
Si prima noctis hora: significat mortalitatem.
gif on tide þriddan nihte getacnað ytre drihten oððe dom his on middanearde
6 Si hora tertia noctis. significat iram domini uel iudicium eius in mundo.
gif on tide fiftan midre nihte hit getacnað sumne sweg utgangende of wurulde oððe wrace on
Si hora quinta medië noctis: significat aliquem somum egredientem. de seculo uel u(i)ndictam in

1cyðeð] c[-]lyðeð.
1towearde] towea[.]rde.
1Gif] Gif[-].
1þunor] þunor[.].
1mannum] - || <p. 715>.
2getacnað] getacnad, -n- < a; not emended Liuzza (2004).
2tertia] tercia Förster (1908a).
2fiftan] þriddan.
9  middangearde
   mundo.
   gif on angrede hit getacnað gefoht 7 gete blodes
12  Si gallicantu significat bellum & effusionem sanguinis.
   gif on tide dargred hit getacnað gebyrdtide cyninges6
   Si hora matutina significat natiuitatem regis.
15  gif on tide upganges sunnan getacnað þeode same togedere cumenne to geleafan cristes
   Si hora ortus solis significat gentem aliquam conuenientem ad fidem christi.
   gif on tide þære syxtan (<dæges>) getacnað gydwildu arisende on middanerde 7 ehtnysse cristenra
18  Si hora .vi. diei significat hereses surgentes in mundo & persecutionem christianorum
   fram gode gefoht
   a deo permissam.
21  gif on tide seofoðan þunrað of gewylcum deale heofonas væstm 7 genihtsumnyse micle towerde
   Si hora .vii. tonitruauerit de quacumque parte celi fructum & ubertatem magnam futuram
   getacnað 7 significat.
24  gif on tide þære ehtoþa þunrað fram deale middæges7 getacnað genihtsumyse laf 7 eles 7 cwyld on
   Si hora .viii. tonitruauerit a parte meridiane significat habundantiam panis & olei & cladem in
   heordum 7 fyþerfetu
   armentis & quadrapedibus.
27  gif on tide non þunrað fram norððæle8 awendincge9 þeoda 7 wæpna geruxlu 7 niwe
30  Si hora .ix. tonitruauerit ab aquilone mutationes gentium10 & armorum strepidus & nouos
   torynas folca getacnað
   concursus populorum significat.
33  gif on tide (teoþa) þunrað fram eastdæle ryras buruga getacnað
   Si hora .x. tonitruauerit ariente11 rui(n)as urbium significat.
   gif on tide æftemystan dæges reohnysse on se 7 bodung gefohtes getacnað
36  Si hora nouissima diei, tempestatem in mari. & nuntium belli significat.
   gif on midre nihte þunorrad gedon bið ungor micene getacnað
   Si media nocte tonitruum factum fuerit famem magnam12 significat.

7middæges] - seems to wrongly gloss meridiane, but see Korhammer (1985: 258).
8norððæle] -l- < n.
9awendincge] awendiicge; awenduce Förster (1908a), corrected Förster (1910: 55, n. 5).
10gentium] -p [fol. 37v].
11oriente] oriatate.
12magnam] -a2- < u.
5.1.2/2 London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fols 9v/14-10v/9

De tonitruis dierum vel noctium¹
Si tonauerit² hora uespertina significat nativitatem cuiusdam³ magni.
3 (S)i prima. noctis hora significat⁴ mortalitatem.
Si hora .iiii. noctis significat⁵ iram domini. vel iudicium eius in mundo.
Si hora .v. medie⁶ noctis. significat aliquem sonum⁷ egredientem de seculo. vel uindictam in mundo.
6 Si gallicantu. significat bellum & effusionem sanguinis.
Si hora matutina. significat nativitatem regis.
Si hora ortu solis. significat gentem aliquam conuenientem ad fidem christi.
9 Si hora vi. diei. significat hereses surgentes in mundo & persecutionem christianorum a deo permissam.
Si hora .vii. tonauerit de quacunque celi fructum & ubertatem magnam futuram significat.
Si hora .viii. tonauerit a parte meridiane. significat habundantium panis & olei & cladem⁸ in armentis & quadrupedibus.
12 Si hora ix. tonauerit ab aquilone mutationes gentium & armorum strepitus & nouos concursus populous significat.
15 Si hora x. tonauerit ab oriente ruinas urbiur significat:
Si hora nouissima diei. tempestatem in mari. & nuntium belli significat.
Si media nocte⁹ tonitruum factum fuerit. famem magnam⁹ significat.¹⁰

¹noctium] trium, so Birch (1878).
⁴significat] – ]; <fol. 10r>.
⁵medie] medie Birch (1878).
⁷cladem] – ]; <fol. 10v>.
⁸nocte] -o- < e.
¹⁰Günzel (1993: 33) remarked that the last two entries of the text probably are misplaced. The ‘media nocte’ entry should have been positioned after ‘hora .v. medie noctis’ (i.e. the midnight hour after the fifth hour of night), and the one of ‘hora nouissima diei’ after ‘hora ortus solis’ (i.e. the first hour of day after sunrise). A fourteenth-century analogue printed in Liuzza (2004: 17, n. 56) omitted the final entry, but the entry on ‘hora nouissima diei’ comes last. If Günzel is right, therefore, the error must have been widespread.
BRONTOLOGY, TEMPORAL, DAY OF THE WEEK

5.1.3/1 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, pp. 713/20-714/5

On anweardne gear gif hit þunreð ærest on sunnandæg sé becnæð kyninges oðde bisco pes dæð oðde maðige ealdermen on þam geare sweltað.
3 Gif þunor bið gehered on monandæg sé becnæð blodesgyte on sume ðeade.
Gif on tiwesdaeg bið gehered waestmas beoð gewanode.
Gif on wodnesdæg biþ gehyred ñé becnæð landbegengena cwealm
6 Gif on þunresdæg bið gehyrred becnað wifa hryre.
Gif on frigedæg geþunrað þonne getacnað þet nytena cwealm.
Gif on sæternesdæg geþunrað þet tacnað demena 7 gerefena cwealm.

5.1.3/2 London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 40r/22-40v/5

On anweardan geare. Gif se forma þunor cymð on sunnandæge. þonne tacnað þet cynnebearna cwealm.
3 Gif hit on monandaige þunrige þonne tacnað þet micelne blodgyte on sumre þeade.Ø
Gif hit on tiwesdaig þunrige. þet tacnað waestma geswefrune.
Gif hit on wodnesdaig þunrige. þet tacnað landbigengena cwealm. 7 cæftigra.
6 Gif hit on þunresaig þunrað. ñet tacnað wifmanna cwealm.
Gif hit on frigedaig þunrige. ñet tacnað sædeora cwealm.
Gif hit on sæternesdæg þunrige. ñet tacnað demena 7 gerefena cwealm.

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¹bið gehered] hyered hered.
²gehyyred] gehy[er]ed.
³becnað landbegengena] becland begena; - || <p. 714>.
⁴anweardan] -a, ñ< e.
⁶þeade.] þeode Cockayne (1864-66), Liuzza (2004); - || <fol. 40v>.
⁸sædeora] On these animals, see the description of weekday brontologies in section 3.2.1.
⁹þunrige] -g- < e.
5.1.3/3 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, fol. 150v/1-9

ON anwardne ger gyf hyt þunrie (ærest) on sunandæg. þonne tæcanð þæt weder cynebearn acweald byð. 3
7 on oðerne: þonne tæcanð þæt micelne blodesgyte in sumere þeode. 4
Gyf on tiwesdegg þunrieð. þonne tæcneð þæt westmas geswidunge. 
Gyf on wodnesdægg þunrie. þonne tæcneð þæt landbigengene cwælum. 6
Gyf on þunresdægg þunrieð. þæt tæcneð wifmannæ cwælum.
Gyf on frigedægg þunrieð. þonne tæcneð þæt seodeora cwælum.
Gyf on sæternesdægg þunrieð. þonne tæcneð þæt demena 7 gerefena cwælum:-

5.1.4/1 London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 103v/9-25

Emb þunre 5
On Ianuarius monðe gyf hit þunred: hit bodeð toeward mycele windes. 7 wel gewænde eorðe wæstme. 
3 7 gefiht.
On maius monðe: hit bodeð mycele windes. 7 wæstmes wel gewaende. 7 folc unsehte.
6 On april: hit bodeð blisful gear. 7 yfelre manna deað.
On Mai hit bodeð hunger gear.
On lunius monðe: hit bodeð mycele windes. 7 wulfene wodnysse: 7 leona.
9 On Iulius monðe: hit bodeð wæstme wel gewaende. 7 oref forfæð.
On hærfest: hit bodeð god gear. 7 mæn sicelið.
On Setembre: hit bodeð god gear. 7 ac ‘ricere manna slege.
12 On Octobre. hit bodeð mycelne wind 7 wæstme toeward 7 treowena wæstme gæsne.
On Nouembre. hit bodeð blisfull gear. 7 wæstme toeward.
On december: hit bodeð god gear on tilðe. 7 sibb. 7 sehte.

---

1sunandæg] sunandæg Cockayne (1864-66), but what Cockayne regarded as an accent in fact belongs to the letter æ itself.
2acweald] acweald, so Cockayne (1864-66).
3weder... byð] the predictions for the entries of Sunday and Monday have been exchanged to make them accord with the readings from texts 5.1.3/1 and 5.1.3/2.
4micelne... þeode] see previous note.
5wodnesdægg geþunrie] wodnes degg þunrie Cockayne (1864-66).
6landbigengene] land bigengene, so Cockayne (1864-66).
7gerefena] gerestena, so Cockayne (1864-66).

1A marginal note in a post-medieval hand (Talbot?) reads: (pr)ognosticon tonitr. A post-medieval hand (Nowell?) has underlined several words (see also text 17/2).
2Emb þunre] – outlined to the end of ll. 9-10; title not in Liuzza (2001).
4‘ac’] 7.

309
5.1.4/2 London, British Library, Royal 2.B.v, fol. 190r/10-190v/7

Si tonitrum fuerit in mense ianuario multe conuentiones sunt una de ouibus alia de homi(ni)bus.iii. de peccoribus.iii. de lignis. v. de equis timendum est hoc tonitrum.

3 Si tonitrum fuerit in mense februario ad aurem pertinet uel ad alia qui referuntur in aliam areas 7 semen pertenent.2

Si tonitrum fuerit in mense mattio timendum est qui ab eo exspectatur mortalitas uel iudicium.

6 Si tonitrum erit in mense aprilis semina periclitantur uel nabes.

Si tonitrum fuerit in mense maio pluaue magne erit uel erba uel semina pululabunt.6

Si tonitrum fuerit in mense iunio homines pericletantur uel ligna.

9 Si tonitrum fuerit in mense iulio pisces pericletantur.

Si tonitrum erit in mense agusto bilue uel reptilia pericletantur.

Si tonitrum erit in mense septembris uituli mori e’tur.9

12 Si tonitrum erit in mense octobris motrantur aure.

Si tonitrum erit in mensis. novembris obes crescunt.

BRONTOLOGY, NON-TEMPORAL, COMPASS DIRECTION

5.2/1 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, p. 714/10-19

Gif þunorraid bið hlyndene of eastdale se becnað cyninges dead oddō biscope oddē mycel gefeoht. Gif he bið suð gehered se becnað cininges wifes cwealm.

3 Þonne þunor cumede west oddō ma bið medena þonne cnihta þy geare2 ácenned3 Se norðþunor becnað scepa dead 7 cealfra4 7 geogoðe.

Gif þunor bið mycel east oddē norðeast mycel væstm bið 7 god on riptid

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1 februaria febrario Liuzza (2004: 8).
2 pertinet pertinet Liuzza (2004: 8).
3 Si -i.
4 timendum timedum Liuzza (2004: 8).
5 maio maio.
6 pululabunt pululabtur Liuzza (2004: 8).
7 fuerit - fol. 190v
8 bilue read belue.
9 mori e’tur e u (not expunged).
10 Si -i.
11 Si -i.
12 oddō odd Förster (1908a), Liuzza (2004).
13 geare geate.
14 ácenned partly illegible through hole.
15 cealfra cealfa Förster (1908a).
DOG DAYS
ORDER: 1-3, 12, 20, 14, 18-19, 24-25, 4-11, 13, 15-17, 21-23, 26-27, 27α

6/1 London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius Ex.viii, fol. 13r/27-37

Eahtatina nihtum ær hlafmæsson gangeð se styrra up (se is gehaten) canes. ðæt is se hāra steorra (he) bið firenre gecynde 7 weallend(e. hi bœoð þurh) þære sunnan hátu 7 þæs steorran to þam swiþe getwifезд(e þæt hi scinað) swa swiðe on middeniht swa on midne dág. And hira li(ßaman weaxad) 7 swellað. 7 hwilton berståð þæra daga bœoð þreo 7 ðif(tig þæt se steorra) biþ upp. þorþam byþ æghwic man þe unhalre þe him (blod lœte on þissum) dagum 7 hit sume heora feore ne gedigad.2 And nele nan man (æt nanre) tide þe riht cann in þa tid mannun blod lœtan. And eallum criste(n)mannun on þa tid is blodlœtincg forboden. eahtatina nihtum ær hlafmæsson 7 (fi)f 7 þrittig nihta ofer hlafmæsson. 

dagas dies ca ......g……i……e○ ...... þa hwi(le) ......3


Incipit liber qui dicitor peri didaxeon.

(H)er onginþ seo boc3 peri didaxê`e`on. ðæt ys seo swytelung hu fela gera wæs4 behuded se læcercraeft. 

3 7 be his gewitnesse5 þa gelæredus[þan] læce gewíslice smeadon. ðæt was5 se ærusta apollo. 7 his suna 
esculapfius 7 asclepius: 7 asclepius was ypocrates y`e´m. þeos .iii. gemetum ærest þa getymbrunga þære læcercraeft. after noes flode. ymba a6 þusund wintra.7 7 fiftig nihta ofer hlafmæsson. 

45 esculap fíus 7 asclepius: 7 asclepius was ypocrates ye`m. þeos .iiii. gemetuærest þa getymbru ngà ðære læcercraeft. G iwislica se ærest þa getym bru 

6 cinga8 hy aluste þæa leoh þæra læcercraefte. Giwislica se apollon ærest he gemetta9 melpodicam. ðæt syndon sa ysene þa mann. mid cnifun hæle menn. 7 (e)scaufius:10 empitricam.11 ðæt is læcununga of læcercraeft.12 7 asclepius: loicam. ðæt ys seo gehealdenyssse þære æ. 7 þæs lifes.13 7 ypocras t`h`eo ricam. 

9 ðæt ys foreseeawunga þara seoocnesse. ðannum plateau 7 aristotiles þa gelæredusþan alwytyna.14 ðæs

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1 Margins damaged; text at right-hand and bottom margin illegible because lost. Text supplied is based on Henel (1934-35).
2 hit sume heora feore ne gedigad] an echo of this phrase is found in the text 3.1.1/1 on the development of the foetus (in Tibertius A.iii): hit ne gedigð hyre feore.
3 dagas dies ca ......g……i……e○ ...... þa hwi(le) ......] the bottom line is extensively damaged. It is impossible to reconstruct the original reading. Henel (1934-35) suspected that the last passage was a moonbook.
4 Margins damaged.
5 boc] the remainder of the line is left blank, probably for a rubric.
6 waxe] - ∥ <fol. 52r>.
7 gewitnesse] gewisnesse, so Cockayne (1864-66).
8 was] wat.
9 a) - [sun] (expunged); Cockayne (1864-66) read áá.
10c] his suna Lœweneck (1896); in the margin: circa mille annos.
11c] his suna Lœweneck (1884-66).
12c] his suna Lœweneck (1896).
13e] his suna Lœweneck (1896).
14alwytyna] alwytyna Cockayne (1864-66), Lœweneck (1896).
æfterfylígdun: 15 þan forewordedan. læcum. 7 hi gesæddun. 17 þæt feower vætun syndon on þan manniscen lichama. forþam byð wylyd. ealswa middangeardes boga. þat ys þa wæte: on þan heafode.

12 7 þæt blod: on þara breosta. 7 se ruwa gealla: on þan innoþe. 7 se swerta gealle innan dare blædran And hyra an (ra) geh(w)ylice 19 rixaþ ðra monþas. þæt ys fram xviii. 19 kl. Ianuarii usque in viii. 20 kl. aprilis þæt on þan heafde fæte 21 byð wexende And 22 fram xviii. 23 kl. Iulii. þæt ðæt blod þip wexínde on þan breosten. Ab xviii. kl. Iulii usque in octaua(m) kl. octobris. 24 þæt sa ruwa gealle byð wexenda. on þan innoþe. forþam synd þa dages 25 genemned. 26 cínnotici. þæt sindan þæt dages caliculares 7 þara byð 27 ¿f 7 feowertig. dæga. 7 on þan dægan 28 ne mæg nan læce wel don fullum ænigen seoce manne. And 29 þæt foððan gescornesse ys ab xviii. kl. octobris. usque in viii. kl. Ianuarii þæt se blace gealle wixt. on þara bladre. Þis gescead ys hæfter þam feowrere heofenes. 7 eorðan. 7 þara lyfte.

7 þara dupnesse. Pa wæs ealswa drihte licede. ealswa was se man geset. þæt þær þara smægunga. 7 þære 31 endbirnesse. Vtan nu nymen 32 æyrst gewíslice þane fruman of þan heafde.

6/3 London, British Library, Royal 12.D.xvii, fols 5v/20-6r/13 (in table of contents), 54v/19-55v/19 (text) 1

.lxxii 2 Læcedomas on hwilce tid blod sie to forganne on hwilce to forlætenne 7 hu sie 3 attres ful si lyft on hlafmesse tid. 7 be drenccum 7 utforíum on þam monþe 7 þæte wyrra on þam monðe sind to 3 wy 1r 6ce. Romane 7 eall suðfoc worhton hím eorþhus wið þære unlyfte. 7 hu món scyle blodlæse on þæra sex fifa ælcon on þæs monan eldo forgan on þætigüm nihta 7 hwonne betst to lætanne. 7 giff bloddol 6 yfelige. 7 giff þu wille on snide blod forlætan oþþ þe on ædre. oððe giff þu ne mæge bloddol áwriþan. oþþ giff þu ne mæge geotend ædre awriþan on þære sex fifa ælcon on þæs monan eld o forgan on þri tigüm nihta 7 hwonne betst to lætanne. 7 giff bloddol 6 yfelige. 7 giff þu wille on snide blod forlætan oþþ þe on ædre. oððe giff þu ne mæge bloddol áwriþan. oþþ giff þu ne mæge geotend ædre awriþan on þære sex fifa ælcon on þæs monan eld o forgan on þri tigüm nihta 7 hwonne betst to lætanne. 7 giff bloddol 6 yfelige. 7 giff þu wille on snide blod forlætan oþþ þe on ædre. oððe giff þu ne mæge bloddol áwriþan. oþþ giff þu ne mæge geotend ædre awriþan on þære sex fifa ælcon on þæs monan eld o forgan on þri tigüm nihta 7 hwonne betst to lætanne.
LXXII.  

9 On hwilce tid blod sie to forganne on hwilce to lætene. Blodlæs is to forganne fiftyn nihtum ær hlafmæssé 7 æft 7 þritig nihtum forþon þonne ealle æterno þing fleogap 7 mannum swiðe deriað. Læcas lædon þa þe wistose wæron þat nan man on þam monpe ne drenc ne druncne ne awær his lichoman wanige butan his nydþearf wære: 7 þonne on middeldagum inne gewunode forþon þe sio lyft biþ þonne swiþpost gemenged.//

Romane him forþon 7 ealle sudfolc warthon eorþhus for þære lyfte wylme 7 æternesse. Ëc seçgeæð læcas þætte geblowerne wyrta þonne sien betste to wyrrecne ge to drécnum ge to seallfum ge to duste.

Hu môn scule blodlæse on þara six fifa zélcüm on monde forgan 7 hwonne hit betst sie. Læcas lærad eác þat nan mán on þone ðif nihta caldne monan eft x. nihta 7 fiftyne 7 twentiges 7 ðif 7 twentiges 7 þritiges nihta ealdne monan ne læte blod ac betweox þara sex fifa zélcüm. 7 nis nan blodlæstid swa god swa on foreweardne lencten þonne þa yfelan wætan beþ ðe gegaderode þe on wintra gedruncene beð 7 on kalendas<fol. 55v> aprillis ealra selest þonne treow 7 wyrta ærest úp spryttada þonne weaxed sio yfele gillestre 7 þat yele blod on þam holcum þæs lichoman.  

Gif monnes bloddolh yfelige gením þonne geormentæle awylle on wætre 7 beþe mid. 7 gecnua niþporeanæde lege on.  

24 Gif þu wille on snide blod forlætæn nım ceteles hrummegn to duste scead on þa wunde. Gením rigenhelm eft 7 beren gebørn to duste. Gif þu ne mæge bloddolh æwirþan gením horses toði niwe adringe on sunnan oððe be fyre geògnid to duste swiþe wel lege þat dust swiþe þicce on linenne clæð wuþ mid þu þat blodlæst smæsterne.

Gif þu geotend ædre ne mæge æwirþan gením þat selfe blod þe ofyrнд gebærn on hatum stane 7 gegnig to duste lege on þa ædre þat dust ’7’ awrið swiþe.  

30 Gif món æt blodlætan on sinwe beslea meng tosommen wæx 7 píc 7 sceapen smera lege on clæð 7 on þat dolh.//

6/12 London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fol. 4v/2-17

Quali tempore aperienda sit uena

Inciplente ortu canis. uel arcturi adque siria stella quod tempus. Incipiunt a xv. klagiust. usque (in) non septembris. & sunt dies numero l. unde omnes qui (in) hoc tempore sanguine(m) detraxerint insaniores. redduntur. Multos periculosae mors sequitur. De hoc autem ideo medici tacuerunt quia causam dierum istorum ignorauerunt. Sed nos cunctis christianis interdicimus.

4. LXXII. start of text proper.  
6. forganne - || <fol. 55r>.  
7. þone þon Cockayne (1864-66).  
8. monan monar Leonhardi (1905).  
9. gegaderode - || <fol. 55v>.  
10. kalendas calendae Leonhardi (1905).  
11. Gif a nota sign has been entered into the margin, running from - to the end of the paragraph.  
12. Ibid.  
13. món a diacritic sign over - is linked to one next to a nota sign in the margin.  
15. ortu canis artucanis, so Birch (1878) Günzel (1993).  
16. detraxerint detraxerunt Birch (1878).  

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DE FLEBOTOMATIONE.1 MENSIS. AGVSTI.2

Incipiente3 ortu canis uel ar’c’turi4 atque siri(a) stella. quod tempus incipit ‘a’ .xv. k agus’t i5 usque in nona septembris. Et sunt dies numero .l. Vnde omnes qui in hoc tempore sanguinem detraxerint: insaniores redduntur. multos6 periculosula mors sectatur:7 eo quod mediici insciorm8 causam tamen adtendentes rationem ‘ignorantes’9 quia hoc cunctis interdi’ ci’mus christianis.

6 QVALI TEMPORE10 APERIENDA SIT VENA.

Quando uena aperienda sit .iii.(i). luna erit saluberrima. & xiii. luna erit bona. 7 xxiii. accipienda est. Caue tibi .v. luna. 7 x. & xv. & xx. & xxv. neconon. 7 xxx. Caute secundum dictum antiquorum medicorum catarticum.11 uel. f’l’eb’o’tomum 12 periculosum est accipere.

6/14 London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvii, fols 22v/16-23r/8

Est etiam istorum temporum obseruanda ratio. ne forte aquopiam1 heçdem suprascripte 2 medicine3 incautius exerceantur. hoc est ab exortu canicule qui est a xv. kl augusti. usque in nonas septembris dies quinquaginta numero. Solet namque id sepissime contingere. ut in his flebotomati infirmitates4 non minuant. sed eas grauissimis doloribus augent. adeo ut plerosque periculosula mors per hec subsequatur. Sunt etiam hae lunationes summa cum diligentia adtendendæ. ne in eis suprascripte causæ exerceantur. 6 id est quarta quintaque luna necne decima ac quinta decima. uigessima quoque neconon uigessima quinta tricessimaque Autenticorum in his medicorum cohentur diuersorum potionum dictione. seu flebotomatum usus adhibenda.

3Incipiente] I[I]incipiente.
4ar’c’turi -i < [.].
5agus’ti i -i < s.
6multos] multis, -i- < o.
7sectatur] - || <fol. 124r>.
8isciorn] on erasure.
9ignorantes’) in left margin, transposition indicated.
11catarticum] glossed by Old English spiwdrenc.
12f’l’eb’o’tomum] -’o’- < e (expunged).
1aquopiam] -q- < u.
2suprascripte] -c- < -. 
4infirmitates] - || <fol. 23r>.
6/18 London, British Library, Harley 3271, fol. 120v/20-121r/4

Est etiam istorum temporum obseruanda ratio. Ne forte aquopiam eodem suprascripte medicinæ incautius exerceantur. hoc est ab exortu canicule qui est a xv. kl. Augusti. usque in nonas septembris. dies .l. numero. Solet namque id sepissime contingent ut in his flebotomatì infirmitates non minuant. sed eas grauissimis doloribus a‘u´gea`n ´t: adeo ut plerosq. mors per hêc subsequeatur.

Sunt etiam hê lunationes summa cum diligentia adtendendo. ne in eis suprascripte cause exerceantur. id est quarta quintaque luna. Necne decima ac quinta decima .xx. quoque Necnon xxv. tricessimaque. Autenticorum in his medicorum cohibentur diuersorum potionum dictione. seu flebotomatum usus adhibenda.3

6/19 London, British Library, Harley 3271, fol. 122v/7-19

DE DIEBVS CANICVLRIBVS.

Est etiam istorum temporum obseruanda ratio: ne forte aquópiam eœdem1 suprascripte medicinæ incautius exerceantur. hoc est ab exortu canicule, qui est a xv. kl. Augusti. usque in. NON septembris. dies .l. numero. Solet namque ‘id’ sepissime contingere. ut in his flebotomatì infirmitates non minuant: sed eas grauissimis doloribus a‘u´gea`n ´t: adeo ut plerosq. periculosa mors per hêc subsequeatur;

Sunt etiam hê lunationes summa cum diligentia adtendendo: ne in eis suprascripte cause exerceantur. id est quarta quintaque luna. Necne decima ac quinta decima .xx. quoque Necnon xxv. tricessimaque Autenticorum in his medicorum cohibentur diuersorum potionum dictione. seu flebotómatum usus adhibenda.2

6/24 Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 17, fol. 1va-1vb/16

Hi quattuor humores dominantur in suis locis. Sanguis dominatur in dextro laterè: in epate quoq. iecur uocamus. Aliter in corde. Colera rubea in eodem laterè ubi uesica plena est felle hoc est in dextro: Nigra2 in sinistro que4 sunt (s)plene. Fleuma autem in capite sicilicet una pars. altera in uesica.


1A line in the right margin indicates that the text on the three Egyptian Days (fol. 121r/21-30) should have followed this text instead of the intervening mass. The second copy of the sequence (twenty-four Egyptian Days, Dog Days, three Egyptian Days) on fol. 122rv is in consecutive order.
2exerceantur. - || <fol. 121r>.
3adhibenda] adhibendi.
3eœdem] [h-]eœdem.
4adhibenda] -a < i.
5The right margin is darkened and deformed which makes the end of the lines on fol. 1vb difficult to read. I am heavily indebted to Singer’s edition of this text (1917).
6Nigra] i.e. Colera nigra.
7Nigra] i.e. Colera nigra.
8acida] -a< i.
9esse] essent Singer (1917).
Fleuma: hieme.
Hi uero humores habent respirationes per singulas partes corporis. Sanguis per nares. Colera rubea.


Corpus . .i.i. habet in se qualitates. 7 . .iii. rebus consistit. ossibus. neruis. uenis. carne. Continet in se frigidum. calidum. humidum. 7 succum. & enim . .i.ii. habent diversitates. Esurit. sittit. concupiscit. soporatur. & . .iii. sunt usus naturre. manducare. bibere. generare. dormire.

Itaque iubemus eos quibus colera (rubea) dominatur. uerno. tempore flebotomare®. 7 autumno corpus purgare. Nulla enim res melius est quam purgatorius bonus 7 optimus. Talibus® purgari expedit. Dagridii® silis . iii. turis mascali silis . ii. aloene petro silis . iii. Euforbi silis . ii. Hec omnia tritis 7 cum aqua calida dabis. ite uero bibere hora matutina propter humores noxios deponendos. Fit hec de albis rubeisque coloribus.

Nigra® uero ex quibus melancholia nascuntur. que variatatem faciunt in corpore. uulnera intrinsecus nutriunt. & indigestiones faciunt. His nulla res melior est quam ut abistineat. 7 hec talia comedant suis temporibus. Carne buccinias. de sale. Iubemus non comedere caprina. non leporinas. non porcinas. quia melancholia nutriunt. insuper porcina caro uenenum melancholicis est. 7 stomachum graue facit.


Oportet medicum medicinam corpori adhibere. tam--- (fleboto)mate. Nam id est caniculares dies.

Quos non iubemus ullam mansionem. neque curam corpori adhibere. nixi infirmitates aduenere in initium febricitanti vel pleoritiae® iuubemus ut medicus omnen curam flebotomiq vel expectationem quam exploravit a magistro suo faciat. ceteras----res presumat. quia dies sunt caniculares.

Porro aperien---- ingredientur. usque in id augusti que sunt dies .xxx. (quaside) 7 subsolans uentus id est uulturnus dominatur. Addi(untur) ---- dies. qui faciunt in unum dies . xlix: a quinquagesim---- omnem curam corporis expedir medicum curare. Mul---- medicorum fuere. qui non aspexere . xix. dies.

neque par(ti)---- neque per ingenium. morti haud potuere resistere. Ab autem septembri usque primo k

---inserted as suggested by Singer (1917).---

® read canes or canities?
®® read canes or canities?
®®®® read canes or canities?
®®®®® read canes or canities?
®®®®®® read canes or canities?
decembri medicus cautelam habere debet.

6/25 Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 17, fol. 1vb/17-32

DE FLEBOTOMIA.
Si necessitas fuerit omni tempore adhibendus est flebotomus; tamen precipue ab .viii. k aprilis usque in viii k iulii. Tunc est utilitas detrahendi sanguinem. quia tunc sanguis augmentum habet. Sed postea observationes sunt temporum 7 qualitates. cursusque lunæ obseruandæ. hoc est .v. Luna. x. xv. xx. xxv. & xxx. In his non oportet flebotomum imponere quia in his diebus quos medici quinquones uocant.

hæc fieri haud oportet. & quia multi medicorum affirmant quod infinitus numerus ob negligentiam non obseruantium qualitates temporum & cursus lunæ mortui sunt. Nam tamen super omnia obseruandum est. ut a xv. k augusti usque .Ň. septembris quos caniculares dies. pro stella quæ canicula uocatur dicti. neque potionem neque flebotomum. debet aliquis habere infra dium. quia hi humores mixtis. Solum si ictus peruenerat quod non oportet nisi ut aperiantur. uene 7 uastitas. iniquitas quidem sanguinum.  

6/4 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 422, pp. 29-40

<14 July> DIES CANICVLARES. haredagas
<17 July> ORTVS CANICVLE.
3 <5 Sept.> FINIVNT DIES CANICVLARES. her geendioð þa haredagas

1 I am heavily indebted to Singer’s edition of this text (1917).
2 flebotomus] flebotomus Singer (1917).
3 viii] (primas) Singer (1917).
4 obseruandæ] -e < a.
5 Luna] Lunā.
6 quia] quod Singer (1917).
7 hæc] haud Singer (1917).
8 haud] (flebotomum) Singer (1917).
9 quia] quod Singer (1917).
10 sanguinum] sanguinis Singer (1917).
1 <p. 35>.
2 <p. 37>.
<14 July>1 Dies caniculares.
<5 Sept.>2 Dies caniculares finiunt.

<14 July>1 Dies caniculares incipientur.
<5 Sept.>3 Dies caniculares finiuntur.

<14 July>1 Dies caniculares. hic incipiunt
<19 July> Orcus canicule.
3 <5 Sept.>2 Hic est finis dies caniculares.

<14 July>1 Dies caniculares incipientur.
<5 Sept.>3 hic finiunt dies caniculares

<17 July>1 Dies caniculares incipiunt.
<5 Sept.>3 Dies caniculares finiunt.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Manuscript Details</th>
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<tr>
<td>&lt;14 July&gt;</td>
<td>DIES CANICVLAES.</td>
<td>&lt;14 July&gt; DIES CANICVLAES INCIPIVNT.</td>
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<td>&lt;17 July&gt;</td>
<td>ORTVS CANICVLE.</td>
<td>&lt;18 July&gt; CANICVLA ORITVR.</td>
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<td>6/16</td>
<td>London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.xviii, fols 3r-8v</td>
<td>6/26 Rome, Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 12, fols 7r-12v</td>
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<td>Incipiunt dies caniculares.</td>
<td>&lt;11 July&gt; Dies caniculares.</td>
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<td>6/27 Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 274, fols 6r-11v</td>
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<td>&lt;14 July&gt;</td>
<td>Dies caniculares hic incepivnt.</td>
<td>&lt;14 July&gt; Dies caniculares.</td>
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<td>DIES CANICVLAES.</td>
<td>&lt;14 July&gt; Dies caniculares.</td>
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<td>&lt;17 July&gt;</td>
<td>ORTVS CANICVLAE.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296, fols 1r-6v</td>
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<td>&lt;14 July&gt;</td>
<td>Dies caniculares incipiunt.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&lt;4 Sept.&gt;</td>
<td>Finiunt dies caniculares.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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1. <fol. 68v>.
2. <fol. 6r>.
3. <fol. 7r>.

Hampson’s edition of the calendar (1841) is deficient, so I have not included his variant readings or omissions here.

1. <fol. vi recto>.
2. <fol. 10r>.
3. <fol. 11r>.
4. <fol. 9r>.
5. <fol. 10r>.
6. <fol. 24v>.
Entries 16 and 17, originally one entry in 7/1, have been split up on the basis of 7/3 (in Hatton 115). Comparison with 7/3 reveals that one entry has been omitted after 37. This redaction would, therefore, have had at least 97 entries.

The emendation is uncertain: I follow Förster (1916) but the precise manuscript reading is unclear.
\[30\] Gif him þince þæt he aht beran geseo. þæt biþ ungeradnys.
\[31\] Gif him þince þæt he mid gerenedan gyrdle begyrd sy. (þæt) biþ anmodnys.
\[32\] Gif him þince þæt he hæbbe gyldene beah. þæt byþ þæt he gebyþh healicne ealdordom.
\[33\] Gif him þince þæt he hæbbe rûh lic. þæt biþ hys goda wanung.
\[34\] Gif him þince þæt he ne mæge yrnan. mycel broc him byþ toweard.
\[35\] Gif him þince þæt he blindne man geseo. geborenne. þæt byþ forlætnys his goda.
\[36\] Gif him þince þæt he spiwe. þæt byþ swa hwæt swa he ana wat þæt wyþp geypped.
\[37\] (G)if him þince þæt he wiþ cyng sprece. him cymp gefealic gifu to. 7 god.
\[38\] Gif him þince þæt he stige on heanne munt. þæt tacnað god.
\[39\] Gif him þince þæt he of dune astige. he onfeþ broces dæl.
\[40\] Gif him þince þæt he mid his freondes wife hæme. þæt biþ adl.
\[41\] Gif him þince þæt he mid his agenum wife hæme. þæt biþ god swefen.\[11\]
\[42\] Gif him þince þæt he mid his agenum wife hæme. þæt biþ god swefen.
\[43\] Gif him þince þæt he mid his freondes wife hæme. þæt biþ adl.
\[44\] Gif him þince þæt he dracan geseo: god þæt biþ.
\[45\] Gif him þince þæt he deume dom. þæt biþ god.
\[46\] Gif him þince þæt his heafod sy bescoren þæt byþ broc.
\[47\] Gif him þince þæt he hæbbe micel feah tiddernes him biþ toweard.
\[48\] Gif him þince þæt he hæbbe niwe scos. mid broce him cymþ gestreoun.
\[49\] Gif him þince þæt he bec hæbbe þæt biþ uncud hlaforð oððe ealdorman.
\[50\] Gif him þince þæt he hunite\[13\] beorge him georne wið his fynd.
\[51\] Gif him þince þæt he hundas geseo. þæt biþ god toweard.
\[52\] Gif him þince þæt he hundas yrnan þæt byþ micel god toweard.
\[53\] Gif him þince þæt he fixas geseo. þæt biþ ren.
\[54\] Gif him þince þæt he bradne monan geseo. þæt biþ. god swefen.
\[55\] Gif him þince þæt he hwit hors geseo oððe on ride. þæt biþ weorðomynt.
\[56\] Gif him þince þæt he on blacan horse ride þæt biþ his modes angnes.
\[57\] Gif him þince þæt he on readum horse ride. þæt biþ his goda wanung.
\[58\] Gif him þince þæt he on scælewum horse. oððe on grægium ride. þæt biþ god swefen.
\[59\] Gif him þince þæt he wer slea. þæt biþ gecyð wiþ his freond.
\[60\] Gif him þince þæt he his feond slea. beorge (he) him georne wiþ frecne þing.
\[61\] Gif him þince þæt he þeowas\[14\] geseo. him byþ god toweard.
\[62\] Gif him þince þæt he deadne mann cyss. þæt biþ lang lif. 7 god.
\[63\] Gif him þince þæt he geseo scyp yrnan. god ærænde. him biþ toweard.
\[64\] Gif him þince þæt he hnyte somnige. god þæt bið gife he hi ne ytt. 7 yfel gyf he hy\[15\] ytt.
\[65\] Gif him þince þæt he oferne cyss. god þæt bið.
\[66\] Gif him þince þæt he hunig ete. oððe geseo. þæt bið angnys.
\[67\] Gif him þince þæt he bellan geseo. oððe gehyre. weorðomynty him byþ toweard.
\[68\] Gif him þince þæt he on circean\[16\] singan gehyre mycel god þæt tacnað.

\[12\] swefen] swefin Förster (1916).
\[13\] Hunite] - f. 39r.
\[14\] þeowas] þeofas; silently emended Förster (1916), which is strange because he did indicate an identical emendation in 713.
\[15\] hy] - i.
\[16\] circean] cir. | cean.

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Gif him þince þæt he mann geseo mid wæpne gewundod. ymbhydig sorh þæt biþ.

17 Gif him þince þæt he wæpen wege. orsorhyns þæt byþ.

18 þæt his wif si mid bearne. þæt bið god swelen.

19 Gif him þince þæt he nædd ran geseo þæt niþ.

20 Gif him þince þæt he nædd ran geseo þæt biþ yfel.

21 Gif him þince þæt he nædd ran geseo þæt biþ yfel.

22 Gif him þince þæt he nædd ran geseo þæt biþ yfel.

23 Gif him þince þæt he nædd ran geseo þæt biþ yfel.

24 Gif him þince þæt he nædd ran geseo þæt biþ yfel.

25 Gif him þince þæt he nædd ran geseo þæt biþ yfel.

26 Gif him þince þæt he nædd ran geseo þæt biþ yfel.

27 Gif him þince þæt he nædd ran geseo þæt biþ yfel.

28 Gif him þince þæt he nædd ran geseo þæt biþ yfel.

29 Gif him þince þæt he nædd ran geseo þæt biþ yfel.

30 Gif him þince þæt he nædd ran geseo þæt biþ yfel.

31 Gif him þince þæt he nædd ran geseo þæt biþ yfel.

32 Gif him þince þæt he nædd ran geseo þæt biþ yfel.

<69> Gif him þince þæt he manne geseo mid wæpne gewundod. ymbhydig sorh þæt biþ.

<70> Gif him þince þæt he wæpen wege. orsorhyns þæt byþ.

<71> Gif him þince þæt he wiþ his scrift sprece. þæt tacnæð his synna forgynfennyse.

<72> Gif him þince þæt his wif si mid bearne. þæt bið god swelen.

<73> Gif him þince þæt he nædd ran geseo þæt bið yfel. wæles wifes niþ.

<74> Gif him þince þæt he geseo lic beran. ne biþ þæt nan lāþ.

<75> Gif him þince þæt he æt woruldfællerendum si. þæt tacnæð him adl towerd.

<76> Gif him þince þæt he hæbbe hwit sceap. þæt tacnæð god.

<77> Gif him þince þæt he hæbbe færhyðer. ne byþ þæt næþor ne god ne yfel.

<78> Gif him þince þæt he erige oðþoh. gestreon him biþ towerd.

<79> Gif him þince þæt he æt woruldfællerendum si. þæt biþ godswelen. æt gode.

<80> Gif him þince þæt he on hwylcere Æægerre stowæ si niþ his modes him cymeð.

<81> Gif him þince þæt he seoluc. oðþoh godewæbb hæbbe. þæt bið god hwilum. 7 hwilum leasung.

<82> Gif him þince þæt he on hwylcere Æægerre stowæ si niþ his modes him cymeð.

<83> Gif him þince þæt he seoluc. oðþoh godewæbb hæbbe. þæt bið god hwilum. 7 hwilum leasung.

<84> Gif him þince þæt he æt woruldfællerendum si. þæt biþ godswelen. æt gode.

<85> Gif him þince þæt he feala swyna ætsomne geseo. þonne mæg he wenan broces.

<86> Gif him þince þæt he feala henna geseo oðþoh. hæbbe. þæt biþ god.

<87> Gif him þince þæt he æt woruldfællerendum si. þæt biþ godswelen. æt gode.

<88> Gif him þince þæt he æt woruldfællerendum si. þæt biþ godswelen. æt gode.

<89> Gif him þince þæt he æt woruldfællerendum si. þæt biþ godswelen. æt gode.

<90> Gif him þince þæt he æt woruldfællerendum si. þæt biþ godswelen. æt gode.

<91> Gif him þince þæt he æt woruldfællerendum si. þæt biþ godswelen. æt gode.

<92> Gif him þince þæt he æt woruldfællerendum si. þæt biþ godswelen. æt gode.

<93> Gif him þince þæt he æt woruldfællerendum si. þæt biþ godswelen. æt gode.

<94> Gif him þince þæt he æt woruldfællerendum si. þæt biþ godswelen. æt gode.

<95> Gif him þince þæt he æt woruldfællerendum si. þæt biþ godswelen. æt gode.

<96> Gif him þince þæt he æt woruldfællerendum si. þæt biþ godswelen. æt gode.

<97> Gif him þince þæt he æt woruldfællerendum si. þæt biþ godswelen. æt gode.

<98> Gif him þince þæt he æt woruldfællerendum si. þæt biþ godswelen. æt gode.

<99> Gif him þince þæt he æt woruldfællerendum si. þæt biþ godswelen. æt gode.
Comparison with 7/1 reveals that entries have been omitted as follows: one entry each after 27, 65, 69, and 73, ten entries each after 42 and 60.

1. silently emended Förster (1916).
2. moð.
3. awestmas.
4. his.
5. icwmen.
6. -im- < n [·] him.
7. þynce.
8. his.
9. odde.
10. ~
11. ricumen.
12. -im- < n [·] him.
13. ðæt.
14. ridmen.
15. ðæt.
16. scire.

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Förster (1916) read heses, but the r is continental, not an insular s. There are several instances of the use of a continental r in this text. The scribe used a long s throughout, which makes it unlikely that he wrote heses. Förster (1916) argued that this dream represents a uvestimenta dream in the Latin original, which makes the reading in 7/1 the preferred one: hrægeles instead of heres.

17[heres] Förster (1916) read heses, but the r is continental, not an insular s. There are several instances of the use of a continental r in this text. The scribe used a long s throughout, which makes it unlikely that he wrote heses. Förster (1916) argued that this dream represents a uvestimenta dream in the Latin original, which makes the reading in 7/1 the preferred one: hrægeles instead of heres.

18[hrægeles] instead of heres.

19[seo] ~ seo.

20[byð] byd.

21[7 god.] -lucu tide 7 god. on erasure; - || <fol. 151v>.

22[adl] adle.

23[swefn] swenen Förster (1916).

24[god] - goða.


26[i.e. angnes] i.e. angnes.

27[ride] - þæt byð god.

28[þæt] byð wyf.

29[þæt] byð wyf.

30[þeowas] þeowas.

31[byð] byd.

32[ancysse] ancyss.

33[31] - || <fol. 152r>. 
Gif him þinceð þæt he bellan geseo. oldē gehire. weordmind him byð toweard.

Gyf hine mete þæt he (on) cirican\(^{32}\) singan gehire; micel god þæt tacnað.

Gif him þince þæt he iseo man mid wæpnan gewundodne. ymbridig sorg\(^{33}\) þæt byð.

Gyf him þince þæt he wæpnen wege. þæt byð orsorh\(\langle\)nes\).

Gyf mon mæte þæt he seon ne mæge. læric\(\langle\) ic\(\rangle\) hine þæt he him \(wyð\) his eahtent beorge.

Gyf mon mæte þæt he seolac. oldē godweb \'(h)æbbe. god hit byð \(hwilum\). 7 hwilum læasung.

Gyf mon mæte\(^{35}\) þæt he filed sy. god þæt byð.

Gyf mon mæte þæt he weorðlice gerewod\(^{36}\) sio. god\(^{37}\) þæt byð.

Gyf mon mæte þæt he fela swyna\(^{38}\) ætæmne geseo. þonne mæg he wenen\(^{39}\) broces.

Gyf mon mæte þæt he henne ægeru hæbbe. oldē\(\langle\)e\(\rangle\) þicge ne deah hym þæt.

Gyf mon mæte þæt he gæt geseo. þonne mæg he wenen þæs ladwenden feordes him on \(n\)æweste.

Gyf mon mæte þæt he fela stodhorsa habbe. oldē geseo. awestnesse his goda ðæt tacneð

Gyf mon mæte þæt he fela cosa hæbbe. god þæt byð.

Gyf man mæte þæt he piper ete. ne deah þæt.\(^{40}\)

Gyf mon mæte þæt he feala spera\(^{40}\) geseo ætæmne. þonne\(^{34}\) byð þæt he on his feondum\(^{42}\) his willan gewryhð.\(^{43}\)

Gyf mon mæte þæt he win drince. hele hym byð toweard.

Gyf mon mæte þæt he byrnende candele on handa habbe. god þæt byð;

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\(^{32}\) cirican] - geseo oldē, so Förster (1916).
\(^{33}\) sorg] forg.
\(^{34}\) læric] ic læric.
\(^{35}\) mete] meæ.
\(^{36}\) gerewod] gerestod; i.e. gearwod.
\(^{37}\) god] god.
\(^{38}\) swyna] swysa.
\(^{39}\) he wenen] he hine wenen.
\(^{40}\) feala spera] fyled spæren.
\(^{41}\) þone] þño.
\(^{42}\) feondum] - f<fol. 152v>.
\(^{43}\) gewryhð] -r- w.
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1 If he geseo hwitne oxan. ðæt bið wurðmynt.

2 If him mæte þæt his eard swyðe cahte. ðæt byþ mycel gefea.

3 If he Hornlesas sceo. þonne oferonm ðæt his find.

4 If him mæte þæt his ilmes þinges geweald age. ðæt bið þæt he him his fynd to gewealde getihð.

5 If man mæte þæt he si uppahafen. god þæt tacnãd.
be swefena mistlicnesse æfter endebyrdnesse\(^1\) abecedes\(^2\) danielis þæs\(^3\) witegan.

\textit{De somniorum diuersitate}\(^4\) \textit{secundum ordinem abcdarii}\(^5\) danielis prophete.\(^6\)

1 fugelas on swefenum se þe gesyhð 7 mid him winned\(^7\) saca sume hit getacnað

\langle 1 \rangle Aues in somnis qui uiderit & cum ipsis pugnauerit lites aliquas significat.

fugelas on swefnum\(^8\) gefon gestreon hit getacnað

6 \langle 2 \rangle Aues in somnis capere. lucrum significat.

fugelas sum þincef fram him gegripan hear̊n\(^9\) hit getacnað.

\langle 3 \rangle Aues aliquid a se rapuissë damnnum significat.

assan oððe hecēnu\(^10\) gesið gylt ceapes hit getacnað.

\langle 4 \rangle Asinos uel edos uiderit. crimen negotii significat.

wapnu on swæfnum beran bewerunge hit getacnað

12 \langle 5 \rangle Arma in somnis portare. tutamentum significat.

(\langle on \rangle) assan sītan\(^11\) geswinc hit getacnað.

\langle 6 \rangle Asinos sedere\(^12\) laborem. significat.

15 assan clipiende\(^13\) oððe untiede\(^14\) yrnan sume sace wyðerwyrdnysse\(^15\) hit getacnað.

\langle 7 \rangle Asinos clamantes aut solutos currere aliquam litem aduersarié significat.

water\(^16\) scettende gesið feonda yfele sprece hit getacnað.

18 \langle 8 \rangle Aues in somnis capere. lucrum exsperatum. significat.

treow. mid wæstme gesið gestreon gewilnode hit getacnað.

\langle 9 \rangle Arbores cum fructu uiderit. lucrum exsperatum. significat.

21 treow uppastigan sumne wyrðscype he begyt

\langle 10 \rangle Arbores ascendere. aliquam dignitatem optinebit.

weder hlutter\(^18\) gesið ceapes ferðunge hit getacnað.

24 \langle 11 \rangle (\langle A \rangle)erem limpidem uiderit negotii expeditionem significat.

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\(^1\)endeyrnessæ\: endebyrdnesse \textit{Cockayne (1864-66)}.

\(^2\)abecedes\: - \textit{not in Cockayne (1864-66)}.

\(^3\)þæ\: þær.

\(^4\)diuersitate\: \textit{diuersitate}; silently emended \textit{Liuzza (2001)}.

\(^5\)abcdarii\: \textit{abcharii}; silently emended \textit{Liuzza (2001)}.

\(^6\)prophete\: \textit{prophetæ \textit{Cockayne (1864-66)}}.

\(^7\)winn\: \textit{winn&\, so \textit{Cockayne (1864-66)}., \textit{Förster (1910)}}.

\(^8\)swefnum\: -w- < -.

\(^9\)hearn\: hearpan.

\(^10\)hecēnu\: netenu \textit{Cockayne (1864-66)}.

\(^11\)sītan\: etan, \textit{so \textit{Cockayne (1864-66)}, \textit{Förster (1910)}.

\(^12\)sedere\: edere, \textit{so \textit{Cockayne (1864-66)}, \textit{Förster (1910)}.

\(^13\)clipiende\: -e- < [\).

\(^14\)untiede\: untiende.

\(^15\)wyðerwyrdnysse\: wyðerwyrdnesse \textit{Cockayne (1864-66)}.

\(^16\)water\: fugelas, \textit{so \textit{Cockayne (1864-66)}, \textit{Förster (1910)}.

\(^17\)Aues\: \textit{Aues, so \textit{Cockayne (1864-66)}, \textit{Förster (1910)}.

\(^18\)hlutter\: hlutter \textit{Cockayne (1864-66)}.
fram wyldcorum se þe hine gesihð ehtan fram feondum he byð oferswiðe(d)
A bestiis qui se uiderit infestare. ab inimicis superabitur
bogan bendan oððe flæn asendan geswinc oððe angsumnyse getacnað
rcum tendere uel sagittas mittere. laborem uel anxietatem. significat.
ing on swefnum gesihð stowe gewilnode hit getacnað.

Anullum in somnis uiderit. locum exsperatum significat.
ing on swefnum underfon carleaste getacnað
ullum in somnis accipere. securitatem significat.

nullum dare dampnum significat.
gold on swefnum handlian forðunge ceapes getacnað

Acetum bibere in somnis. infirmitatem. significat.
garclifan etan ærende fullic getacnað

Alba aut splendida se uester. iocunditatem. significat.
erian se þe hine gesihð swincu mæste him ongean cumað.

Arare qui se uiderit. labores maximas ei obueniunt.
beard him beon bescoren heorm hit getacnað.

Braca sibi tondi dampnum. significat.
bracas on swefnum gesihð carleaste getacnað.

Bracas in somnis uiderit. securitatem. significat.
on folan sittan swicunge ceapes hit getacnað.

Bordore sedere. deceptionem negotii. significat.
wilde hine gesihð untrumnyssse getacnað

Brutum se uiderit. infirmitatem. significat.
cormas strange habban wexinge hit getacnað.

(rachia ulida habere. incrementum. significat.
wilde dor sibi temian se þe hine gesihð gyfe oððe þange widerwinena getacnað.

Bestias domare qui se uiderit: gratiam aduersariorum. significat.

Bestias currentes uiderit. aliquam turbationem. significat.
on beþe hine þwean anxsumnyse getacnað.

Balne se lauare. anxietatem. significat.
63 gebyrdne hine gesihð glænce ge tacnað

<31> Barbatum se uiderit. ornamentum. significat.
oferslop hwit haban blisse ge tacnað.

66 <32> Byrrum album habere. letitiam. significat.
oferslop bleofah\29 habban ærende fullic ge tacnað

<33> Byrrum coloreum habere nuntium fedum significat.
gefeohtu ðæð hejene gesihð blisse on openum hit openað.

<34> (B)ella\30 uel barbaros uiderit. letitiam\31 in publico patet.
buteran etan herende god ge tacnað

72 <35> Butirum edere. nuntium bonum. significat.\32
oxan grasiende gesihð sige ceapas ge tacnað.

<36> Boues pascentes uiderit. agoniam negotii significat.
oxan slapende gesihð yfelynsse ceapes ge tacnað

<37> Boues dormientes uiderit. malitiam negotii significat.
 wildeoor. spre ende gesihð teonan hège ge tacnað.

<38> Bestias loquentes uiderit molestias graues. significat.
mid roce beon\33 gescrid orsorhynsse ge tacnað

<39> Clamide ues(t)i'.\34 securitatem. significat.
cynelhelm\35 gewilces þinges onfon blisse hit getacnað.

<40> Coronam cuiusq uiderit. accipere le\36 titiam. significat.
 blindne se þe hine gesihð lettinge ge tacnað

<41> Cecum qui se uiderit inpeditionem. significat.
heofen ligenne gesihð sume unrihtwisynsse on eallum embhwyrfte\36 ongean cuma(b)\37

<42> Celum flammeum\38 uiderit. aliquas iniquitates in toto orbe obueniunt.\39

73 hwerhettan ðæð cyrft gesihð on swefnum untrumynsse ge tacnað.

<43> (C)ucumeres aut cucurbitas uiderit in somnis. infirmitatem significat.
wex drige etan saca mid ungecoplicum ge tacnað.

<44> (C)eram aridam edere. lites cum importunis.\40 significat.
culfran gesihð sume unrotnyssse ge tacnað.

<45> Columbas uiderit.\41 aliquam tristitiam. significat.

92 on sweartne se þe hine gesihð sume carfulnesse ðæð teonan ge tacnað

<46> Carcere qui se uiderit. aliquam sollicitudinem uel calumpniæ significat.
heofod wit habann gestreon ge tacnað

96 <47> Caput album habere. lucrum. significat.
heafod him beon gescoren hearm ge tacnað

<48> Caput sibi tondi. damnum significat.

\29bleofah] bleo[\-].h.
\30(B'ella] -a < o.
\31letitiam] -i- < t.
\32significat] -f< -f.
\33beon] - on erasure.
\34uest(i)ri] ues- on erasure.
\35cynehelm] cyne[\-]helm.
\36embhwyrfte] ymbhwyrfte Cockayne (1864-66).
\37cuma(b)] cumen Cockayne (1864-66).
\38flameum] flamineum Förster (1910).
\39obueniunt] -b < o; - || < fol. 28v>.
\40importunis] importunis Förster (1910).
\41uiderit] - [uiderit] (crossed out).
mid gescy\textsuperscript{42} niwum beon gescod gestreon of ungewenedum getacnað.
\begin{align*}
\text{<49> Calciamento } & \text{ nouvelle calciai } \text{ lucrum ex insperato. significat.} \\
\text{mid gescy } & \text{ ealdum beon gescod swicunge getacnað.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{<50> Calciamento ueteri } & \text{ calciai: deceptionem. significat.} \\
\text{spicyngas\textsuperscript{43}} & \text{ gadirian oððe wyrcean geswinc hit getacnað.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{<51> Clauos colligere uel } & \text{ facere laborem. significat:} \\
\text{hundas beorcynde } & \text{ gesið oððe him laðhetan fynd } \text{ þine þe oferswiðan secað } (\text{getacnað})
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{<52> Canes latrantes\textsuperscript{44}} & \text{ uiderit. uel eis infestare. inimici. tui te superare querunt. significat.} \\
\text{hundas blegan } & \text{ gesið þanc hit getacnað.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{<53> Canes ludere uiderit. gratiam. significat.} \\
\text{heofod } & \text{ þewan fram ælcum ege } 7 \text{ ælere fræcennyssre he bið alesed.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{<54> Caput lauare. ab omni metu & omni periculo liberabitur.} \\
\text{cyse } & \text{ geongne onfon gestreon getacnað.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{<55> Caseum recentem accipere. lucrum. significat.} \\
\text{sealt } & \text{ gif he bið sace\textsuperscript{45} hit getacnað.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{<56> Salsum si fuerit. litem. significat.} \\
\text{olfendas\textsuperscript{46} gescone 7 fram him\textsuperscript{47} (hine) gesið laðhetan sace hit getacnað.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{<57> Camelos uiderere & ab eis se uiderit inestare.\textsuperscript{48} litem significat.} \\
\text{gelda } & \text{ þe þine gesið etan fynd þine be þe yfela sprecad}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{<58> Carbones qui se uiderit edere inimici tui de te mala loquuntur.} \\
\text{calpyrul } & \text{ gesið oððe on him\textsuperscript{49} hine belocene gesco on sumum teonan oððe on haftnode}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{<59> Cancellos uiderit aut in eis se reclusum uideat. in aliqua calumpnia uel custodia bið gehæfd} \\
\text{detinentur.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{<60> } & \text{cartan writan\textsuperscript{50} oððe rædan ærende fullic hit getacnað}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{<61> } & \text{Cibum uomere. damnum. significat.} \\
\text{<62> Ceroma uomere. lites. significat.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{<63> } & \text{Ceroma uomere. lites. significat.} \\
\text{yrnan se þe hine gesið} & 7 \text{ he ne mæg } \text{ lettinge hit getacnað}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{<64> Curru sedere. litem grauem. significat.} \\
\text{wex } & \text{oððe taperas gesið } \text{ blisse hit getacnað\textsuperscript{54}}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{<65> Ceram uel cereos uiderit. gaudium. significat.}
\end{align*}
\textsuperscript{42}gedcy] -y < i.
\textsuperscript{43}spicyngas] swicyngas.
\textsuperscript{44}latrantes] -ra- < nt.
\textsuperscript{45}sace] -ce on erasure.
\textsuperscript{46}olfendas] -l- < i.
\textsuperscript{47}him] - over se.
\textsuperscript{48}infestare] -f- < i.
\textsuperscript{49}him] h- < l.
\textsuperscript{50}writan] wirtan.
\textsuperscript{51}spiwan] swiwan.
\textsuperscript{52}significat] -f- < i.
\textsuperscript{53}hefyge] hefige Cockayne (1864-66).
\textsuperscript{54}getacnað] getacnat.
mid deadum spellian gestrion hit getacnað
<66> Cum mortuo\textsuperscript{55} fabulare. lucrum. significat.
mid his swuster gelicgan hearm hit getacnað.
138 <67> Cum sorore concumbere. dampnum. significat.
mid his meder orsorhnyse hit getacnað
<68> Cum matre. securi\textsuperscript{(ta)tem}.\textsuperscript{56} significat.
mid medene gelicgan agsumnnesse hit (getacnað)
141 <69> Cum uirgine concumbere anxietatem.\textsuperscript{57} significat.
mid his gemacean gelicge\textsuperscript{(n)} angsumnyse hit (getacnað).
<70> Cum coniuge sua concumbere anxietatem. significat.
bec gewilces\textsuperscript{58} pinges onfon òddè rædan òddè rædende lestan geselpe timan\textsuperscript{59}
<71> Codicellos cuiusque rei accipere. uel legere. aut legente\textsuperscript{(m)} audire felicitatem\textsuperscript{60} temporis
147 hit getacnað.
significat.
þonne ma\textsuperscript{61} hine gesihð sumne teonan hefine hit (getacnað)
150 <72> Cum plures se uiderit. aliquam calumniam grauem. significat.
heordredena se þe gesihð swicunge hit getacnað
<73> Custodias. qui uiderit. deceptionem. significat.
cimbalan òddè psalteras òddè strengas atrinan saca hit (getacnað)
<74> Cimba aut salteria aut corda tangere lites significat.
hearpan gesihð orsorhnesse ceapes hit getacnað
156 <75> Citharam uiderit. securitatem negotii. significat.
mid deadum sprecan micel gestrion hit (getacnað)
<76> Cum mortuo loqui. grande lucrum. significat.
ligræscæ gesihð gestrion\textsuperscript{62} hit getacnað
<77> Coruscationes uiderit. lucrum. significat.
toð his feallan sum of h’i’s magum swylt.
162 <78> Dentes suos cadere.\textsuperscript{63} aliquis de parentibus suis morietur.
toð neðeran òddè tuxas þam\textsuperscript{64} afeallað gif mid blode òddè butan sare fræmde
<79> Dentes inferiores aut maxillares cui ceciderint si cum sanguine aut sine dolore. alienus
165 he bið fram magum;
erit a parentibus.
on huse his offrian wexincge blisse\textsuperscript{65} hit getacnað.
168 <80> Domo sua sacrificare incrementum letitie significat.
hus his feallan hearm mid manegum hit getacnað
<81> Domum suam cecidisse. dampnum cum pluribus significat.
hus feallan 7 towyrpan hearm hit getacnað.
171 <82> Domum cecidisse & destruere. dampnum. significat.

\textsuperscript{55}\textup{mortuo} mortico.
\textsuperscript{56}\textup{securi\textsuperscript{(ta)tem}} securitatem Förster (1910).
\textsuperscript{57}\textup{significat} significat Förster (1910).
\textsuperscript{58}\textup{gewilces} - over Codicellos.
\textsuperscript{59}\textup{timan} timam.
\textsuperscript{60}\textup{felicitatem} - || \textit{<fol. 29r>}.
\textsuperscript{61}\textup{ma} - n.
\textsuperscript{62}\textup{gestrion} orsorhnesse, so Cockayne (1864-66). orsorhnesse glosses securitatem throughout this dreambook.
\textsuperscript{63}\textup{cadere} -r- < .
\textsuperscript{64}\textup{þam} þana.
\textsuperscript{65}\textup{wexincge blisse} wexincge òddè blisse.
hus his byrnan gesyhð\[gesihð\] fræcenysse lifes getacnad

174 <83> Domum suam ardere uiderit. periculum uitê signifìcat.

swete etan on manegum leahtrum biô ofsett hit getacnad

<84> Dulca edere. in multis criminibus opprimitur. signifìcat.

177 mid bispocproce scrydan him gestreon getacnad of cynne.

<85> Dalmatica uestire. sibi lucrum signifìcat ex semine.

dracan gesihô sumne wyrôscipe hit getacnad

180 <86> Dracones uiderit. aliquam dignitatem. signifìcat.

on horse hwitum sittan belimp god getacnad

<87> Equo albo sedere. euentum bonum signifìco.

183 on horse sweartan sittan anxsumnesse getacnad

<88> Equo nigro sedere anxietatem signifìco.

on horse gelewum sittan hynde getacnad

186 <89> Equo flauo sedere detrimentum. signifìco.

on horse dunnan sittan ferðrunge getacnad

<90> Equo baio sedere expeditionem signifìco.

on horse brunum sittan ceap fulne getacnad

<91> Equo castaneo sedere. negotium fedum. signifìco.

hors wilde yrtan oððe fram him hearmian hearm getacnad

192 <92> Equos solutos currere aut ab eis. infestare. dampnum signifìcat.

dru’钡cenne hine gesihô untrumnesse getacnad<97>

<93> Ebriosum se uiderit. infirmitate signifìco.

belysnode gesihô hearm hit getacnad<98>

<94> Eunuchos uiderit. dampnu(m)<60> signifìco.

yp gesihô laðne oððe ‘gramne’ sume wrohte hit getacnad.

198 <95> Elephantum uiderit infestum. aliquam accusationem signifìcat.

ylpesban handlian lettince getacnad

<96> Eborum trectare. impeditionem signifìco.

ylpesban becgan oððe beceapan unrotnyssa mæste getacnad

<97> Eborum emere aut uendere tristitias maximas signifìcat.

melu on swefnum handlian ecan ceapas getacnad

194 <98> Farinam in somnis trectare. incrementum negotii. signifìcat.

mid isene gesgêne gesihô carfulnyse getacnad

<99> Ferro<60> percussum uiderit. sollicitudinem. signifìcat.

isen gewylkes þinges handlian sume untrumnyssa hit getacnad

<100> Ferrum cuiusque rei trectare. aliquas infirmitates signifìcat.

ansine his on swa wilcum þinge gesihô lif lang him biô gesæld.

201 <101> Faciem suam in quacumque<62> re uiderit uita longa ei datur.

ansine hiwlice hine habban אָtum 7 wyrdmynt rumran getacnad

<102> Faciem formasam se habere. auxilium & honorem ampliorem. signifìcat.

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\[gesihð\] gesihô Cockayne (1864-66).

<getacnad\> hit - Förster (1910).

<hit\> - not in Förster (1910).

<60>dampnu(m)<60> dampnum Förster (1910).

<62>Ferro> - <fol. 29v>.

<63>bid\> bid.

<64>quacumque] quacunque Förster (1910).
ansine fullice habban mid manegum\textsuperscript{73} (sacum) bið ofþryccend.

<103> Faciem turpem habere. multis criminibus subprimitur. flod drof gesihð æbyliigða\textsuperscript{74} hit getacnað.

216 <104> Flumen turbulentum uiderit. of þromemos. significat.

hwætas same andlian untrumnyssse getacnað

<105> Frumenta aliqua trectare. infirmitatem significat.

broðer oððe wuþter gesihð fram wyrstum wundum bið geswenct

219 <106> Fratrem uel sororem uiderit. a pessimis ulceribus fatigatur. pitt gesihð 7 on þane befealð same teonan hit getacnað.

222 <107> Fossam uiderit & in ea ceciderit. aliquam calumpniam significat.

wylspring on huse his gesihð beon geopenad eacan oððe blisse getacnað

<108> Fontem in domo sua uiderit aperiri. incrementum uel lettiam. significat.

<109> Formicas quascumque uiderit. lites maximas. significat.

flof on huse his infarán fræcendnesse\textsuperscript{75} he þolað

<110> Flumen in domo sua introire. periculum ipse patietur. scinlacu gesihð gestreon of ungewendum hit getacnað

<111> (F)antasmas uiderit. lucrum ex insperato. significat.

<112> Ficum uiderit. lites cum importunis. significat.

fihtreow gesihð saca mid ungedalenlicum getacnað

<113> (F)icum nigrum accipere. tristitiam significat.

lof mid wine onfon 7 drican untrumnysse getacnað

<114> Foliue cum uiño\textsuperscript{76} accipere. & bibere. infirmitatem significat.

leaf mid winan wine niman 7 drican geselðe timan getacnað

<115> Folia cum recente uiño accipere & bibere. felicitatem temporis significat.

udwitan gesihð twysehtan\textsuperscript{77} hende getacnað

240 <116> Filios aut filias nasci uiderit. incrementum. significat.

suna oððe dohtra beon acennede gesihð eacum getacnað

217 <117> Filios aur filias nasci uiderit. incrementum. significat.

swurdberan hine gewordene gesihð hearm fullic(ne) getacnað

<118> (G)adiatorum se factum uiderit. damnum fedum significat.

swurd beran 7 be him plegan unheaddynsyse getacnað

246 <119> Gladium ferre & de ipso ludere anxietatem significat.

swurdwedge anbidian gehende saca mæste getacnað

<120> Gladiantes expectare uícinas. lites maximas. significat.

gimm of ringe forleosan sum þinc forlæt

252 <121> Gemmam de anulo perdisisse. aliquid admittit.

henne ægri lecgan gestreon mid carfulnyssse getacnað

218 <122> Gallinam oua parere lucrum cum sollicitudine significat.

\textsuperscript{73}manegum – halfway over criminibus, which is probably not glossed for this reason.

\textsuperscript{74}æbyliigða æbyliigða, so Cockayne (1864-66).

\textsuperscript{75}fræcendnesse] fræcendnyssse Förster (1910).

\textsuperscript{76}uiño] uiuo.

\textsuperscript{77}twysehtan] twyselican Cockayne (1864-66).

\textsuperscript{78}disiungi] disungi Förster (1910).
Gallinam cum pulcinis uiderit. negotii incrementum significat.  
hæpene feohende gesihð 7 fram him cidan saca mid fræcednysse getacnað

Gentiles pugnantes uiderit. & ab eis infestare. lites cum periculo. significat.  
geblassian on swefnum unrotnysse getacnað

Gaudere in somnis. tristitiam significat.  
hagol on swefnum unrotnysse getacnað

Grandinem in somnis. tristitiam significat.  
hagol on swefnum gesihð hearm welrowne getacnað

Grandinem in somnis uiderit. damnum crudèle significat.  
buccan oððe get gesihð ferdrunge getacnað

Hircos uel capras uiderit. expeditionem. significat.  
cuman habban andan getacnað

Hospites habere. inuidiam. significat(t).

gesiðh freodscipe fegð

Herculem uiderit amicitiam iungit.  
mann ofslean bewerunge getacnað

Hominem occidere. tutamentum. significat(t).  
casere hine beon gewordene (sume) wyrðscype getacnað

Imperatorem se factum aliquem honorem significat(t).

on strete oððe on palentan abutangan uneaðnysse getacnað

In platea uel palatio deambulare. anxietatem. significat.  
bynas on gewilcre stowe gesihð sume fræcednysse getacnað

Incendia in quocumque loco uiderit aliquod periculum significat.  
on flod swymman anxsumnesse getacnað

In flumen naturæ. anxietatem. significat.

In mare se lauare. lucrum. significat.

In mare se lauare. letitiam. significat.

In mare se lauare. blisse significat.

In piscina cecidisse. gaudium significat.
on wæle fulan feallan sumne teonan getacnæd
<141> In gurgite sordido cecidisse. aliquam calumpniam. significat.
cildru gesið 7 mid him plegæd gesælde timan getacnæd
<142> Infarantes uiderit & cum ipsis luderit felicitatem temporis. 91 significat.
untru[mnyssa] sume gesið carfulynysse getacnæd
<143> Infirmitates aliquas uiderit. sollicitudinem significat.
on blęstowe oððe on wafungstowe andreidian hine gesið styrunge sume getacnæd
<144> In thea(t)rum ul in amphitheatrum exspectare se uiderit. tumultum aliquem. significat.
on æppelitume gan anxsumynysse hefge getacnæd
<145> In pomerio ambulare. anxietatem grauem significat.
on brede hine beon gemetne 93 (gesið) lif lang him bid gescaled
<146> In tabula se pingi uiderit. uita longa ei datur.
(mid gyrdle) beon gegyrd trymmige 94 (getacnæd)
Luna 95 cingi. tutamento. significat.
(mid gyrdle) forleosan geleafan tolysinge getacnæd
<148> Luna perdere. fidei solutionem. 96 significat.
(mid gyrdle) gyldenne bygyrdan. andan getacnæd
<149> Luna aurea cingere. uiderit. significat.
(mid gyrdle) gyldenne bygyrdan. andan getacnæd
<150> Luna partica 97 cingi. ualitudines. 98 significat.
monan beorthne gesið blisse. 99 getacnæd
<151> Lunam claram uiderit. inuidiam. significat.
monan twegen gesið andan getacnæd
<152> Lunas duas uiderit. inuidiam. significat.
monan blodigne gesið. hearm getacnæd
<153> Lunam sanguine(a)m uiderit. damnum. significat.
monan of heofene blisse. ge
<154> Lunam de ceło 100 cecidisse. uel ascendere uiderit. 101 laborum. significat.
monan wittne gesið gestreon getacnæd.
<155> Lunam albam uiderit. lucrum. significat. 102
monan bleoh habban hynđe getacnæd
<156> Lunam colores habere. damnum. significat.
spic handlian sum of his magum swylt
<157> Lardum trectare aliquis de parentibus eius morietur.

91[ temporis] -ris < [...].
92[untru[mnyssa]] on trumnyssa, so Cockayne (1864-66). The scribe probably read In firmitates, and glossed this with on trumnyssa.
93[gemetne] - over uiderit.
94[trymmige] trymmunge Cockayne (1864-66); trymniige Förster (1910).
95[Luna] in this and the next three entries' 'luna' means 'girdle'. Martin (1981: 140, note to a162) argued that these dreams are displaced Zona dreams and emended Luna to Zona. Cockayne (1864-66: III.207, note a), however, remarked that 'lunus' is an acceptable word for 'girdle'.
96[solutionem] salutationem (cf. gloss 'tolysinge').
97[partica] pertica, so Cockayne (1864-66), Förster (1910).
98[ualitudines] -n- < t.
99[blisse] - wrongly glosses inuidiam.
100[ceło] ceło Förster (1910).
101[uiderit] -t < -.
102[significat.] - < fol. 30v>.
linene claðas waxan gesihð hearm getacnād

<158> Linea uestimenta lauare uiderit. 103 dampnum significat.
linen reaf scedan sume seocnyse getacnād

<159> Lineam uestem uuestire. aliquam egritudinem significat.
leon yrnde gesihð ferdrunge ceapas.getacnād

<160> Leonem currentem uiderit. expeditionem negotii significat.
leon slapende gesihð awyrigedne104 cep getacnād

<161> Leonem dormientem uiderit. malignum negotium. significat.
leon wedan feo’ndes gestric getacnād

<162> Leonem infestare. inimici seditionem significat.
gebundenne105 (hine) gesihð lettige getacnād

<163> Ligatum106 se uiderit. inpeditionem. significat.
leohftatu handlian untrumnyse getacnād

<164> Luminaria trectare. infirmitatem. significat.
leohftatu hine gesihð orsorhnyse getacnād

<165> Luminaria se uiderit. securitatem. significat.
stanes asendan seocnesse107 getacnād

<166> Lapides mittle. egritudinem. significat.
cidan on sweñum ceapes eacan getacnād

<167> Litigare in somnis. negotii incrementum. significat.
bed108 him gestreh 7 wel gestreh gesihð beorthnyse getacnād

<168> Lectum sibi stratum & bene stratum uiderit. claritatem. significat.
se smylte gesihð ceapas hydrunge getacnād

<169> Mare109 placidum uiderit. negotii expeditionem significat.
sæfixas110 gesihð anxsumnyse hefge getacnād

<170> Maris pisces uiderit. anxietatem grauem. significat.
handa111 him belfyle gesihð weorca unrifthte112 getacnād

<171> Manus sibi inquinatas uiderit. opera iniqua significat.
moder113 his deade oðdæ cuçu gesihð blisse getacnād

<172> Matrem suam mortuam aut uuam uiderit. gaudium. significat.
mara (lyllian) hine gesihð bliss(é) læsse hit his 7 hynde getacnād

<173> Maiorem (minorare) se uiderit. gaudium minus est. 7114 detrimentum. significat.
wif tospreadum loccum hine gesihð. gestricg115 getacnād

<174> Mulierem sparsis crinibus se uiderit. seditionem significat.

103 uiderit| uidere Förster (1910).
104 awyrigedne| awyrigende.
105 gebundenne| arendraca, -r- < a, so Cockayne (1864-66). Gebundenne makes more sense in view of the interpretation of this dream.
106 Ligatum| Legatum.
107 seocnesse| seocnyse Cockayne (1864-66).
108 bed| bet, so Cockayne (1864-66).
109 Mare| Mare Förster (1910).
110 sæfixas| sæ fiscas Cockayne (1864-66).
111 handa| handa Cockayne (1864-66).
112 unrifthte| unritha Cockayne (1864-66).
113 moder| modes.
114 | & Förster (1910).
115 gestricg| gestriicg Cockayne (1864-66); Förster (1910) read gespriicg.
Mus & leo in somnis. securitatem. significat. 
faran bigswicē getacnād

(M)igrale. deceptionem. significat.
deade gesihō blisse getacnād

Mortuum uiderit gaudium. significat.
deadne cyssan lif tolībbenne getacnād

Milites uiderit. letitiam significat.
handa þwean teonan hefge getacnād

Manus lauare molestias graues. significat.
ripu gaderian blisse getacnād

Messes colligere. letitiam significat.
hunig niman hine gesihō warnige ðær he na fram odrum si beswicen (getacnād)

Mel accipere se uiderit. caueat ne ab alio seducatur. significat.
scipu gesihō god arende getacnād

Naues uiderit. bonum nuntium. significat.
hnyte gaderian saca getacnād

Nuces colligere. lites significat.
nest fugela gesihō sige ceapas getacnād

Nidus auium uiderit. agoniam negotii significat.

mist ofer eorþan nan god getacnād

Nuptias facere. dampnum. significat.
barum fotum gan hearm getacnād

Nudis pedibus ambulare dampnum. significat.
pipdram singan gehyreð gehende blisse

Organa cantare audierit. uicinas letitias.
gebed don geseligran timan getacnād

Orationem facere. feliciora tempora. significat.
banu sume handlian hatunge getacnād

Ossa aliqua trectare. odium significat.

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116 orsorrhysse] orsorrhysse.
117 tolībbenne] to lbbenne Cockayne (1864-66).
118 molestias] malestias.
119 Nidus] i.e. Nidum or Nidos.
120 swawas] swawas.
121 Nebula(m)] Förster (1910) suggested Nebulam or Nebulas. OE mist is masc. acc. sg., however, so Nebula(m) would be correct.
122 significat.] ~ || <fol. 31r>.
123 audierit] Förster (1910) read uidierit, and suspected contamination of audicrit and uiderit.
124 uicinas] ~ [letitias].
weorcu handlian lættinge\textsuperscript{125} getacnað

\textless 193\textgreater  Opera trectare, inpeditionem. significat.
elbeamas\textsuperscript{126} handlian gestreon getacnað.

\textless 194\textgreater  Oliuas trectare. lucrum significat.
sc\textsuperscript{e}c\textsuperscript{a}p gesið gescorene hynde getacnað

\textless 195\textgreater  Oues uiderit tonsas. damnum. significat.
cossas syllan hearm \textsuperscript{(getacnað)}

\textless 196\textgreater  Osulum dare. damnum significat.
ren gesið blisse getacnað

\textless 197\textgreater  Pluuiam uiderit. letitiam significat.
mædenu niman on þewe godne timan getacnað

\textless 198\textgreater  Puellas accipere more. bonum tempus significat.
ruhne\textsuperscript{128} hine gesið gewordenne fræcednyyse eacan getacnað

\textless 199\textgreater  Pilosum\textsuperscript{129} se uiderit factum periculi incrementum. significat.
pytt gesið 7 on hine befealð teonan getacnað

\textless 200\textgreater  Puteum uiderit & in eum ceciderit calumpniam significat.
feoh underfon sace \textsuperscript{(getacnað)}

\textless 201\textgreater  Pecuniam accipere. litem significat.\textsuperscript{130}
wepan on swefnum blisse getacnað.

\textless 202\textgreater  Plorare\textsuperscript{131} in somnis gaudium significat.
palman underfon wyröment getacnað\textsuperscript{32}

\textless 203\textgreater  Palmam accipere. honorem significat.
laf wexenne\textsuperscript{133} niman freodscipas\textsuperscript{134} getacnað

\textless 204\textgreater  Panem candidum accipere accusatorem.\textsuperscript{135} significat.
hlaf wexenne niman freodscipas niwe gefegð

\textless 205\textgreater  Panem cerarium\textsuperscript{136} accipere. amicitias. nouas iungit.
laf\textsuperscript{137} berenne niman blisse getacnað

\textless 206\textgreater  Panem ordeacium accipere letitiam. significat.\textsuperscript{138}
gerwigan wife hus wexincge getacnað

\textless 207\textgreater  Parare mulierì domum. incrementum. significat.
briwas niman gestreon mid carfulnyysse getacnað

\textless 208\textgreater  Pultes accipere lucrum cum sollicitudine. significat.
 briçe gesið carleaste getacnað

\textless 209\textgreater  Pontem uiderit. securitatem. significat.

\textsuperscript{125}lættinge\textsuperscript{} lættunge Cockayne (1864-66).
\textsuperscript{126}elebeamas\textsuperscript{} elebeamus, so Cockayne (1864-66).
\textsuperscript{127}(getacnað)\textsuperscript{} ge(tacnað) Cockayne (1864-66).
\textsuperscript{128}ruhne\textsuperscript{} rhine.
\textsuperscript{129}Pilosum\textsuperscript{} Pilososum.
\textsuperscript{130}significat\textsuperscript{} -i - < -i.
\textsuperscript{131}Plorare\textsuperscript{} Plo[-]rare.
\textsuperscript{132}(getacnað)\textsuperscript{} (getacnað) Cockayne (1864-66).
\textsuperscript{133}wexenne\textsuperscript{} - wrongly glosses candidum, it should read wittne.
\textsuperscript{134}freodscipas\textsuperscript{} - wrongly glosses accusatorem.
\textsuperscript{135}accusatorem\textsuperscript{} accusationem, so Cockayne (1864-66).
\textsuperscript{136}cerarium\textsuperscript{} cencrimum Cockayne (1864-66), who suggested cecrum.
\textsuperscript{137}zlaf\textsuperscript{} hlaf Cockayne (1864-66).
\textsuperscript{138}significat\textsuperscript{} -i- < a.
Porcos uiderit. infirmitatem. significat.

Pedes lauare. anxietatem significat.

Plumbum trectare. infirmitatem. significat.

crætu hwite gesiðh oððe sittan ceapas lettincge getacnað

Quadrigas albas uiderit uel sedere. negotii inperationem significat.

fyþerfete swa wilc swa gesiðh uneadnysse getacnað

Quadrupedem quicumque uiderit. anxietatem. significat.

crætu wite sittan wyrdment getacnað

Quadrigas albas sedere. honorem significat.

fyþerfete sprecan feondscipas cinigas getacnað

Quadrupedem loqui inimicitias regis. significat.

hliðhan oððe gnyrende gesiðh unrotnyssas getacnað

Ridere aut stridentes uiderit. tristitiam significat.

rosan gesiðh strengba getacnað

Rosam uiderit ualitudines significat.

ryselas oððe swefel gesiðh hefige teonan getacnað

Resinas uel sulphur uiderit. grandes molestias significat.

cyningas gesiðh of wurdte gywitan getacnað

Reges uiderit. de seculo migrare significat.

cyninges bodan underfon micel hit his tacen.

Regis nuntium accipere. magnum est signum.

stæpu astigan geswinc getacnað

Ripas ascendere laborem. significat.

of stæpe niþerstigan godne timan getacnað

Ripa descendere. bonum tempus. significat.

froxas gesiðh anxsunmesse getacnað

Ranas uiderit anxionem significat.

sunnan twa gesiðh wyrðscip(c) getacnað

Soles duas uiderit. honorem. significat.

sunan beorhtes gesiðh blisse getacnað

Solem sp(∫)endidum uiderit. gaudium significat.

sunan oððe monan gesiðh blisse domes getacnað.

Solem uel lunam uiderit. letitiam 'iudicii'. significat.

sterran oððe feala gesiðh blisse getacnað

Stellas uel plures uiderit. letitiam. significat.

blod of his sidan dropan hearm getacnað

Sanguinem de suo latere distillare. dampnum. significat.

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139 cinigas] cyngas Cockayne (1864-66); cincgas Förster (1910).
140 nyrende] Cockayne (1864-66) suggested grinende.
141 ryselas] - wrongly glosses resinas, it should read glær.
142 sulphur] -r < l.
143 tacen] tagan. -t< t, so Cockayne (1864-66).
144 sp(∫)endidum] - || fol. 31v||.
on læddran sittan swicuncge getacnadv

<230> Scala146 sedere deceptionem. significat.

<231> Serpente infesto pati. inimici uisionem significat.

<232> Sedere in somnis infirmitate. significat.

<233> Tontirrum audire uel uidere. nuntium bonum. significat.

<234> Tempestatas uiderit. lucrum significat.

<235> Tenebras uiderit. infirmitatem significat.

<236> Tela quicumque texerit & letitiam siue tristitiam uidierit bonum nuntium147 significat.148 crydas don trimnige149 getacnadv

<237> Testamenta facere tutamentum significat.

cordan styrunge gesihð. sum þinc150 he forlæt

<238> Terre motum uiderit. aliquid admittit.

<239> Tricare qui se uiderit. anxietatem. significat.

<240> Vites maturas plenas uidierit letitiam significat.

<241> Vindemiare. hilaritate muite significat.

<242> Vapulare in somnis bonum prosequitur.

<243> Venationem facere. lucrum. significat.

<244> Vestire qui se uiderit. iocunditatem significat.

<245> Vrsum155 ad se infestare uidierit inimici seditionem significat. 

<246> Vinum bibere. infirmitatem. significat.

<247> Vestem formosam habere. letitiam significat.

146Scala] Scola.
147nuntium] nu[:ntium.
148significat] signi[:ficat.
149trimnige] triminge Cockayne (1864-66).
150þinc] þine.
151wingeadaras] wingeadas; wingeadres Cockayne (1864-66).
152fulle] pulle.
153getacnadv] ge Förster (1910).
154scridan] sordinan.
155Vrsum] Vrbum.
156getacnadv] ge Förster (1910).
Addition A starts here.

504 <248> Via lutosa ducere uel ambulare molestias graues significat.
505 wif ladan hearm getacnad
506 <249> Vxorem ducere. dampnum significat.
507 loc hine geseon corcið getacnad
508 <250> Capillum se uidere incrementum. significat.
509 mid oðrum cynehelm dead getacnad
510 <251> (C)um ceteris corona. mortem significat.
511 mid wepmen\[ wepnem, so Cockayne (1864-66).
512 <252> Cum masculo lauare. defectionem significat.
513 (mid oðrum syngian) untrumnysse (getacnad)
514 <253> Cum alio\[ peccare infirmitatem. significat.
515 mid his yldran sprecan oððe gan fyrðrung (g)etacnad.\[159\]
516 <254> Cum altiore loqui aut ambulare expeditionem. significat.
517 ennelec geseon egena sar hit getacnad
518 <255> Cepas uidere. oculorum. dolorum. significat.
519 beheafðian hine\[ geson] gestreon getacnad\[162\]
520 <256> Decollare se uidere. lucrum significat.
521 on bepe hine þwean anxsumnesse getacnad
522 <257> In balneo se lauare. anxietatem.\[163\] significat.
523 on cwearterne (hine) geseon hearm getacnad
524 <258> In carcere se uidere dampnum significat.
525 on fiscole\[ fiscope] þwean winsumnys\[s\]e (getacnad)
526 <259> In piscario lauare. iocunditatem. Significat.\[165\]
527 on flode\[ fiscole] þwean blisse getacnad\[166\]
528 <260> In flumine lauare gaudium. significat.
529 on wyll feallan sume wrohte hit getacnad
530 <261> In\[168\] fontem cecidisse aliquam accusationem significat.
531 gebundenne hine gesihð hearm hit getacnad
532 <262> Ligatum se uidere dampnum. significat.
533 swimman\[169\] hine geseon hearm getacnad
534 <263> Natare se uidere dampnum. significat.
535 ele geseon blisse getacnad
536 <264> Oleum uidere. letitiam significat.

157 Addition A starts here.
158\[ wepmen, wepnem, so Cockayne (1864-66).
159 This entry not translated in Cockayne (1864-66).
160 alio] altio, Förster (1910) read alio and suggested alio.
161\[ fyrdrung (g)etacnad] fyrdrunge, so Förster (1910); fyrdrung (g)etacnad Cockayne (1864-66).
162 hine] over uidere.
163\[ anxietatem] -e, - < a.
164 fiscole] fiscope.
165\[ significat] significat.
166 flode] slode.
167\[ getacnad] g Förster (1910).
168\[ In] - || <fol. 32r>.
169 swimman] swimmän.
Significat. \[\text{Significat.}^\text{170}\]

graman. \[\text{graman.}^\text{171}\]

\[\text{Förster (1910). Förster (1910) read \text{wræc} and transposed \text{sit} after \text{exil} `i o. There are three reasons against this: 1. \text{wræcsit} is written as one word in the hand of the gloss; 2. the supposed transposition is not indicated in the text whereas others are; 3. \text{sit} makes no sense in the Latin \text{Qui} in exill `i o sit se uiderit, whereas it makes sense in se \text{he} on \text{wræcsit} (hine) gesihô.}^\text{172}\]

\[\text{opprimi significat. winberian sure geseon pace \text{getacnàd}}^\text{173}\]

\[\text{Vua\(s\) acerbas uiderere litem significat.}^\text{174}\]

\[\text{Addition B starts here.}^\text{175}\]

\[\text{fulan}^\text{176}\]

\[\text{Entry not in Cockayne (1864-66).}^\text{177}\]

\[\text{sordido}^\text{178}\]

\[\text{cinctus}^\text{179}\]
573  gif þu gesihst fela hunda of feon dum þinum þe warnian getacnabd

<281> Si uideris multos canes. de inimicis tuis te cauere. significat.

gif þu gesihst coss þe sylan nehtan god getacnabd

576  <282> Si uideris osculum te dare proximo. bonum. significat.\ 180

gif þu gesihst manega blafas blisse getacnabd

<283> Si uideris plurimos panes lettiam. significat.

gif þu gesihst hearn fleon wiþf 84 þin gegripian dead getacnabd

<284> Si uideris apes te illudere uel nocere. uiam tuam moueri de hominibus. significat.

gif þu gesihst beon fleon on huse þinum forlatincge getacnabd

<285> Si uideris apes uolare in domo tua. desertionem significat.

gif 83 þu gesihst snacan ongean þe cuman ongean heyle wyfmen þe bewerian mynegað

<286> Si uideris colubrum contra te uenire. contra malas feminas te defendere ammonet;

<287> Si uideris aquilam uolantem. uxorua tuam rapere mortem significat.

gif þu gesihst þe on wearum waterte þeewan hynde licham getacnabd 185

<288> Si uideris te in calida aqua lauare. dampnum corporis. significat.

gif þu gesihst þe on waterte caldan þwan hælde licham getacnabd

<289> Si uideris te in aqua frigida lauare: sanitatem corporis significat.\ 186

<290> Si uideris plures denarios aut inuenies parabolas uel irrisiones. uel maledictiones significat.

gif þu gesihst of handu deades sum þingc niman be suman darle þe cuman feoh

<291> Si uideris de manu mortui aliquid accipere. de aliqua parte tibi uenire pecuniam getacnabd

significat.

<292> Si uideris domum tuam ardentem. inuenire te pecuniam. significat.

gif þu gesihst hearmas þine bemanucose god getacnabd

<293> Si uideris brachia tua truncata: bonum significat.

gif þu gesihst feala clada habban feond þine on andwealde þinum habban getacnabd

<294> Si uideris multa uestimenta habere. inicum tuum in potestate tua habere significat.

gif þu gesihst hring gyldenne habban wyrscipe getacnabd 87

<295> Si uideris anulum aureum habere. honorem. significat.

gif þu gesihst þe spiweþan don geþancu 7 geþeaptu þine tostredde 7 to nahte 188 getealde

<296> Si uideris te uomitum 189 facere. cogitationes & consilia tua dispersa & ad nichilata beon getacnabd

esse. significat.

<297> Si ui`ders colsum tuem ligatum. cautum te esse. ne quid iniquum facias. significat.

\ 180significat] significat Förster (1910).
\ 181astyrud] ascryud.
\ 182pinum] þinum.
\ 183gef] gif Cockayne (1864-66).
\ 184wiþ] w- < f.
\ 185getacnabd] þe.
\ 186significat] - || fol. 32v>.
\ 187getacnabd] þe Förster (1910).
\ 188nahte] naht Cockayne (1864-66).
\ 189uomitum] uomicum Förster (1910).

612  <298> Si uidere de alto loco subtus in obscuro te cadere angustias uel iniurias significat
gif þu gesihst þet þu gewilnige wif nexstan þines yfel sar on lichaman getacnað
<299> Si uidere quod concupiscas uxorem proximi tui. malum dolorem in corpus. significat.

615  gif þu gesihst mid wife þinum liegan god getacnað
<300> Si uidere cumuxore tua accumbere: bonum significat.
gif þu gesihst þe gebiddan to drih’tne micel blisse þe tocumon hit getacnað.

618  <301> Si uidere te orare ad dominum: grande gaudium tibi aduenisse significat.
gif þu gesihst timbrian hus þin feoh þin wexan hit getacnað.
<302> Si uidere fabricare domum tuam. pecuniam tuam crescere significat.193

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coincides with the topos Günzel (1993) suggested. Readings from text 7/4 are listed, but only those that differ in meaning or change the interpretation. The dreambook belongs to redaction from a conflated manuscript reading. Corrections and additions to the text have been executed by another scribe. 

Title added in post-medieval hand: Alphabetum somniale excerptum ex Danielis libro. Entries 64 and 65 are expanded from a conflated manuscript reading. Corrections and additions to the text have been executed by another scribe. This dreambook belongs to redaction a, but entries 16, 66 and 98 are type b. Entry 55 is atypical for either redaction. Variant readings from text 7/4 are listed, but only those that differ in meaning or change the interpretation.

Aues in somnis uidere. & cum illis pugnare. litem significat.

Aues in somno capere. lucrum significat.

Aquas ebullientes (uidere). inimicorum locutionem significat.

 arma in somno portare. fortitudinem significat.

Aeuem aliquem (a se) rapuissse. damnum significat.

Asinum uidere. laborem significat.

Arbores cum fructibus uidere. lucrur significat.

A bestiiis infestari. inimicorum locutionem significat.

Arcum tendere uel sagittam mittere. anxietatem significat:

Anulum in somnis accipere. securitatem significat.

Anulum dare. damnum significat.

Aurum tractare. expeditionem negotii significat.

Absinthium bibere. litem significat.

Acetum bibere. infirmitatem significat.

Alba (a)ut splendida uestire. iocunditatem significat.

Are uidere laborem significat.

Barba sibi tundi damnum significat.

Bestias curr(es) uidere. perturbationem significat.

Barbatum se uidere. damnum significat.

B’rum album habere. laetitiam significat.

Bestias loquentes uidere. molestiam significat.

But(ri)um edere. nuntium bonum significat.

Clamidem uestiri. securitatem significat.

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1Title added in post-medieval hand: Alphabetum somniale excerptum ex Danielis libro. Entries 64 and 65 are expanded from a conflated manuscript reading. Corrections and additions to the text have been executed by another scribe. This dreambook belongs to redaction a, but entries 16, 66 and 98 are type b. Entry 55 is atypical for either redaction. Variant readings from text 7/4 are listed, but only those that differ in meaning or change the interpretation.

2Aues] Aues.

3locutionem] malam - text 7/4.

4uidere] - on erasure.

5cum fructibus] contractos, so Birch (1878).


8inimicorum locutionem] ab inimicis superabutur text 7/4.

9Arcum tendere uel sagittam mittere; Arcumittere "é" sagittam tendere; Arcu mittere et sagittam tendere Günzel (1993).

10anxietatem] laborem uel - text 7/4; anxi etatam <fol. 12r>.

11sig(nificat)] significat Günzel (1993).


15molestiam] modestiam, so Günzel (1993); - grauem text 7/4.

16But(ri)um] Butrum, though part of -u- and all of -x- are faded and may have been erased imperfectly, on the basis of which Günzel (1993) suggested brutum. This solution, however, must be rejected because the interpretation of the dream coincides with the topos brutum, not with brutum (cf. 7/4).

24 <24> Coronam²⁸ accipere. letitiam significat.
<25> Celum flammeum uidere iniquitates¹⁹ in toto orbe (ob) uenient.²⁰
<26> Columbas uidere. aliquam tristitiam significat.
27 <27> Capillum atum²¹ se uidere. (in) crementum significat.
<28> Capud album abere. lucrum significat
<29> Capud sibi tundi²² dampnum significat.
30 <30> Calci(α)menta ueter a calcare. dampnum²³ significat
<31> Canes latrances²⁴ uidere. & eis infestare. inimici tui te superare querunt (significat).
<32> Canes ludere. uidere gratiam aduersarii (significat).
33 <33> Capud lauare.²⁵ gaudium significat.²⁶
<34> Caseum recentem accipere. lucrum significat.
<35> Coruscationes²⁷ uidere. lucrum significat.
36 <36> Cartas scribere. aut legere: nuntium bonum²⁸ significat.
<37> Carbones edere.²⁹ inimici tui te superabunt.³⁰
<38> Cybume uomere. dampnum significat.
39 <39> Cum ceteris³¹ coronam. mortem significat.³²
<40> Ceras uel cereos uidere. gaudium significat.
<41> Cum mortuo loqui.³³ lucrum significat.
42 <42> Cum sorore recumbere. dampnum significat.
<43> Cum matre. securitatem significat.
<44> Cum uirgine. anciñatum significat.
45 <45> Cum coniuge sua.³⁴ anciñatum significat.
<46> Cum masculo lauare. defectionem significat.
<47> Cum alio³⁵ peccare. infirmitatem significat.
48 <48> Cum altiore³⁶ loqui. aut ambulare: expeditionem significat.
<49> Cepas uidere. oculorum dolorem³⁷ (significat).
<50> Decollatum³⁸ se uidere. lucrum significat.

²⁹iniquitates] ~ || <fol. 12v>.
³¹Capillum aturn] -a- < [-].
³²tundi] mundi.
³⁴latrances] la'c rantes.
³⁶gaudium significat] ab omni metu et omni periculo liberabitur text 7/4.
³⁷loqui] -u- < i.
³⁸Coruscationes] -e- < i.
³¹superabunt] de te mala loquuntur text 7/4.
³²ceteris] interpretatively glossed by 'scilicet hominibus'.
³³significat] ~ || <fol. 13r>.
³⁴loqui] -u- < i.
³⁵sua] -a < o.
³⁷dolo rem] -rem- < [-].
³⁸Decollatum] -atum < c[-].
<51> Domum suam sacrificare. letitia<sup>39</sup> est.
<52> Domum suam destruer<sup>40</sup> \( 'e' \) <text>damnum significat</text>
<53> Domum suam ardere. periculum<sup>41</sup> significat.
<54> Dracones uidere. dignitatem significat.
<55> Dentes sibi cadere, aliquem 'amicum perdere' (significat.)
<56> Domum suam cadere uidere. damnum significat.<sup>42</sup>
<57> Dalmaticum indui.<sup>43</sup> lucrum significat.<sup>44</sup>
<58> Aequum album sedere. nuntium<sup>45</sup> bonum significat
<59> Ebiosum se uidere. infirmatatem significat.
<60> |\( A \)equo nigrum sedere. a(n)xietatem significat.
<61> Eunuchus uidere. damnum significat.
<62> Farinam tractare. incrementum negotii<sup>46</sup> significat.
<63> Faciem formosam se habere.<sup>47</sup> honorem significat.
<64> Faciem (turpem se habere. multis criminibus suprimitur.)
<65> Flumen) turbulentam. crimen<sup>48</sup> significat.
<66> Fossam uidere & in eam cadere: calumniam<sup>49</sup> significat.
<67> Filios aut filias nasci. incrementum<sup>50</sup> significat.
<68> Gladiatorem se uidere. factum damnum<sup>51</sup> significat.
<69> Gemmam de anulo<sup>52</sup> perdidisse.<sup>53</sup> aliquot ammittere significat.
<70> Gaudere in somnis. tristitiam significat.
<71> Hospites habere. inuidiam<sup>54</sup> significat.
<72> In balneo<sup>55</sup> lauare. ancxietatem significat.
<73> In carcere se uidere. calumniam significat.<sup>56</sup>
<74> Infantes uidere & cum ipsis ludere. gaudium<sup>57</sup> significat.
<75> In pomerium ambulare. anxietaatem significat.
<76> In flumen natare. anxietaatem significat.
<77> In tabula pictum<sup>58</sup> se uidere. uitam longam significat.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>39</sup>letitia\Incrementum - text 7/4.
<sup>40</sup>\( 'e' \) - uidere text 7/4.
<sup>41</sup>periculum\Uitae text 7/4.
<sup>42</sup>significat.] - || <fol. 13v>.
<sup>43</sup>indui\Uitae text 7/4.
<sup>44</sup>lucrum significat\Sibi - ex semine text 7/4.
<sup>45</sup>nuntium\Euentum text 7/4.
<sup>46</sup>incrementum negotii\Damnum, so Günzel (1993).
<sup>47</sup>se habere\Uodore, so Günzel (1993).
<sup>48</sup>crimen\Offensiones text 7/4.
<sup>49</sup>calumniam\Grauem text 7/4.
<sup>50</sup>incrementum\Damnum, so Günzel (1993).
<sup>51</sup>damnum\Fedum text 7/4.
<sup>52</sup>Gemmam de anulo\Feminam anuli, so Günzel (1993).
<sup>53</sup>perdidisse\Perdididisse.
<sup>54</sup>inuidiam\'uiduitatem\, so Günzel (1993).
<sup>55</sup>In balneo\Inbalneo Günzel (1993).
<sup>56</sup>significat.] - || <fol. 14r>.
<sup>57</sup>gaudium\Felicitatem temporis text 7/4.
<sup>58</sup>pictum\{\un}punctum, -i- <\u>partly erased\}; Günzel (1993) read punctum; pungi text 7/4.
<sup>59</sup>significat\Ei datur text 7/4.
<78> In mare lauare. letitiam significat.
<79> Imperator se uidere. factum honorem significat.
<80> In palatio deambulare. anxiétatem significat.
<81> In fontem lauare. lucrum significat.
<82> In gurgite sordido lauare. accusationem significat.
<83> In piscario lauare. inconditatem significat.
<84> In flumen lauare. gaudium significat.
<85> In fontem ce ci disse. aliquam accusationem significat.
<86> In mare ce ci disse. lucrum significat.
<87> In piscinanm ce ci disse gaudium significat.
<88> Lunam claram uidere. gaudium significat.
<89> Lunam sanguineam (uidere). dampnum significat.
<90> Lunam de célo descendere. uidere laborem significat.
<91> Leonem infestare. inimici seditio imp ignis significat.
<92> Lunam colorosam uidere. dampnum significat.
<93> Ligatum se uidere. dampnum significat.
<94> Luminaria uidere. lucrum significat.
<95> Lapides mittere. aegritudinem significat.
<96> Lectum suum bene stratum uidere. caritatem significat.
<97> Mare pisces uidere. anxiétatem significat.
<98> Manus inquinatas habere. dampnum significat.
<99> Matrem suam mortuam aut uiuam uidere. gaudium significat.
<100> Maiorem minorare se uidere detrimentum significat.
<101> Mulierem sparsis crinibus uidere. dampnum significat.

<90> Günzel (1993)

60 palatium platea uel text 7/4.
61 sordido solidus, so Günzel (1993).
62 accusationem - nem < [-].
63 claram - a- < -.
64 gaudium inuidiam text 7/4, an unlikely interpretation.
65 dampnum gaudium, so Günzel (1993).
66 célo - fol. 14v.
67 descendere cecidisse uel ascendere text 7/4.
68 colorosam uidere colores habere text 7/4.
69 lucrum securitatem text 7/4.
70 suum bene stratum sihi stratum et bene stratum text 7/4.
71 c[aritatem Günzel (1993).
72 anxiétatem - grauem text 7/4.
73 mortuam mor[i]tuam, [i] (erased by second hand and sublinear connecting line added between mor and tuam); mor tuam Günzel (1993).
74 uiuam uiuam, so Günzel (1993).
75 Maiorem Maiorar et, so Günzel (1993).
76 detrimentum gaudium minus est et text 7/4.
77 crinibus cri[m]nibus, [m] (erased by second hand and sublinear connecting line added between cri and nibus); Günzel (1993) suggested crinibus.
78 uidere uidere, ui- < in, [-] (erased by second hand and sublinear connecting line added between uid and ere).
79 dampnum seditio n text 7/4.
80 damnum deceptionem text 7/4.
Mortuum uidere. gaudium significat.

Mortuum osculari. uita uiuendi significat.

Manus lauari. molestiam\textsuperscript{81} significat.

Messes colligere.\textsuperscript{82} letitiam significat.

Mel accipi. ab alio decipi\textsuperscript{83} significat.

Naues uidere. bonum nuntium significat.

Nuces colligere. item significat.

Natare uidere. damnum significat.

Niuem uidere. letitiam significat.

Nebula\textit{m} in terra uidere.\textsuperscript{84} (nullum) bonum est.

Nuptias facere. damnnum est.

Nudos pedes ambulare. damnum est.

Organa cantare audire.\textsuperscript{85} uicinas laudes significat.\textsuperscript{86}

Oleum uidere. letitiam significat.

Orationem facere. letitiam\textsuperscript{87} significat.

Ossa tractare. odium significat.

Oliuas uidere.\textsuperscript{88} lucrum significat.

Oues uidere. tonsas\textsuperscript{89} damnnum significat.

Osculum dare. damnnum significat.

Ottum uidere. damnnum significat.

Pluuiam uidere gaudium\textsuperscript{90} significat.

Pilosum uidere.\textsuperscript{91} damnnum significat.

Puteum uidere. & in eum cadere.\textsuperscript{92} damnnum\textsuperscript{93} significat.

Plorare in somnis.\textsuperscript{94} letitiam\textsuperscript{95} (significat).

Palmam\textsuperscript{96} accipere. honorem significat.

Panem candidum accipere. accusationem significat.

Panem ordeaceu accipere. letitiam significat.

Pontem uidere. securitatem significat.

\textsuperscript{81}molestiam\textsuperscript{81} = grauem text 7/4.

\textsuperscript{82}colligere\textsuperscript{82} = \textsuperscript{\textlangle fol. 15r\textrangle}.

\textsuperscript{83}ab alio decipi\textsuperscript{83} = caueat ne ab alio seductur text 7/4.

\textsuperscript{84}in terra uidere\textsuperscript{84} super terram text 7/4.

\textsuperscript{85}cantare audire\textsuperscript{85} = cantica uidere, so Günzel (1993); cantare uiderit text 7/4; it is understood that audire is meant.

\textsuperscript{86}laudes significat\textsuperscript{86} letitias text 7/4.

\textsuperscript{87}letitiam\textsuperscript{87} feliciora tempora text 7/4.

\textsuperscript{88}uidere\textsuperscript{88} = tractare text 7/4.

\textsuperscript{89}Oues uidere. tonsas\textsuperscript{89} over Oues and tonsas two marks are written in the second hand. Günzel (1993) argued that this means the text was changed into oues tonsas uidere. However, virtually all extant dreambooks read the text as it stands, so I discard the emendation.

\textsuperscript{90}gaudium\textsuperscript{90} = letitiam text 7/4.

\textsuperscript{91}uidere\textsuperscript{91} = se - factum text 7/4.

\textsuperscript{92}cadere\textsuperscript{92} = ceciderit text 7/4.

\textsuperscript{93}damnnum\textsuperscript{93} = calumniam text 7/4.

\textsuperscript{94}somnis\textsuperscript{94} = somnus Günzel (1993).

\textsuperscript{95}letitiam\textsuperscript{95} gaudium text 7/4.

\textsuperscript{96}Palmam\textsuperscript{96} = \textsuperscript{\textlangle fol. 15v\textrangle}.  

\textsuperscript{349}
<131> Porcos uidere. infirmitatem\textsuperscript{37} significat.
<132> Pedes lauare. anxietatem\textsuperscript{38} significat.
<133> Poma colligere. molestiam\textsuperscript{39} significat.
<134> Qui se uidit carbones edere\textsuperscript{40} inimicorum\textsuperscript{41} significat.
<135> Qui se uolare uidit. locum mutare\textsuperscript{42} significat.
<136> Qui \textit{se} in exilium uidit. magnis criminiibus opprimi\textsuperscript{43} significat.
<137> Qui \textit{se} currere non posse uidit: impeditionem\textsuperscript{44} significat.
<138> Ridere qui se uidit.\textsuperscript{101} tristitiam\textsuperscript{45} significat.
<139> Rosam uidere. ulitudinem\textsuperscript{46} significat.
<140> Reges uidere. de seculo migrare\textsuperscript{47} significat.
<141> Ripas ascendere. laborem\textsuperscript{48} (significat.)
<142> (R)ipas descendere. nuntium bonum\textsuperscript{49} est.
<143> Soles duos uidere. honorem\textsuperscript{50} significat.
<144> Solem splendidum uidere. gaudium\textsuperscript{51} significat.
<145> Solem nel lunam uidere. letitiam iudicium\textsuperscript{52} significat.
<146> Stellas plures uidere. letitiam\textsuperscript{53} significat.
<147> Sanguinem de latere suo distillare. dampnum\textsuperscript{54} significat.
<148> Scalum sedere. dampnum\textsuperscript{55} significat.
<149> Serpentem infestari.\textsuperscript{56} inimicum\textsuperscript{57} significat.
<150> Tonitrum\textsuperscript{58} audire.\textsuperscript{59} gaudium\textsuperscript{60} significat.
<151> Tempestat\textsuperscript{61} uidere. lucrum\textsuperscript{62} significat.
<152> Tenebras uidere. infirmitatem\textsuperscript{63} significat.
<153> Terre motum uidere. aliquod ammmitter\textsuperscript{64} significat.
<154> Vitae\textsuperscript{65} maturas plenas uidere. letitiam\textsuperscript{66} significat.
<155> Vindemiare \textit{uel uidemias uidere}.\textsuperscript{67} hilaritatem\textsuperscript{68} significat.
<156> Vuas\textsuperscript{69} aceruas uidere. litem\textsuperscript{70} significat.
<157> Vngulas uidere angustiam\textsuperscript{71} significat.

\textsuperscript{37}[\textit{infirmitatem}] in \textit{infirmitatem `cadere`}, so Günzel (1993); in in- is most likely a dittography which led to the addition of cadere by the second hand as a verb was lacking.
\textsuperscript{38}[\textit{edere}] uidere, cf. 37.
\textsuperscript{40}[\textit{inimicorum}] - exercitus text 7/4.
\textsuperscript{41}[\textit{impeditionem}] impeditionem, so Günzel (1993).
\textsuperscript{42}[\textit{qui se uidit}] aut ridentes uidere\textsuperscript{9} text 7/4.
\textsuperscript{43}[\textit{nuntium bonum\textit{ est}}] bonum tempus significat text 7/4.
\textsuperscript{44}[\textit{significat}] - \textit{fol. 16r}.
\textsuperscript{45}[\textit{dampnum}] deceptio\textsuperscript{49} text 7/4.
\textsuperscript{46}[\textit{inimicum}] inimici\textsuperscript{50} uisionem\textsuperscript{51} text 7/4.
\textsuperscript{47}[\textit{Tonitrum}] Tonitruo.
\textsuperscript{48}[\textit{audire}] - uel uidere text 7/4.
\textsuperscript{49}[\textit{nuntium bonum text}] bonum tempus significat text 7/4.
\textsuperscript{50}[\textit{Tempestat\textsuperscript{61}}] Tempestra\textsuperscript{62}es.
\textsuperscript{51}[\textit{Vites}] Vites.
\textsuperscript{52}[\textit{uidemias}] `uidemias`. This addition is not recorded in any other dreambook.
\textsuperscript{53}[\textit{hilaritate}] - uitae text 7/4(cf. 0672).
\textsuperscript{54}[\textit{Vuas}] Vuus, so Günzel (1993).
<158> Venationem facere lucrum significat.
159<159>Vestiri qui se ui deterit.111 locunditatem significat.

7/6 London, British Library, Sloane 475, fols 217v/13-218r/19

<1> Aues in somnis uidere cum ipsis pugnare lites signis;
<2> Aues in somnis capere lucrum signus.3
3<3> Asinas. qui ui deterit cremenitis signus.
<4> Arma in somnis portare tutamentum. signum. 
<5> Auem in somnis (aliquid) a se' raptam qui ui deterit dannum significat.
6<6> Asinos (e)edere laborem significat;
<7> Aquis bulientes qui (ui) deter inimicorum locutionis significat.
<8> Arborum cum fructu.5 uidere lucrum separatum significat.
9<9> A(ro)rem (a)scendere aliquam dignitatem optinere signus
<10> Arcum tendere. & sagittas. mitter (laborem) & anxietatem6 'signus'7
<11> Anulum acciperere securitatem significat.
12<12> Anullum dare dannum. signum.
<13> Aurum tractare.8 expeditio(nes) negocii significat.
<14> Absincium bibere (litem grauem significat);
15<15> Acetum ueste pulcam bibere infimitatem significat.
<16> Agrimoniae(m) ederet (nuntium fedum significat).
<17> Ad sacrificium9 qui se ui deterit sacrificare letitiam signus.
18<18> Alba aut sp(les) ueste indui iocunditatem signus
<19> Arãre qui se ui deterit laborës maxime obuenient ei signum.
<20> Alciorem se uiderit. grauiuer languebit signis.
21<21> Barbarum sibi tondi dannum10 signum.
<22> Barbarum sibi radi similiter dannum significat;
<23> Burdonë sede (de)c(eph)i(tonem) negotiie significat.
24<24> Bestias domare. qui ui deterit grattiam aduersarii significat;
<25> Barbatum se ui deterre crementum significat.
<26> Birro albo haberë letitiam significat.
27<27> Bellum ueste barbarus. uidere letitiam significat.
<28> Butarium. edere nuntium bonum signum.
<29> Boues pascentes uidere agonia(m) negotie signum.
30<30> Bestias. loquentes uidere

111ui deterit] Birch (1878) expanded to uident, Günzel (1993) to uideit.
1Text ends at the bottom of fol. 218r, while the verso of this quire ending is empty.
3se] re.
5fructu] frûctu <fol. 218r>.
6anxietatem] anaritetate.
7'signus'] transposition from line below indicated in the text.
8tractare] tractari.
9sacrificium] sacrifici[i]um, u < i.
10dannum] dannum.
11ui deterit] ui de riet.
8.1/1 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 718/9-22

Dry dagas synd on xii monðum þa synd swiðe unhalwende monnum oððe nytenum blod on to forlatene oððe drenc to drincane þet is se æftemëste monandæg on Aprilis ær he gange of tune

3 forma monandæg on AGUSTUS monað 7 se æftemëste monandæg on decEMBER monað. ær he gange of tune

se ðe on ðam .i.ii. monandagum men1 oððe) nytenum blod forlætæd on þone dridan dæg he sceal sweltan

6 oððe he ne gebideð2 þæs seof(o)ðan dæges 7 gif he drinc drincð to læcereftæ ær .xv. dagan he sceal sweltan 7 gif hwyn man acenned bið on þissum iii dagum he sceal sweltan yfele deade 7 Se ðe et et goseflæsc on þisson .iii. dagan ær .xl. dægæ he sceal sweltan.

8.1/2 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 721/12-15

þreodawes beoþ on tweolf moneþ. þ(æt) beoþ swuþe unhalwende monne oþer nutene. blod on1 to forletene. oþer dr(e)nc2 to drinkene. þet is þe æftemeste monandai

8.1/4 London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 15r/6-15

Sind2 eft þry dagas on2 twelof monðum. þa syndon swiðe unhalwende (mon)num3 oððe nytenum blod (on) to forlatene. oððe drenc to drincanne. þet is se æftemesta monandæig on aprilis. ær he gange of tune

3 Se þe on þam þrim monandagum mannum oððe nytenum4 blod forlætæð on þone ðridan’ dæge he sceal swyltæn. oððe he ne gebideð þæs seofðan dæges. 7 gif he drinc drincð to læcereftæ. ær fiftyn eðeg dagæ he sceal swyltæn. 7 gif hwilc man ac(nned bið on) þysum þrimp dagum.5 he sceal swyltæn yfele deade. 7 se ðe et(eð gos e)flæsc on þysum þrimp dagum. he sceal swyltæn ær feowertugum dag(um)

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1men] mon Förster (1929).
2gebideð] gebideð.
4dr(e)nc] druc James (1912).
5Margins damaged; text legible with difficulty and sometimes lost altogether.
6Sind Find, so Pulsiano (1998a).
9ær he gange of tune.’] transposition indicated in manuscript.
12dagum] dagum Förster (1929).
8.1/3 London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.viii, fol. 22r/12-22v/4

Þry dagas syndon on geare þe we egiptiace hatað þet is on ure geðeode plihtlice dagas on þam natefæxshwon for nanre neode ne mannes ne neates blod (sy to wanienne þet is þonne utgangendum) þam monðe þe we aprilis hatað Se nyxta monandæg. þonne is se5 oðer ingangende þe monð þe we agustus hatað Þe æresta monandæg þonne is se þridda. seæresta monandæg Þe æresta monandæg æfter utgange þæs monðes decembris.

6 Se þe on þisum þrim dagum his blod gewanåð. sy hit man sy hit nyten. þæs Þe we secgan hyrdon þet sona on þam forman dæge oðde on þam feóðan7 (dæge) his lif he geændað ofþe gif5 his lif længre bið5 þet he to þam seofóðan dæge ne becymð. oðde gif he hwylcne10 drecn drincð þam þrim dagum his lif he geændað. (binnan Þx. dagum gif hwa on þisum dagum acænned bið yfelum deade he his life geændað) 7 se þe on þys(um) ylcum þrym dagum gosfeælescæ onbyríd11 binnan feowertiges daga fyrste his lif he geændað.

8.1/5 London, British Library, Harley 585, fol. 190r/7-190v/16

Þry dagas syndon on geare þe we egiptiaci hatað þet is on ure geøeode plihtlice dagas on þam natoæxshwon for nanre neode ne mannes ne neates blod sy to wanienne þet is þonne utgangendum1

3 þam monþe þe we aprelis hatað se nyhsta monandæg án. þonne is ðaper ingangendum þam monþe þe we agustus hatað se æresta monandæg. þonne is se þridda se æresta monandæg æfter utgange þæs2 monþes decembris.

6 Se þe on þisum þrim dagum his blod gewanige sy hit man sy hit nyten þæs þe we secgan gehyrdan þet sona on þam forman dæge ofþe þam feóðan dæge his lif (he) geændað ofþe gif his lif længre bið þet he3 to þam seofóðan dæge ne becymð oðde gif he hwilcne drænc drincð þam þrim dagum his lif he geændað binnan Þx. dagum. gif hwa on þis(um) dagum acænned bið yfelum deade he his lif geændað 7 se þe on þys(um) ylcum þrym dagum gosfeælescæ onbyríd binnan feowertiges daga fyrste he his lif geændað.

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1Punctuation of later date attested but not represented here.
2Dry Hampson (1841: II.107).
3egiptiace egyptiace Hampson (1841: II.107).
4þonne 7 −, so Hampson (1841: II.107), Förster (1929: 271).
5se − not in Hampson (1841: II.107).
6þam feóðan þam seofóðan Hampson (1841: II.107).
7giffy Hampson (1841: II.107).
8bið − <fol. 22v>.
9hwylnce hwylcne, so Hampson (1841: II.107).
10onbyríd onbyríd Hampson (1841: II.107).
11utgangendum utgangendum Cockayne (1864-66).
12þæs − <fol. 190v>.
13he not in Leonhardi (1905), Grattan and Singer (1952).

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8.1/6 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 422, pp. 49/4-8

Isti sunt. tres dies anni. pre aliis obseruandii\(^1\) **primus est** .viii. kl **aprilis.** & **primus dies.** agusti. & nouisim\(\textit{us est} \) tertia excunct\(\textit{e}\) decembri

\(^1\)obseruandi\] obiseruandi; *silently emended James (1912) Liuzza (2001).

\(^2\)excunte\] kl. so James (1912).

\(^3\)nouisim\(\textit{us est} \) tertia excunct\(\textit{e}\) decembri.

qui in is diebus hominem. uel pecus. inciderit tertia die. morietur. Si quis. in predictis. diebus natus fuerit. mala morte. morietur

8.1/7 London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fols 3v/9-4r/12

hic notantur\(^1\) dies egipci qui obseruandi sunt per omnia ne quis sanguinem audiat\(^2\) in eis minuere. Dies enim aegyptiaci in quibus nulliusmodi nec per ulla necessitate non licet hominem. nec pecus sanguinem minuere. Isti tres dies per omnia cauende sunt. Id est viii kl **aprilis** illo die lunis. intrante agusto\(^3\) illa dies lune similiter. excunte decembrio illa dies lunę **cum multa diligentia obseruande sunt** quia omnia uena plena sunt.

\(^1\)notantur\] noctantur.

\(^2\)audiat\] *not in Liuzza (2001).*

\(^3\)aprilis\] - \(<\text{fol. 4r}>\).

8.1/8 London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.xii, fol. 44r/26-44v/1

DE DIEBVS EGYPTIACIS.

Hos dies maxime obseruare debemus. in quibus nulliusmodi. neque ulla necessitate licet homini uel pecori sanguinem minuere. nec inpendere. id est .viii. kl **aprilis** illo die lunis. Et intrante augusto. illo die lunis. **cum omni diligentia obseruandum est.** quia tunc omnes uenę plenę sunt. Exeunte\(^1\) autem decembri illo die lunis.

\(^1\)exunte\] kl. so James (1912).

\(^2\)notantur\] noctantur.

\(^3\)audiat\] *not in Liuzza (2001).*

Qui in istis tribus diebus hominem inciderit aut pecus statim aut die terto moriturur. aut .vii. mum diem non pertingit. Et si potitionem acceperit ante xv. dies moritur & si masculus aut femina his diebus nati fuerint mala morte morientur. & si de auca in ipsis diebus manduauerit ante xv. dies moritur.

Qui in istis tribus diebus hominem inciderit aut pecus statim aut die terto morituri. aut ad septimum non peritinget. Et si potionem acceperit. ante dies xv. moritur. quisquis auca in istis tribus diebus manduauerit. ante .xl. dies moritur. sic autem alii dies plurimi sicur\(^2\) supra scriptum est. sed isti tres per omnia obseruandi sunt.

\(^2\)sicur\] - \(<\text{fol. 44v}>\).
8.1/9 London, British Library, Harley 3271, fol. 121r/21-30

Post viii kl aprīlis. illa diē lunē & intrante augustō illa diē lunē. & exēunte decembre illa diē lunē similiter obseruandum est cum omni diligentia: ne flebotomatio exerceatur quia omnes uene plene sunt;

Qui in his tribus diebus hominem uel quodcumque animal inciderit: si ilico mortuum non fuerit: die tertia morietur: aut certe septima die: Si quis uero potionem biberit: ante xv. dies morietur; & si quilibet masculus. uel femina his supradictis diebus nati fuerint. mala morte morientur; Et si de auca comederint: ad quindecim dies non pertingent;

8.1/10 London, British Library, Harley 3271, fol. 122v/19-28

DE TRIBVS DIEBV S AEGYPTIACIS.

Post‘ viii. kl aprīlis illa die lunē. & intrante² agusto illa die lunae: & exēunte decembre illa die lunē. similiter obseruandum est cum omni diligentia ne flebotomatio³ exerceatur. quia omnes uene plene sunt.

Qui in his tribus diebus hominem inciderit uel quodcumque animal: si ilico mortuum non fuerit: die tertia morietur. aut certe septima die. Si quis uero potionem biberit: ante .xv. dies morietur. Et si quilibet masculus uel femina his supradictis diebus nati fuerint: mala morte morientur Et si de auca comederint: ad xv. dies non pertingent.

8.1/11 Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 17, fol. 3va/29-35

Hi tres dies plus¹ sunt obseruandi. Intrante augustō prīmus dies lunē obseruandus est. & exēunte decembri similiter ille dies lunē: & .viii. kl aprīlis ille eique dies lunē.

Qui in istis diebus hominem inciderit. aut pecus mox morietur. (statim) aut die tercio: quia omnis uena plena est. Et si infans in istis diebus natus fuerit. mala morte morietur;

¹A line in the right margin indicates that this text should have followed the one on the Dog Days instead of the intervening mass. Another copy of the sequence (twenty-four Egyptian Days, Dog Days, three Egyptian Days) on fol. 122rv is in consecutive order.
²diē lunē die lunae Liuzza (2001).
³Ibid.
¹malae male.
¹Post Primo Liuzza (2001).
²intrante] on erasure.
³flebotomatio] flebo to ma·tio, -to- on erasure.
²lunē] -ē < -ē.
EGYPTIAN DAYS, TWELVE DAYS PER YEAR

8.2/1 London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C.i, fol. 7rb/1-15

Isti quoque dies obseruandi sunt in singulis mensibus. in quibus diebus maledictus est populus egyptiorum cum pharaone.

3 In mense ianuatio. iiii. dies id est primus
   In februario. ii.
   In martio. vii.

6 In aprile. v.
   In maio. vii’i’, uel vii.
   In iunio. vii.

9 In iulio. v.
   In agosto. xiii.
   In septembris. ix.

12 In octobri. ii.
   In nouembri. ix.
   In decembris. xiii.

8.2/2 Oxford, St. John’S College, MS 17, fol. 40va/18-39

Isti (quoque) dies obseruandi sunt in singulis mensibus. in quibus diebus maledictus est populus egyptiorum cum pharaone.

3 In mense ianuatio. iiii. dies id est primus:
   In februario. ii.
   In martio. vii.

6 In aprile. v.
   In maio. viii. uel vii.
   In iunio. vii.

9 In iulio. v.
   In agosto. xiii.
   In septembris. ix.

12 In octobri. ii.
   In nouembri. ix.
   In decembris. xiii.

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1Entries for February-December are in columns.
2Each entry starts on a new line.
EGYPTIAN DAYS, TWENTY-FOUR DAYS PER YEAR
ORDER: 1-3, 12-13, 28, 14, 16, 21-22, 7, 30γ, 23, 30α, 18, 5, 10, 17, 19-20, 25, 27, 30β, 4, 8, 6, 9, 11, 15, 24, 30, 26, 29

8.3/1 London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.xv, fols 130v/6-131r/41

Da ealdan læces gesetton2 on ledonbocum þæt on ælcum monðe beod æfre twayne dagas þa syndon swiðe d’e’rìgendlice ðeignic drenc to drincanne. oðþe blod to lætene forþam þe an tid is on ælcum þara daga gif man ænige æddran geopenað on þara tide þæt hit bið (his) lifleast. oðþe langsum sar. þæs cuntene sum læce 7 let his3 horse blod on þære tide. 7 hit læg sana dead.
Nu syndon hit þas dagas swa swa hit her onsegð.

6 Se forma dæg on martio. þæt is on hlydan monðe. 7 se feordæ dæg ær his ende.
On þam oðrum monðe þe we aprele hatað se teoda dæg is derigendlic. 7 se ændlyfte ær his ende
On maius monðe se þridda dæg is derigendlic. 7 se seofoða4 ær his ende.

9 On iuniius monðe se .x. dæg. 7 ær his ende se .xv.
On lülius monðe se .xiii. dæg. 7 ær his ende se .x.
On agustus monðe se .i. dæg. 7 ær his ende se .ii.

12 On september monðe se .iii. dæg. 7 ær his ende se .x.
On october monðe se .iii. dæg. 7 ær his ende se .x.
On november5 monðe se .v. dæg. 7 ær ærip his ende se .iii.

15 On December6 monðe se .vii. dæg. 7 ær his ende se .x.
On januarius monðe se .i. dæg. 7 ær his ende se .vii.
On februarius7 monðe se .iii. dæg. 7 ær his ende se þridda.

18 We gesetton on foreweardan þissere endebyrdnesse þone monad martius þe menn hatað hlyda. forþam he is annginn æfter rihtan getele ealles þæs geares. 7 se ælmihtiga god8 on þam monðe gesceop ealle gesceafa.

21 Nu eft be þam monan is mycclum to warnienne þæt man on .iii. nihta ealdne monan. oðþe on .v. nihta menn blod ne læte swa us bec seggæ ærpam þe se mona 7 seo sǽ beon anræde.
ac we gehyrden seggon sumne wisne9 mann þæt nan mann ne leofode þe him blod lete10 on ealra halgena mæssedæg. oðþe gif he gewundod were. nis þis nan wiglung. ac wise menn hit afunden þurh þone halgan wisdom swa heom god ælmihtig gedíhte.

1Text is continuous. Entries for June-February are in columns.
3his] h- < -.
4seofoða] - < [feordä].
5novembar] nou(em)ber Cockayne (1864-66).
6ær] æ- < [h].
7December] Dec(em)ber Cockayne (1864-66).
8god] -d < a.
9wisne] w- < , the curve points upward like that of a wynn, the ascender resembles that of a þ cut short. þisne Cockayne (1864-66) Förster (1929); - || <fol.131r>.
10lete] læte Cockayne (1864-66).
Pa ealdan\(^2\) læcas gesettan on ledenbocum.\(^3\) ṭat on ælcum monðe beoð æf(re) twegen dagas. ðe syndon swīðe derigendlice ænigum menn\(^4\) drec to drincanne. olþe blod to laţanne. forþam ðe an\(^5\) tid is on ælcum þæra\(^6\) daga. gif man ænige æddran geopenad on þære tide. ṭat hit bid ðis\(^7\) lif(least) oððe langsum sar. þæs cunnade sum læce. 7 let his horse blod on þære tide. and hit læg sona dead:– Nu syndon hit þas dagas. swa swa hit\(^8\) her onsegð.

\(\text{þæt is se forma dæg on martio on hlydan monðe. 7 se feorða}\(^9\) dæg æþæm ðe he on weg fa(ře)\(^{10}\) On þam ðræum monðe ðe we aprilis hatað. s(e) teoþa dæg is deri(gendlic) and se endlyfta dæg æþæ his utganøe."

On \(\text{iunius monðe ðe se teoða. 7 æþæ his ende se fifeþæða.}\)

On \(\text{iulius se teoða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

Wæ gesettan on forewardan on þyssere endebyrd(nesse þone) monað Martius. ðe menn hatað hlyda for þam ðe he angin æfter) rihtum getele ealles þæs geares. 7 Se ælmih(tiga god on þam) monðe gescœop
ealle gescæfta.\(^{16}\)

(Nu eft be þam monan is myclym to warnienne) ðat man on feower nihta ealdne monan. œððe on sif nihta (menn blod) ne læte. swa swa us secgad\(^{17}\) bec. æþæm ðe se mona. 7 seo sæ be(on anræde).

\(\text{On iunius monðe ðe se teoða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

\(\text{On iulius se þreotteþæða. 7 æþæ his ende se teoða.}\)

\(\text{On iunius monðe ðe se teoða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

\(\text{On iunius monðe ðe se teoða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

\(\text{On iunius monðe ðe se teoða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

\(\text{On iunius monðe ðe se teoða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

\(\text{On iunius monðe ðe se teoða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

\(\text{On iunius monðe ðe se teoða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

\(\text{On iunius monðe ðe se teoða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

\(\text{On iunius monðe ðe se teoða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

\(\text{On iunius monðe ðe se teoða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

\(\text{On iunius monðe ðe se teoða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

\(\text{On iunius monðe ðe se teoða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\) 18

\(\text{On februarius se feorða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

\(\text{On februarius se feorða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

\(\text{On februarius se feorða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

\(\text{On februarius se feorða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

\(\text{On februarius se feorða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

\(\text{On februarius se feorða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

\(\text{On februarius se feorða. 7 æþæ his ende se þæteþæða.}\)

\(\text{(Ac we) gehyrdon secgan sumne (wisne) mann. ðat nan mann ne leofode. (þe him) blod lete on ealra halgena mæssedæg. œððe gif he gewundod ware. (Nis þis na)n wilung, ac wise menn hit afundon þurh} \)

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\(^{1}\) Text is continuous, except the list of months, of which each month starts on a new line (except for October). Margins damaged; text illegible and partly lost at the bottom of fol. 15r and the top of fol. 15v.

\(^{2}\) Pa ealdan | Da ·ildan Hampson (1841).

\(^{3}\) ledenbocum | ledonbocum Liuzza (2001).

\(^{4}\) men | men Hampson (1841).

\(^{5}\) an | ane Hampson (1841).

\(^{6}\) þæra | þære Hampson (1841).

\(^{7}\) his | not in Förster (1929).

\(^{8}\) hit | not in Hampson (1841).

\(^{9}\) se feorða | se sefeorða Hampson (1841).

\(^{10}\) on weg fa(ře) | en(dañ) Förster (1929).

\(^{11}\) On | on, ditography.

\(^{12}\) 7... utga(nge.)\(^{1}\) transposition indicated in manuscript \(\mid\) utga(nge.)\(^{1}\) (ende) Förster (1929).

\(^{13}\) 7... teoða.\(^{1}\) Förster (1929) did not see that the entry for October immediately followed that of September, which is why he thought this entry had been omitted by the scribe.

\(^{14}\) sé < 

\(^{15}\) seofenteða | seofeða Förster (1929: 268). The misreading caused considerable confusion for Förster (see the description of the twenty-four Egyptian Days in section 3.2.1).

\(^{16}\) gesceafta. | \(\sim\) < fol. 15v>
\[\text{\textit{þone halgan wisdom.\textsuperscript{18} `swa... him dihte god:--\textsuperscript{19}}}

\textit{8.3/3 London, British Library, Harley 3271, fol. 90v/20-91r/24\textsuperscript{1}}

\textbf{DE DIEBVVS MALIS.}

\textit{Pa ealdan læcas gesetton on ledenbocu: \textit{þet on ælcam monðe beoð æfref twegen dagas þe syndan swyðe
derigendlice ægnige drenc on to ðicgenne: ðode blod ón to latenne: forðan þe an tid is ón ælcam þæra
daga gif manænigæddran geopenad on þære tide: \textit{þet hit bið his lifleast. ðode langsum sar; ðæs
cunnode sum læce. let his blod blod on þære tide. 7 hit læg sone dead.}}

\textit{Nu synd hit þas dagas swa swa us seicgaþ bec:-
se forma dæg on martio \textit{þæt\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{2}} is on hlydan monþe. 7 se feorþa dæg ærþam þe he fare aweg.
on þam opran monþe þe we apriles hatat: se tyoþa dæg is dergendlic: 7 se endlyfta dæg ær his utgage;}

eft is on þan monþe þe we maios hatet se þridda dæg dergendlic: 7 se seouþa ær his ende.

On iunius se teoþa 7 ær his ende se fífteoþa.
On iulius se ðrostteoða 7 ær his ende se teða.

\textit{On augustus. se forma: 7 ær his ende se oþer.}
On september se ðridda. 7 ær his ende se teoþa.

On october. eac se ðridda: 7 ær his ende se teoþa.

On novemner. se fífta: 7 ær his ende se þridda.
On december. se twelfta: 7 ær his ende se se\textsuperscript{3} o\textsuperscript{o\textsuperscript{3}} o\textsuperscript{3} fanteoða.\textit{3}

On ianuarius. se forma: 7 ær his ende se seofoða.

On februarius se feorða: 7 ær his ende se ðridda.

We gesetton on forewardan on þysre endebyrdnesse þone monaþ martius\textsuperscript{4} þe menn hatat hlyda forþan
he is angin æfter rihtum getele ealles þæs geares 7 se ælmhtiaga god ón þam monþe gescop ealle
gesceafte;

Nu æf\textsuperscript{5} be þam monan is miclum to warnienne þet mon on fyuwer nihtan monan oþþe on fif nihta
men blod ne læte swa swa us seecgaþ bec ærþan þe se mona 7 syu æe beon anræde

eaec we gehyrdan seggan sumne wisne man þet nan man ne lyfode þe him lete blod on ealra halgena
mæsæxæig oþþe gif he gewundad ware; Nis þis nan wigelung ac wise men hit afundan þuruh þæne
halgan wisdom swa swa him gedihete godd.

\textit{gyt her to eacan\textsuperscript{6} is to warnienne þet man ne þicge gosfælæc on þane æftemestan dæi hlydan monþes
ne on þæne æftemestan dæig december monþes\textsuperscript{7} gosfælæc byþ æfref unhalwende þam untruman swa
swa ma oþra metta þe we ne magan her secggan.}

\textsuperscript{18}wisdom\textsuperscript{18} gast.
\textsuperscript{19}swa... god:--\textsuperscript{19} transposition indicated in manuscript.
\textsuperscript{1}Paragraphs three to six <fol. 90v/20-91r/4> precede one and two <fol. 91r/5-24>.
\textsuperscript{2}þæt\textsuperscript{2} - \textsuperscript{2} i.
\textsuperscript{3}se o\textsuperscript{o\textsuperscript{3}} o\textsuperscript{3} fanteoða\textsuperscript{3} seafanteoða, -o\textsuperscript{o} - a\textsuperscript{3}, a\textsuperscript{3} not erased or expunged though; seafanteoða Henel (1934-35).
\textsuperscript{4}martius\textsuperscript{4} martiu\textsuperscript{m}; silently emended Liuzza (2001).
\textsuperscript{5}æft\textsuperscript{5} æf[.]\textsuperscript{5}
\textsuperscript{6}eacan\textsuperscript{6} - || <fol. 91r>.
\textsuperscript{7}monþes\textsuperscript{7} manþe.
8.3/12 London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.xv, fols 129v/27-130r/12

Non interficias nec sanguis\(^2\) relaxetur.\(^3\) nec uinea plantetur.\(^4\) nec messis incipiatur colligere. nec uinea ematur nec uendatur. Nec animalia domentur. Nec ullam quæ ad profectum pertinere debeant incipientur. (quia isti dies maledicti sunt a)\(^5\) domino.\(^6\)

Mense Ianuario\(^7\) i & antequam exeat die vii
Mense Februario iii & antequam exeat die iii
Mense Martio i & antequam exeat die iii
Mense Aprilis x & antequam exeat die xi
Mense Maius iii & antequam exeat die vii
Mense Iunius xiii & antequam exeat die x
Mense Iulius i & antequam exeat die ii
Mense Augustus ii & antequam exeat die x
Mense September iii & antequam exeat die x
Mense October iii & antequam exeat die x
Mense November v & antequam exeat die iii
Mense December vii & antequam exeat die x


Non interficias nec sanguis relaxetur. nec uinea plantetur. Nec messis incipiatur colligere. nec uinea ematur. nec uendatur. nec animalia domentur. nec ullam quæ ad profectum pertinere debeant incipientur. (quia isti dies maledicti sunt a) domino.

Mense Ianuario die .i. 7 antequam exeat die .vii.
Mense Februario die .iii. 7 antequam exeat die .vii.
Mense Martio die .i. 7 antequam exeat die .iii.
Mense Aprilis die .x. 7 antequam exeat die .xi.
Mense Maius die .iii. 7 antequam exeat. Die .vii.
Mense Iunius die .x. 7 antequam exeat die .v.
Mense Iulius die .xiii. 7 antequam exeat Die .x.
Mense Augustus, die .i. 7 antequam exeat die .v.
Mense September. Die .vii. 7 antequam exeat Die .x.
Mense October die .iii. 7 antequam exeat Die .x.
Mense November. Die .v. 7 antequam exeat die .iii.
Mense December Die .xi. 7 antequam exeat Die .x.

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\(^1\)Introduction is continuous; the list of the months is in columns.
\(^2\)sanguis\(\) sangius Liuzza (2001).
\(^3\)relaxetur relax- < [relax].
\(^4\)plantetur] plantetur.
\(^5\)[quia... a] - erased, but the closely related text 8.3/13 shows that the erasure, though intended, is undeserved.
\(^6\)domino.] - ☑ <fol. 130r>.
\(^7\)Ianuario] Ianuari Liuzza (2001).
\(^8\)December] Ddecember.
\(^10\).xi.] -i < v.
8.3/28 Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 17, fol. 40vb/32-49

De diebus egyptiacis qui maledicti sunt in anno.
His diebus non debent homines se flebotomare. nec potionem accipere. nec ullam opus inchoare.

1 Iauaritio. i. die. 7 in fine. vii.
   Februaria. iii. die. 7 in fine. iii.
   Martio. i. die. 7 in fine. iii.
3 Aprile. x. die. 7 in fine. xi.
   Maio. iii. die. 7 in fine. vii.
   Junio. x. die. 7 in fine. xv.
6 Iulio. xiii. die. 7 in fine. x.
   Augusto. i. die. 7 in fine. ii.
   Septembris. iii. die. 7 in fine. x.
9 Octobri. iii. die. 7 in fine. x.
12 Novembris. v. die. 7 in fine. x.

8.3/14 London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fol. 5r/1-13

Incipiunt dies aegiptiaci qui in anno obseruandi sunt per unumquemque mensem ii. non iteratur homo. non uinea plantatur. non messis tritetur. Non causa sequatur. non opus quod ad profectum

3 esse debet facere. quia (hi dies a domino) maledicti sunt
   .iii. NÖN. Iauaritii. iii. NÖN aplitis. ix. KL februarii. ix. KL. mai(i) .vi. ID. FEBRVARII. ii. NÖN
   mai(i) .vi. KL. maiis. xvi. KL. iunii .v. NÖN mattis .v. ID. iunii .vi. KL aplitis. xvi. KL iulii NÖN iulii
6 xi. KL. agusti .vii. ID agustus. xiii. KL. Septembris .iii. NÖN. Septembris .vii. KL. octobris .v. NÖN.
   octobris. vii KL. nouembris.

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1 Each entry starts on a new line. Entries for June to December are in columns. Due to tight binding writing in the right margin is not visible on microfilm.

2 Septembris -b- < d.

3 i[i. duo, so Birch (1878) Steele (1911) Günzel (1993) Liuzza (2001). This is obviously a dittography.

IANI PRIMA DIES. 7 SEPTIMA FINE TIMETVR.-
Periculustom est flebotomari in principio mensis ianuarii (dies primus). hoc est kl ianuarii. & ante eiusmod
die .vii. hoc est .vii(i). kl februarii.

AST FEBRVI QVARTA EST PRECEDIT TERTIA FINEM.
(A) principio mensis februarii die quarto. hoc est .ii. nonas februarii. & ante eiusmod exitum dies tertiuss
hoc est .iii(i). kl martii.

MARTIS PRIMA NECAT CVIVS SIC CVSPIDE QVARTA EST.
In principio mensis martii die primo hoc est kl martii. & ant eius exitum die quarto. hoc est .v. kl.

APRILIS DECIMA EST VNDENO A FINE MINATVR.
(A) principio mensis aprilis dies decimus. hoc est .iii(i). idus aprilis. & ant eius exitum die undecimo:
hoc est .xii. kl maii.

TERTIVS. EST. MAIO LVPVS EST ET SEPTIMVS ANGVIS.
A principio mensis mai(i) die tertio. hoc est .v. nonas mai(i). & ante eiusmod exitum die septimo. hoc est
.iii. kl. iunii.

IVNIVS IN DECIMO QVINDENVM FINE SALVTAT.
A principio mensis iunii. die .x. hoc est .iii. idus iunii. & ant eius exitum die .xv. hoc est .xvi. kl. iulii.

TREDECIMVS IVLII DECIMA INNVIT ANTE KALENDAS.
A principio mensis iulii die tertio decimo. hoc est .iii. idus iulii. & ant eius exitum die decimo. hoc
est .xi. kl. augusti.

AVGVSTI NEPA PRIMA FVGAT DE FINE SECVNDAM.
A principio mensis augusti die primo hoc est kl augusti. & ant eius exitum die secundo. hoc est .iii(i).
k. kl septembris.

TERTIA SEPTEMBRIS VVLPIS FERIT A PEDE DENAM.
A principio mensis septembris die tertio. hoc est .iii. nonas septembris. & ant eius exitum die decimo. hoc
est xi kl octobris.

TERTIVS OCTOBRIS GLADIUS DECIMO ORDINE NECTIT.
A principio mensis octobris die .iii. hoc est .v. nonas octobris. & ant eius exitum die decimo hoc est
xi kl nouembris.

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1.vii.i. vii. Günzel (1993); all superscript case endings for numbers lacking in Günzel (1993).
2(A)] In Günzel (1993).
*augusti.] - · <fol. 22v>.
30 QVINTA NOVEMBRIS ACVS VIX TERTIA MANSIT IN VRNA.
A principio mensis nouembris. die .v. hoc est nonas nouembris. & ante eius exitum die tertio. hoc est .iii. kl decembris.

33 DAT DVODENA COHORS SEPTEM INDE DECEMQVE DECEMBRI.
A principio mensis decembris die xii. hoc est .ii. idus decembris. & ante eius exitum die .xvii. hoc est xviii kl Ianuarii.

36 Super omnes hos. sunt etiam isti obseruabiles.5 Ab initio mensis augusti. dies primus lunæ. insuper & de martio ac decembri nouissimi dies eiusdem feriæ. in quibus & esus cuiuslibet anseris proibetur.

8.3/21 London, British Library, Harley 3271, fol. 120v/1-20

`IANVARIVS`
`Ianu prima dies & septima fine timetur`
3 In principio mensis Ianuarii. dies primus. (hoc est) `kl ianuarii’2 & ante eius exitum dies septimus. `hoc est vii(i). kl februarii’3

`Ast febru quarta est precedit tertia finem’
6 A principio mensis februarii. dies quartus. (hoc est ii non februarii) & ante eius exitum dies. tertius `hoc est iii kl martsii’4

`Martius’
9 `marts prima necat’ cuius sic cuspipe quarta est’
In principio mensis martii. dies .i. (hoc est) `kl martii’ & ante eius exitum dies .iii.” hoc est v. k aptilis’

12 `Aprelis decima est undeno a fine timetur’
A principio mensis aprilis dies .x.” (hoc est iiii idus aprilis) & ante eius exitum dies .xi.” hoc est xii. kl maii.

15 `Tertius est maio lupus est & septimus anguis’
A principio mensis maii dies .iii. & ante eius exitum dies .vii.”

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1This text has undergone extensive revision with interlinear additions, and additions in the left and top margins: (1) the months January and March are mentioned in the left margin; (2) calendar dates for the Egyptian Days of January-March were added in the left margin; April has the calendar date for the second Egyptian Day in original position, and after that dates are lacking altogether; (3) hexameter verses have been added between the lines, preceded by the comment ‘hoc ipsum metrice’, which was added in the top margin. This text is part of a sequence, together with a text on the Dog Days and moonbook, and one on the three Egyptian Days. The sequence appears twice: here (fol. 120v-121r) and on fol. 122rv. The texts are identical, apart from small mistakes. The second copy is carried out with more care.
2kl ianuarii’) in top margin, to the left.
3hoc est vii(i). kl februarii’) two lines down, also in the left margin: ‘[vii kl februarii].
4martii’) ‘mjr’.
5necat] negat.
Iunius in decimo quindenum fine salutat

A principio mensis iunii dies .decimus. & ante eius exitum dies .xv. *m*.

Tredecimus iulii decima innuit ante kalendas

A principio mensis iulii dies .xiii. *m* & ante eius exitum dies .x. *m*.

Agusti nepa prima fugat de fine secunda

In principio mensis augusti. dies .unus. & ante eius exitum dies .ii.

Tertia septembris ulpis ferit a pede denam

A principio mensis septembris dies .iii. & ante eius exitum dies decimus.

Tertius octobris gladius decimo ordine nectit

A principio mensis octobris dies .iii. & ante eius exitum dies .decimus.

Quinta nouembris acus uix tertia mansit in urna

A principio mensis nouembris dies .v. & ante eius exitum dies .tertius.

Dat duodena cohoris septem inde decemque decembris

A principio mensis decembris dies .xii. & ante eius exitum dies .xvii.

Super omnes hos sunt etiam isti osservabiles. Ab initio mensis augusti. dies primus lunæ. insuper & de martio. ac decembris nouissimi  eisudem feriç in quibus & esus ciuslibet anseris prohibitur.

8.3/22 London, British Library, Harley 3271, fol. 122r-122v/7

VERSVS AD DIES AEGYPTIACOS. INVENI`A`NDAS.  

IANVARIVS.

IANI PRIMA DIES ET SEPTIMA. FINE TIMETVR. 

In principio mensis ianuarii dies primus. hoc est kl ianuarii. & ante eius exitum dies septimus. hoc est viii. kl februarii.

FEBRVARIVS.

AST FEBRVI QVARTA EST. PRECEDIT TERTIA FINEM. 

A principio mensis februarii dies quartus. hoc est ii. NON februarii. & ante eius exitum dies tertius. hoc est iii. kl martii.

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7 dies primus lunæ] - glossed by se forma monandæg.
8 nouissimi] interlinear explanatory gloss added: scilicet dies.
9 Entries for the Egyptian Days start on a new line. The goose prohibition is continuous. The rubricated names of the months are on the right-hand side of the page opposite the prose explanations of the hexameter verses. Henel (1934-35) did not print these names.
MARTIVS.
MARTIS PRIIMA NECAT CVIVS SIC CVSPIDE QVARTA EST.

12 In principio mensis martii,\textsuperscript{3} dies primus. hoc est kl martii. & ante eius exitum dies quartus. hoc est v. kl apriliis.

APRILIS.
15 APRELIIS DECIMA EST. VNDENO A FINE TIMETVR.

A principio mensis aprilis. dies decimus. hoc est iii. id aprilis. & ante eius exitum dies undecimus. hoc est xii kl mai(i).\textsuperscript{4}

MAIVS.

TERTIVS EST MAIO LVPVS EST ET SEPTIMVS ANGVIS.

(A)\textsuperscript{5} principio mensis maii dies tertius. hoc est v. NO dł. mai(i),\textsuperscript{6} & ante eius exitum. dies septimus. hoc est viii. kl iunii.

IVNIVS.
IVNIVS IN DECIMO. QVINDENVM FINE SALVTAT.

24 A principio mensis iunii. dies x.\textsuperscript{m} hoc est iii. id. iunii. & ante eius exitum dies quintus decimus. hoc est xvi. kl iulii.

IVLIVS.

27 TREDECVMS IVLII DECIMA INNVIT `ante´ KALENDAS.

A principio mensis iulii dies xiii.\textsuperscript{7} hoc est iii. idus iulii. & ante eius exitum dies x.\textsuperscript{m} hoc est xi kl agusti.

AGVSTVS.
AGVSTI NEPA PRIIMA FVGAT DE FINE SECVNDA.

In principio mensis agusti dies primus id est kl agusti. & ante eius exitum dies secundus. hoc est iii. kl septembris.

SEPTEMBER.

TERTIA SEPTEMBRIS VVLPIS FERIT A\textsuperscript{11} PEDE DENAM.

36 A principio mensis septembris. dies tertius hoc est iii. NO dł. septembris. & ante eius exitum dies decimus id est xi. kl octobris.

\textsuperscript{3}martii] martis Henel (1934-35), but see 8.3/16 and 8.3/21.
\textsuperscript{4}mai(i)] maii Henel (1934-35).
\textsuperscript{5}[A] A Henel (1934-35).
\textsuperscript{6}mai(i)] maii Henel (1934-35).
\textsuperscript{7}x.\textsuperscript{m}] decimus Henel (1934-35).
\textsuperscript{8}xiiii.\textsuperscript{m} decimus tertius Henel (1934-35).
\textsuperscript{9}x.\textsuperscript{m}] decimus Henel (1934-35).
\textsuperscript{10}xiiii. kl septembris; ] transposition from line above indicated in manuscript.
\textsuperscript{11}A] on erasure.
OCTOBER.
39 TERTIVS OCTOBRES GLADIUS DECIMO ORDINE NECTIT:
A principio mensis octobris. dies tertius hoc est v. NOV. (octobris). & ante eius exitum dies decimus. hoc est xi. kl nouembris.

NOVEMBER.
42 QVINTA NOVEMbris ACVS VIX TERTIA MANSIT IN VRNA.
A principio mensis novembris dies .v.12 hoc est NOV. novembris. & ante (eius)13 exitum dies .iii.14 hoc est iii. kl decembris.

DECEMBER.15
DAT DVODEA COHORS SEPTEM INDE DECEMQVE DECEMBRI.
48 A principio mensis decembris dies .xii.16 hoc est ii. id. decembris & ante eius exitum dies .xvii.17 hoc est xviii. kl januarii

Super omnes hos: sunt etiam isti observabiles. Ab initio18 mensis agusti dies primus lune insuper & de martio ac decembris19 dies nouissimi eiusdem ferie in quibus & esus cuiuslibet anseris prohibitur.

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12.v.] quintus Henel (1934-35).
13(eius)] eius Henel (1934-35).
15DECEMBER.] - || <fol. 122v>.
16.xii.] duodecimus Henel (1934-35).
17.xvii.] decimus septimus Henel (1934-35).
18Ab initio] A principio.
19decembris] decembre.
8.3/7 Cambridge, Trinity College, R.15.32, p. 37

KL IANVARII. Iani prima dies. & septima fine timetur.
KL FEBVARII. Ast februi quinta est undenaque seruiet umbris.
KL MARTII. Martis prima necat cuius quasi cushide quarta est.
KL APRILIS. Aprilis decima est undena a fine minatur.
KL MAI. Tertius est maio lupus est & septimus anguis.
KL IVNII. Iunius in decimo quindenum a fine salutat.
KL IVLII. Tredecimus iuli decimo innuit ante kalendas.
KL AGVSTI. Augusti nepa prima fugat de fine secundam.
KL SEPTEMBRIS. Tertia septembris uulpis ferit a pede denam.
KL OCTOBRES. Tertius octobris gladius decimo ordine nectit.
KL NOVEMBRIS. Quinta nouembris acus, uix tertia mansit in urna.
KL DECEMBRIS. Dat duodena cohors septem inde decemque decembri.

---

¹Each entry starts on a new line.
²duodena] -u- < y.
DE DIEBUS EGYPTIACIS.

Si tenebre ëgyptus greco sermone uocantur;
Inde dies mortis tenebrosos iure uocamus;
Bis deni binique dies scribuntur in anno;
In quibus una solet mortalibus hora timeri;
Mensis quisque duos captivos posidet horum;
Ne(c) simul hos uinctos homines ne peste trucidet;
Iani prima dies & septima fine timetur;

Ast februi quarta est precedit tertia finem;
Martis prima necat cuius sic\ supersede quarta est;
Aprilis decima est undena & fine timetur;

Tercius maio lupus est & septimus anguis;
Iunius in decimo\ undecimo a fine salutat;
Tredecimus iulii. decimo innuit ante kalendas;

Augusti\ nepa prima fugat de fine secundam;
Tertiae septembris uulpis ferit a pede denam;
Tertius octobris gladius decimum (orde nectit);

Quinta novembris acus uix tertia\ mansit in urna;
Dat duodena cohors septem\ in(de) decemque decembris;
His caueas ne quid proprio de sanguine demas;

Nullum opus incipias nisi forte ad gaudia tendat;
Et caput & finem mensis in corde teneto;

\[1\] Each entry starts on a new line.
\[2\] ëgyptus] ëgyptiis.
\[3\] anno] annos.
\[4\] sic] e.
\[5\] in decimo] undecimo, with an -us abbreviation over -m-.
\[6\] Augusti] Augustus.
\[7\] tertia] tertiam.
\[8\] septem] septe.
\[9\] teneto:] - \[<fol. 50v>\].
\[10\] Ne] Nec.
Si tenebre egyp tus greo\textsuperscript{1} sermo\`ne uoc\`antur.
Inde\textsuperscript{2} dies mortis tenebrosos\textsuperscript{3} iure uocam\`us.
3 Bis deni binique dies scrib\`antur, in anno.
   In quibus una solet morta (libus)\textsuperscript{4} hora tim\`eri.
   Mensis qu\`isque\textsuperscript{5} duos captiuos posider horum.\textsuperscript{6}
6 Nec simul hos unctos homines ne peste\textsuperscript{7} trucid\`ant.
   Iani prima dies \& septima fine\textsuperscript{8} timetur.
   Ast febru quarta est precedit tertia finem;
9 Martis\textsuperscript{9} prima necat cuius sic cuspide quarta est.
   Apprelis decima est undeno a fine minatur.\textsuperscript{10}
   Tertius\textsuperscript{11} est mai\`o lupus. \& septimus anguis;\textsuperscript{12}
12 Iunius in decimo quindecnum a fine salutat.\textsuperscript{13}
   Tercimus iulii. decimo innuit ante calendas;
   Augusti\textsuperscript{14} nepa prima fugat de fine secundam
15 Tercia septembris uulpis ferit\textsuperscript{15} a pede denam.
   Tercius h\`octobris gl\`adius decimum ordine\textsuperscript{16} nectit.
   Quinta nouembris acus uix tercia mansit in urna.
18 Dat duodena cohors\textsuperscript{17} septem inde decemque december.
   His cauesa ne quis propri\`o de sanguine demas.
   Nullum opus incipias. nisi forte ad gaudia tendat.\textsuperscript{18}
21 Vt caput \& finem mensis. in corde teneto.
   (Ne in medio ima ruas sed clara per ethera uuius.)

\textsuperscript{1}greco] grecos.
\textsuperscript{2}Inde] In die.
\textsuperscript{3}tenebrosos] tenebrosus, so Liuzza (2001).
\textsuperscript{5}quisque] quoque Liuzza (2001).
\textsuperscript{6}horum] herum.
\textsuperscript{7}ne peste] repeste.
\textsuperscript{8}fine] sine Liuzza (2001).
\textsuperscript{9}Martis] Mantis.
\textsuperscript{10}undeno a fine minatur] unde \& finem miratur. \textit{For metrical reasons, miratur is the correct reading in the unemended line.}
\textsuperscript{11}Tertius] Tertius.
\textsuperscript{12}anguis] -n- < -.
\textsuperscript{13}salutat] salutatur.
\textsuperscript{14}Augusti] Augusti.
\textsuperscript{15}ferit] ferat.
\textsuperscript{16}ordine] - <fol. 217r>.
\textsuperscript{17}cohors] choors.
\textsuperscript{18}tendat] temdat.
Histis mortiferam cognoscite uersibus horam.

die horam  fine dies horam
3 Dat prima undenam\textsuperscript{2} ianus. pede: septima sextam.
horam die fine dies horam
Februus octauam quarta pede: tertia denam.
die horam dies horam
Mar\textsuperscript{(s)} prima primam. finalis quarta secundam.
die hora die hora
9 In decimo prima est. undeno undena\textit{qua}e aprilis.
dies horam fine dies horam
Tertius in maio\textsuperscript{3} sextam. pede: septima denam.
die horam dies horam
In decimo sextam iunius. quindena\textit{qua}e quartam.
die horam fine dies horam
15 Tredecimo undenam iulius pede: denus eamdem.
die hora hora die
Augusti in prima est par. septima fine secunda.
dies horam dies fine horam
Tertia septembris parilem. decimus pede quartam.
dies horam dies fine horam
18 dies horam dies fine horam
Tertius octobris quintam. decimus pede nonam.
horam die fine dies horam
Octauam quinta noui.\textsuperscript{4} pede: tertia quintam.
dies horam horam fine dies
24 Septima dat primam. sextam pede dena decembris

\textsuperscript{1}Each entry starts on a new line.
\textsuperscript{2}undenam]\ umdenam.
\textsuperscript{3}maio]\ maia.
\textsuperscript{4}nouu]\ noni.
8.3/18 London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.xviii, fols 3r-8v

<Jan.>\(^2\) Vicenam quintam iani primamque caueto.
Rorat aquarius hanc. manet altera sub capricorno.

3 <1 Jan.> Dies eg\(\textsuperscript{i}ptiacus.\)\(^3\)

<Feb.>\(^4\) Quarta dies febru. uicenage sexta timetur

9 <Mar.>\(^5\) Prima necat martis. quartamque a fine timemus.
Istius pisces aries ius optinet huius.
<1 Mar.> .Dies egiptiacus.

12 <28 Mar.> .Dies egiptiacus.

<Apr.>\(^6\) Denam & uicenam aprilis scito esse nociam.
Possidet hanc aries. taurus sibi uendicat illam.
15 <10 Apr.> .Dies egiptiacus.
<20 Apr.> .Dies egiptiacus.

<May>\(^7\) Tercia de Maio nocet. & uicesima quinta.
Sub tauro manet bec. & sub geminis latet illa.
18 <3 May> .Dies. 
<25 May> .Dies eg\(\textsuperscript{i}ptiacus.\)\(^8\)

21 <June>\(^9\) Dena necat iunii.\(^10\) quindena a fine minatur.
Viraque sub geminis occidit. & insidiaetur.
<10 June> .Dies egiptiacus.

24 <16 June> .Dies egiptiacus.

<July>\(^11\) Tredecima in iulio et uicenae secunda (nec)ebit.
Subditur hanc cancro. subponitur illa leoni.

27 <13 July> .Dies egiptiacus.
<22 July> Dies egiptiacus.

<Aug.>\(^12\) (Augus)ti prima. simul & tricena cauenda est.
30 <1 Aug.> hanc leo persstringit. sub signo uirginis illa est.
<Dies>

<30 Aug.> .Dies

---

\(^1\)Egyptian Day entries are later additions to the calendar.
\(^2\)\(<\text{fol. 3r}>\).
\(^3\)eg\(\textsuperscript{i}ptiacus.\) egiptiacus Wormald (1934: 100).
\(^4\)\(<\text{fol. 3v}>\).
\(^5\)\(<\text{fol. 4r}>\).
\(^6\)\(<\text{fol. 4v}>\).
\(^7\)\(<\text{fol. 5r}>\).
\(^8\)eg\(\textsuperscript{i}ptiacus.\) egiptiacus Wormald (1934: 104).
\(^9\)\(<\text{fol. 5v}>\).
\(^10\)iunii iulii.
\(^11\)\(<\text{fol. 6r}>\).
\(^12\)\(<\text{fol. 6v}>\).
33 <Sept.>\textsuperscript{13} Tercia septembris. nocet \& uicesima prima.
Virgo possidet hanc. illam retinet sibi libra.
\textit{Dies egiptiacus.}

36 <21 Sept.> \textit{Dies egiptiacus.}
\textit{Octobris ternum fuge. uicenumque secundum.}
\textit{Sub libra manet hic. \& scorpius optinet illum.}

39 <3 Oct.> \textit{Dies egiptiacus.}
\textit{Quinta novembris obest. ternam de fine cauete.}
\textit{Scorpius hanc pungit. latet illa sub architenente.}

42 <5 Nov.> \textit{Dies egiptiacus.}
\textit{Scorpius haec pungit. latet illa sub architenente.}

45 <12 Dec.>\textsuperscript{16} Dat duodena necem. nocet \& quindena decembris.
Viraque letiferum uulnus timet architenentis.

<7 Dec.>\textsuperscript{17} Dies

48 <15 Dec.> \textit{Dies egiptiacus.}\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{fol. 7r}. \textsuperscript{14} \textit{fol. 7v}. \textsuperscript{15} \textit{fol. 8r}. \textsuperscript{16} \textit{fol. 8v}. \\
\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Dies} in Wormald (1934: 111) entered on 8 December. \\
\textsuperscript{18} [\textit{Dies. egiptiacus.}] - erased, but still clearly legible and hence included in Wormald (1934: 111). The three entries for December probably indicate confusion between the dates mentioned in the hexameter verses and the alternative set of dates sometimes listed in calendars (see the description of the twenty-four Egyptian Days in section 3.2.1).
8.3/5 Cambridge, Trinity College, O.7.41, fols 1v-7r

<Jan.>¹ iani prima dies: & septima fine timetur.
3 <1 Jan.> dies egyptiacus
<25 Jan.> Dies egyptiacus
<Feb.>² Ast februi quarta est: precedit tercia finem.
6 <4 Feb.> dies egyptiacus
<26 Feb.> Dies egyptiacus
9 <Mar.>³ Martis prima necat cuius sic⁴ cuspide quarta est.
1 <Mar.> Dies egyptiacus
12 <28 Mar.>⁵ Dies egyptiacus
<Apr.>⁶ Aprilis decimo est undeno a² fine minatur.
15 <10 Apr.> Dies egyptiacus
<20 Apr.> Dies egyptiacus
<May>⁸ Tercius in maio lupus est & septimus anguis.
18 <3 May> Dies egyptiacus
<25 May> Dies egyptiacus
21 <June>⁹ Iunius in decimo quindecum a fine salutat.
<10 June> Dies egyptiacus
24 <16 June> Dies egyptiacus
<July>¹⁰ Tredecimus iulii decimo innuit ante kalendas.
27 <13 July> Dies egyptiacus
<22 July> Dies egyptiacus
<Aug.>¹¹ Augusti nepa prima fugat¹² de fine secunda.
30 <1 Aug.> Dies egyptiacus
<30 Aug.> Dies egyptiacus

33 <Sept.>¹³ Tercia septembris uulpis¹⁴ ferit a pede denam.
36 <21 Sept.> Dies egyptiacus
<Oct.>¹⁵ Dies egyptiacus
19 <Oct.> Tercius octobris gladius¹⁶ x. ordine¹⁷ nectit.
39 <3 Oct.> Dies egyptiacus
<22 Oct.> Dies egyptiacus
<Nov.>¹⁸ Quinta nouembris acus uix tercia mansit in urna.
45 <Dec.>¹⁹ Dies egyptiacus
<5 Nov.> Dies egyptiacus
<28 Nov.> Dies egyptiacus
<7 Dec.> Dies egypitacu
<22 Dec.> Dies egypitacu

¹ Entry emended from 29 March.
² Entry emended from 29 March.
³ sic de.
⁴ sic de.
⁵ sic de.
⁶ sic de.
⁷ Entry emended from 29 March.
⁸ sic de.
⁹ sic de.
¹⁰ sic de.
¹¹ sic de.
¹² sic de.
IANI PRIMA DIES ET SEPTIMA FINE TIMETVR.

<TERTIA SEPTEMBrIS VVLPIS FERIT A PEDE DENAM.>

APRILIS DECIMO EST VNDENO a fine MINATVR.

<TERTIVS EST OCTOBRIS GLADIVS .X. ORDINE NECTIT.>

IVNIVS IN DECIMO QVINDENVVM A FINE SALVTAT.

DAT DVODENA COHORS .VII. INDE DECEMQVE DECEMBRI.

AVGVSTI NEPA PRIMA.

FVGAT D E F I N E SECVNDA.
Iani prima dies & septima fine minatur.

Ast februï quarta est precedit tertia finem.

Dies egyptiacus

Martis prima necat. cuius sic cuspide quarta est

Aprilis decima est undena 'a' fine timetur

Tercius in maio lupus est & septimus anguis.

Iunius in decimo. Quindenum a fine remordet

Tredemius iulii decimo innuit ante kalendas.

Augusti nepa prima fugat de fine secunda.

Tertia septembris uulpis ferit a pede denam

Tercius octobris gladius decimo ordine nectit.

v nouembris (acus) uix tercia mansit in urna.

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<fol. 72v>.
<fol. 73r>.
<fol. 73v>.
<sic> sub.
<fol. 74r>.
<fol. 74v>.
<fol. 75r>.
<fol. 76v>.
<fol. 75v>.
<fol. 76r>.
<folio. 77r>.
<folio. 77v>.
<folio. 77v>.
<folio. 77v>.
<folio. 77v>.
<folio. 77v>.
<folio. 77v>.
<folio. 77v>.
<folio. 77v>.
<folio. 77v>.
<folio. 77v>.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Jan.&gt;</td>
<td>Iani prima dies &amp; septima fine timetur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 &lt;1 Jan.</td>
<td>Dies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Feb.&gt;</td>
<td>Ast februui quarta est precedit tertia finem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Mar.&gt;</td>
<td>Martis prima necat cuius sic cuspidie quarta est.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 &lt;28 Mar.</td>
<td>Dies Mala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Apr.&gt;</td>
<td>Aprilis decima est undeno a fine mina(tur.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 &lt;10 Apr.</td>
<td>Dies mala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 &lt;May&gt;</td>
<td>Tertius (est) maio lupus est et septimus ang(u)is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 &lt;June&gt;</td>
<td>Iunius in decimo quindenum a fine salutat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 &lt;16 June&gt;</td>
<td>Dies Mala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 &lt;Aug.&gt;</td>
<td>Tredecimus iulii decimo inuit ante kalendas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 &lt;30 Aug.</td>
<td>Dies Mala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Sept.&gt;</td>
<td>(Tertia) septembri uulpis ferit a pede denam.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1Hampson’s edition of the calendar (1841) is deficient, so I have not included his variant readings or omissions here.  
2<fol. 2r>.  
3Entry not in Wildhagen (1921).  
4<fol. 2v>.  
5Entry not in Wildhagen (1921).  
6<fol. 3r>.  
7<fol. 3v>.  
8<fol. 4r>.  
9Dies Mala Wildhagen (1921).  
10<fol. 4v>.  
11Wildhagen (1921) erroneously entered an Egyptian Day entry on 3 July.  
12<fol. 5r>.  
13Entry not in Wildhagen (1921).  
14<fol. 6r>.  
15Entry not in Wildhagen (1921).  
16<fol. 6v>.  
17Wildhagen (1921) entered this Egyptian Day in his edition of the calendar, though he later listed the date as missing (1921: 97).  
18Entry erroneously listed on 24 October.  
19<fol. 7r>.  
20<fol. 7v>.
8.3/20 London, British Library, Harley 863, fols 1r-6v

<Jan.

Iani\textsuperscript{1} prīma dies & septima fine timetur.

3 <1 Jan.> DIES MALA.

<Feb.

Ast februi .iiii. est prececid tercia finem.

6 <4 Feb.> Dies

26 <Feb.> Dies

9 <Mar.

Martis\textsuperscript{5} prima necat cuius sic cuspide .iiii. est.

<1 Mar.> Dies

12 <28 Mar.> Dies

<Apr.

Aprīlis decimo est undeno a fine minatur

15 <10 Apr.> .Dies

<20 Apr.

3 <May> .Dies

<20 Apr.> <May>\textsuperscript{7} Tercius est maio lupus est 7 septimus anguis.

<3 May> Dies

<25 May> Dies.

21 <June>\textsuperscript{10} Dena\textsuperscript{11} necat iunii quīndena a fine minatur.

<10 June> .Dies.

24 <16 June> .Dies.

<13 July> .Dies.

<22 July> Dies

27 <1 Aug.> .Dies.\textsuperscript{14}

<30 Aug.> Dies\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{1}Hampson’s edition of the calendar (1841) is deficient, so I have not included his variant readings or omissions here.

\textsuperscript{2}<fol. 1r>.

\textsuperscript{3}Iani - [..........].

\textsuperscript{4}<fol. 1v>.

\textsuperscript{5}<fol. 2r>.

\textsuperscript{6}Martis Martius.

\textsuperscript{7}<fol. 2v>.

\textsuperscript{8}Date emended from 19 April.

\textsuperscript{9}<fol. 3r>.

\textsuperscript{10}<fol. 3v>.

\textsuperscript{11}Dena Prima.

\textsuperscript{12}<fol. 4r>.

\textsuperscript{13}<fol. 4v>.

\textsuperscript{14}.Dies. - in left margin.

\textsuperscript{15}.Dies] - in left margin.
IANI PRIMA DIES ET SEPTIMA FINE TIMETVR.

AST FEVRV. III. EST PRECEDIT TERTIA FINEM.

Martis prIMA NECAT CVIVS SIC CVSPIDE QVARTA EST.

Aprilis decima est undeno a fine minatur.

Tertius est maio lupus est & septimus anguis.

(I)unius’ in decimo quindenum a fine salutat.

Dies aegypti(acus)\textsuperscript{8}

Tredecimus iulii decimo innuit ante kalendas.

Dies mala.

Augusti nepa prima fugat de fine secundam.

Tertia septembris uulpis ferit a pede denam.

Tertius octobris gladius decimo ordine nectit.

Quin(ta) nouembris acus uix tertia mansit in urna.

Dat duodena cohors .vi(\textsuperscript{15} inde decemque) December.

IANI PRIMA DIES ET SEPTIMA FINE TIMETVR.

Dies mala.

Dies egyptiaca id est mala.

AST FEVRV. QVARTA EST SED SEPTIMA SERVIT VMBRIS.

MARTIS PRIMA NECAT CVIVS QVASI CVSPIDE QVARTA EST.

DIES MALA.

APRILIS DECIMA EST VNDENE A FINE MINATVR.
<May> \(^5\) TERCIVS `IN` MAIO LVPVS EST ET SEPTIMVS ANGVIS.

9 <June> \(^7\) IVNIVS IN DECIMO QVINDENV\(\)M A FINE SALVTAT.

<July> \(^8\) Tredem\(\)us iulii decimo innuit ante kalendas.

<Aug.> \(^9\) AVGVSTI NEPA PRIMA FVGAT DE FINE SECVNDAM.

12 <Sept.> \(\text{v}\) TERTIVS OCTOB\(\)RIS VVL\(\)PIS FERIT A PEDE DENAM.

<Oct.> \(\text{v}\) TERTIVS OCTOB\(\)RIS GLADIVS DECIMO ORDINE NECTIT.

<Nov.> \(\text{v}\) QVINTA NOVEM\(\)BR\(\)IS ACVS VIX TERC\(\)IA MANSIT IN VRNA.

15 <Dec.> \(\text{v}\) DAT DVODENA COHORS SEPTEM INDE DECEMQVE DECEMBER.

8.3/30β London, British Library, Egerton 3314, fols 18v-30r

<Jan.> \(^1\) Iani pr\(\)ima dies. & .vii.\(\)m\(\)a a fine timetur.

<Feb.> \(^2\) Ast febru\(\)i quarta est precedit tertia finem.

3 <Mar.> \(^3\) Mart\(\)is pr\(\)ima necat. cui\(\)us sic cup\(\)side quarta est:-

<Apr.> \(^4\) April\(\)is .x.\(\)m\(\)a est. undeno a fine timetur.

<May> \(^5\) ⟨Ter\(\)⟩ti\(\)us\(^6\) a maio lupus est. & septimus anguis:-

<June> \(^7\) Vn\(\)decem\(\)us iunius quindenu\(\)m a fine salut\(\)at.

<July> \(^8\) Tredem\(\)us iulii decimo innuit ante kalendas:-

<Aug.> \(^9\) Augusti nep\(\)a pr\(\)ima fugat de fine secunda.

9 <Sept.> \(\text{v}\) Tertius septem\(\)br\(\)is uulp\(\)is ferit a pede denam.

<Oct.> \(\text{v}\) TERTIVS OCTOB\(\)RIS GLADIVS DECEM IN ORDINE NECTIT:-

<Nov.> \(\text{v}\) QVINTA NOVEM\(\)BR\(\)IS ACVS VIX TERC\(\)IA MANSIT IN VRNA:-

12 <Dec.> \(\text{v}\) Dat duode\(\)na coh\(\)ors\(^{14}\) se\(\)p\(\)tem inde decem\(\text{q}\)ve decem\(\)bris.

\(^{5}\) <fol. 18r>.

\(^{6}\) IN` ` - over [EST].

\(^{7}\) <fol. 18v>.

\(^{8}\) <fol. 19r>.

\(^{9}\) <fol. 19v>.

\(^{10}\) <fol. 20r>.

\(^{11}\) <fol. 20v>.

\(^{12}\) <fol. 21r>.

\(^{13}\) <fol. 21v>.

\(^{14}\) <fol. 18v>.

\(^{15}\) <fol. 19v>.

\(^{16}\) <fol. 20v>.

\(^{17}\) <fol. 21v>.

\(^{18}\) <fol. 22v>.

\(^{6}\) (Ter\(\)ti\(\)us) [Ter\(\)ti\(\)us, [Ter] erroneously erased to make room for the large KL initial customary in calendars.

\(^{7}\) <fol. 23v>.

\(^{8}\) <fol. 24v>.

\(^{9}\) <fol. 25v>.

\(^{10}\) <fol. 26v>.

\(^{11}\) <fol. 27v>.

\(^{12}\) <fol. 28v>.

\(^{13}\) <fol. 29v>.

\(^{14}\) coh\(\)ors] choors.
8.3/4 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 422, pp. 29-40

<25 Jan.> DIES MALA.
<12 Mar.> DIES.
3 <23 Mar.> DIES MALA.
 3 <3 Apr.> DIES MALA.
 3 <21 Apr.> DIES MALA.
 6 <23 May> DIES MALA.
 7 <June> DIES MALA.
 14 July> DIES.
 9 <22 July> DIES MALA.
 9 <30 Aug.> DIES.
 7 <Sept.> DIES MALA
 12 <24 Nov.> DIES MALA.
 11 Dec.> DIES MALA.
 9 <27 Dec.> DIES MALA.

8.3/6 Cambridge, Trinity College, R.15.32, pp. 15-26

<1 Jan.> Dies mala
<25 Jan.> Dies mala
3 <4 Feb.> Dies mala
 3 <26 Feb.> Dies mala
 3 <1 Mar.> Dies mala
 6 <28 Mar.> Dies mala
 10 Apr.> Dies mala
 20 Apr.> Dies mala
 9 <3 May> Dies mala
 25 May> Dies mala
 10 June> Dies mala
 12 <16 June> Dies mala
 13 July> Dies mala
 22 July> Dies mala
 1 <Aug.> Dies mala
 30 Aug.> Dies mala
 3 Sept.> Dies mala
 18 <21 Sept.> Dies mala
 3 Oct.> Dies mala
 21 <5 Nov.> Dies mala
 28 Nov.> Dies mala
 12 Dec.> Dies mala
 24 <15 Dec.> Dies mala

8.3/8 Cambridge, University Library, Kk.5.32, fols 50r-55v

<1 Jan.> Dies
<25 Jan.> Dies
3 <4 Feb.> Dies
 1 <Mar.> Dies
 27 Mar.> Dies
 6 <28 Mar.> Dies
 10 Apr.> Dies
 20 Apr.> Dies

---

1 <p. 29>.
2 <p. 31>.
3 <p. 32>.
4 <p. 33>.
5 <p. 34>.
6 <p. 35>.
7 <p. 36>.
8 <p. 37>.
9 <p. 39>.
10 <p. 40>.
11 <fol. 50r>.
12 <fol. 50v>.
13 <fol. 51r>.
14 <fol. 51v>.
15 <p. 41>.

1 Egyptian Day entries are later additions to the calendar.
2 <p. 15>.
3 Dies mala -a < i.
4 <p. 16>.
5 <p. 17>.
6 <p. 18>.
7 <p. 19>.
8 <p. 20>.
9 <p. 21>.
10 <p. 22>.
11 Dies mala - in lefthand corner.
12 <p. 23>.
14 <p. 25>.

This Egyptian Day is spurious.
16 <fol. 51v>.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Jan.</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Jan.</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Feb.</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Mar.</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Mar.</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Apr.</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Apr.</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 May</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 May</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 June</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 June</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 July</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 July</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Aug.</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Sept.</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Sept.</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Oct.</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Oct.</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Nov.</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Nov.</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Dec.</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Dec.</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Entry for 22 July not in Wormald (1934).
2 Entry for 1 August may be lost because the stub which holds the leaf may have been pasted over it. Alternatively, the exemplar of the calendar may have featured an Egyptian Day entry in front of the date (which is not unusual), in which case the scribe may have overlooked the entry.

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1 Entries for the Egyptian Days are latter additions to the calendar.
2 <fol. 2r>.
3 <fol. 2v>.
4 <fol. 3r>.
5 <fol. 3v>.
6 <fol. 4r>.
7 <fol. 4v>.
8 <fol. 5r>.
9 <fol. 5v>.
10 <fol. 6v>.
11 <fol. 6v>.
12 <fol. 7v>.
13 <fol. 7v>.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;4 Feb.&gt;</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td>&lt;7 June&gt;</td>
<td>dies mala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;26 Feb.&gt;</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td>&lt;3 July&gt;</td>
<td>dies egiptiagus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;10 Apr.&gt;</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;20 Apr.&gt;</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;3 May&gt;</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;25 May&gt;</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;10 June&gt;</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;16 June&gt;</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;13 July&gt;</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;22 July&gt;</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;21 Sept.&gt;</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;3 Oct.&gt;</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;22 Oct.&gt;</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;28 Nov.&gt;</td>
<td>Dies</td>
<td>&lt;13 July&gt;</td>
<td>Dies Egyptianus.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 <fol. 3r>. Egyptian Days for February not entered in Wormald (1934); Günzel (1993) erroneously listed the first date for February under 1 February.
2 <fol. 3v>. There are only two Egyptian Days per month. 25 December has never been attested as an Egyptian Day, whereas 12 and 15 have. Moreover, Egyptian days, by their nature, are incompatible with the major Christian Feasts.
<1 Jan.> Dies mala.
3 <4 Feb.> Dies mala.
<1 Mar.> Dies mala.
<10 Apr.> Dies mala.
<20 Apr.> Dies mala.
9 <3 May> Dies mala.
<25 May> Dies mala.
<10 June> Dies mala.
<16 June> Dies mala.
<13 July> Dies mala.
<22 July> Dies mala.
15 <1 Aug.> Dies mala.
<30 Aug.> Dies egiptiacus.
<3 Sept.> Dies egiptiacus.
18 <21 Sept.> Dies egiptiacus.
<5 Nov.> Dies mala.
21 <5 Nov.> Dies egiptiacus.
<28 Nov.> Dies mala.

1<fol. iii recto>.
2<fol. iii verso>.
3<fol. iv recto>.
4<fol. iv verso>.
5<fol. v recto>.
6<fol. v verso>.
7<fol. vi recto>.
8<fol. vi verso>.
9<fol. vii recto>.
10<fol. vii verso>.
11Entry erroneously listed on 23 October.
12<fol. viii recto>.
13<fol. viii verso>.
14Wormald (1934) misprinted 15 as 18 December.

1<fol. 7v>.
2<fol. 8r>.
3<fol. 8v>.
4<fol. 9r>.
5<fol. 9v>.
6<fol. 10r>.
7<fol. 10v>.
8<fol. 11r>.
9<fol. 11v>.
10I have emended the date from 23 to 22 October.
11<fol. 12r>.
LUNARY, COLLECTIVE

9.1/1 London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fols 32v/16-35v/14

de observatione lune & que\(^1\) cauenda sunt\(^2\)

mona se forma on callum ſingum (to) dondonum nylic ys cild acenned bið mære glæw\(^3\) wis

3 Luna prima omnibus rebus agendis utilis est. puer natus erit illustris. astutus. sapiens. gestælæred on wætere (bið) gedyrfed. gif he ætwint langlife he bið mæden acenned ungewemmed clæne litteratus. in aqua periclitatur.\(^4\) si euaserit. longeus erit. puella nata. intemerata casta.

6 mülde wītig werum gelicigende\(^5\) rihtlice toscedenne\(^6\) on æftewardan ylde heo bið on bedde lange benigna. speciosa. uiris placens. eque discernens. in postera ètate erit. èn lecto longe liegendë. tacen heo heðo on muðe ðodde on (ofe)bruan se pe lið\(^7\) lange he hadlað\(^8\)

9 recumbens. signum. habet in ore. uel in supercilio. qui recumbit longe languescit.

swa wæt swa hine swefnað on blisse hit bið gewyrfed forþi ne yfel seLDAN god hit getacnað 7 quicquid somniauerit. in gaudium conversetur. quia neque malum raro bonum significat. &

12 blod letan ðodde wanian ealne dag mona god ys.
sanguinem minere tota die luna bona est.

mona se oðer on callum ſingum to dondonum\(^9\) nylic ys bicgan syllan scyp astigan. cild acenned

15 Luna .ii. omnibus rebus agendis utilis est emere. uendere nauim ascendere.\(^10\) puer natus. wis milde geap gesaling mæden eallsa se pe lið raðe acofrado swenæ fæð sapiens. benignus. astutus. felix. puella similiter. qui iacet cito conualescit. somnium non habet
gefreminge ñys na god mona blod wanian
effectum. non est bona luna sanguinem minuere.

mona se ðridda weorc\(^11\) onginnan na gedafanað butan þæt bið geedcenned stifician nytenu tymian

21 Luna .iii. opera incipere non congruit. nisi quod renascitur. stirpare.\(^12\) animalia domare.

bars fyran wyrt tun na saw þu forþi ydele wytra beoð accennede þæt bið forstolen raðe\(^13\)
uerres castrare. ortum non seras quia uane\(^3\) herbe nascuntur. quod furatur cito

24 hit\(^15\) bið fundon se þe gelið raðe he hamacgað\(^16\) ðodde lan(ge) fræcnesse he polað cild acenned

inuenitur. qui recumbit cito conualescit. aut longum periculum sustinebit. puer natus.

\(^1\)que\(\) quæ Cockayne (1864-66); Liuzza (2001).
\(^2\)sunt\(\) sint Cockayne (1864-66).
\(^3\)glæw\(\) -l- < a.
\(^4\)periclitatur\(\) periclitatus, so Förster (1944).
\(^5\)gelicigende\(\) i.e. gelicigende.
\(^6\)toscedenne\(\) i.e. toscedende.
\(^7\)lið\(\) bið.
\(^8\)hadlað\(\) handlað.
\(^9\)to dondonum\(\) todonum throughout Cockayne (1864-66).
\(^10\)ascendere. ascen || derc.; but astigan. || <fol. 33r>.
\(^11\)weorc\(\) weorca Cockayne (1864-66).
\(^12\)stirpare\(\) i.e. estirpare.
\(^13\)raðe Cockayne (1864-66).
\(^14\)uane\(\) uarie. The Old English gloss has the correct reading ydele.
\(^15\)hit\(\) he.
\(^16\)hamacgað\(\) i.e. amagað.
gepancfull grædig be þingum fremedum seldan he bið eald ungodan deade he swyld meden
27 animosus, cupidus de rebus alienis. raro erit senex. non bona mo´r te morietur. puella
calwa 7 geswincful feala wera gewiniað 7 heo ne bið eald swefen ydel ys nis na god
similiter. & laboriosa. multos uiros cupit. & non erit uetula. Somnium uacuum est. non est bona
30 mona blod lätan.
luna17 sanguinem minuere.

mona se feorpæ18 wercu onginnan cildru on scolæ betæcen nytlic19 ys se þe fleða raþe (he bið) funden se þe
33 Luna .iii.18-20 opera incipere, pueros in scolam mittere utilis est. qui fugit cito inuenitur. qui
 gelyð21 rað(e) he swyld oðde uneaðe he ætw(i)nt22 se þe bið acenn(e)23 forligende24 (bið) gear
recumbit cito moritur. uel uix euadet25 qui nascitur fornicator (erit). annos
twelwe gif he (æt)wint wælig he bið fracednysse he hæf(d) moden þat selfe swefne26 swa wæðer27 swa
duodecim. si euaserit diues erit. periculum habet. puella similiter. somnium siuæ
god swa yfel gefremminge hit hæfð fram tide þær(c)e28 syxtan od nón god mona blod
39 bonum siue malum. effectum habet ab hora. sexta. usque nonam. bona luna sanguinem
lätan minuere.29

mona se fifta þu na selle að30 forþi mansware31 (bið) se þe flyða raðe he bið gecydd dead
36 Luna quinta non dabis sacramentum quia peririum (est). qui fu g’it32 cito nuntiatur mortuus.
oðde gewriðan he bið gecyrred stale earfoolice bið funden cild acenned uneaðe ætwint efter fif gear
uel ligatus reuertitur.furtum difficile inuenitur. puer natus uix euadit. post quinque annos
oft unnytt swylt maden wyrst (deade) swelt forþi yfeldæda 7 wyrtgelstre se þe gelið
sepe inutilis. moritur puella pessima (morte) moritur. quia malefica & herbaria qui recumbit
48 he swelt swefnu (uncuðu) sint33 gefremmige34 habbað nis na god mona35 blod lätan
moritur. Somnìa (suspensa) sunt. effectum habent. non est bona luna sanguinem minuere.

Luna sexta furturn (non) inuenitur. qui recumbit diu & leniter languescit. qui nascitur audax.

---

17[luna] -n- < e.
18[feorpæ] feorþæ Cockayne (1864-66).
19[nytlic] nytlice, so Förster (1944).
20.[iii.] IIIa Svensberg (1936).
22[ræw(i)nt] silently emended Cockayne (1864-66).
23[acenn(e)l] silently emended Förster (1944).
24[forligende] t-r- < l.
26[ræwne] emended to swefen in Cockayne (1864-66).
27[wæðer] wæder, so Cockayne (1864-66).
28[tide þær(c)l] tid(e) þære Cockayne (1864-66).
29[minuerere] min; min(ure) Förster (1944).
30[að] offrunga, which wrongly glosses sacramentum, so Cockayne (1864-66).
31[mansware] adsware, which wrongly glosses peririum, so Cockayne (1864-66).
32[g’it] Svensberg (1936) read luit and emended to fugerit.
33[sint] omitted Cockayne (1864-66), who read swefnu gefremmige habbað.
34[gefrémème] gefreminge Cockayne (1864-66).
35[mona] -on- < -.
... swiðe aber(c)\d (he bid) gif\textsuperscript{36} he gear nigonyne ætwint geselig he bid tacn magnus. multum astutus (erit). Si annos x\textsuperscript{cem}viii.\textsuperscript{cem} 37 euaserit. fortunatus erit. Signum hefô on swiðran handa\textsuperscript{39} mæden accened clæne werun geċweme \textsuperscript{39} uel\textsuperscript{40} andfæncge on eallum habet in dextra manu. puella nata. casta.\textsuperscript{41} uiris accepta. grata in omnibus godum swefne synt\textsuperscript{42} gewisse nelle þu awreon nys na god mona blod lutan. bonis. Somnia sunt certa\textsuperscript{43} noli reuelare. non est bona luna sanguinem minuere.

... blod lutan lac niman oððe\textsuperscript{45} temian hælan god\textsuperscript{46} ys flema bid gemet Luna .vii. sanguinem minuere medicare uel domare. castrare\textsuperscript{47} bonum est. fugitiuus inuenitur. þryð bid funden\textsuperscript{48} cild accened snoter\textsuperscript{49} gemendful strang gelæred stefwis sodfæst lufwende furturn inuenitur.\textsuperscript{50} puer natus prudens memoriosus. strenuus doctus. litteratus. uerax. amabilis. tacn\textsuperscript{51} on andwitan mæden felasp(r)\textsuperscript{52} ecol\textsuperscript{53} werun andfæncge tacn\textsuperscript{55} on oferbruwe\textsuperscript{54} swiðran 7 on breoste Signum in fronte. puella uerbosa. uiris accepta. Signum in supercilium\textsuperscript{55} dextro. & in mamilla wynstran seoc mid lacedomum\textsuperscript{56} bid geheled swæfna\textsuperscript{57} gewisse sint oft late oð\textsuperscript{58} æfen god mona sinistra. eger medicamentis sanatur. Somnia certa sunt sepe tarda. usque sero. bona luna

... mona se ehtôda sædu on eorðan sendan beon awendan fram stowe to stowe\textsuperscript{60} god hit ys stalu na Luna .viii. semina in terram mittere apes mutare de loco ad locum bonum est. furturn non bid funden cild accened uncud strang swidæ he bid gedyrfd on wætere gewislice tacn hæfô inuenitur. puer natus ignotus. strenuus. multum. periclitatur in aqua. presertim signum habet...
on sidan swiðran. mæden tacn on oferbruwe often is his mare nytlíc scamfæst anum in latere dextro. puella signum in supercilio dextro. sepe & est magna utilis. uerecunda. uno were eðhylde heo ne bið swefen raðe gewyrð gefyld gode betæc se þe gelið raðe

uio contenta non erit. somnium cito fiët completum. deo commenda. qui recumbit. cito swylt ealne dag god mona blod lañan. moritur. tota die bona luna sanguinem minuere.

mona se nigoða on eallum intingum to dondum god ys wyrtun don se þe flyhð raðe bið funden seoc Luna ix. omnibus causis agendis bona est. ortum facere. qui fu(g)it cito inuenitur. eger raðe gewyrwpð cild acned gesælig geap s(t)rang smyle he bið geswenct oð gear cito conualescit puer natus gratiosus. astutus. strenuus. serenus. periclitatur usque ad annos seofone tacn on swiþran hand grf he þritig gea leofod wælig he bið maðden carful þancful septem. signum in dextera manu. Si xxx ix. 69 annos uixerit. diues erit. puella studiosa grata. nytwryþe clane tacn ealswa cnapa hæfð swefen raðe gewyrð bedigla ys na god mona utilis. casta. signum ut puer habet. somnium cito fiët. cela non est bona luna blod lañan

sanguinem minuere.

mona se teóða on eallum pingum to dondum god (ys) on hus niwe infaran cildru on scole Luna x. ma omnibus rebus agendis bona (est). in domum nouam. intare pueros in scolam betæc cild acned gimeleas geswineful on forman ylde maðen milde wultewestre þurh ylde mittere. puer natus. neglegens. laboriosus. in prima etate puella benigna lanifica per etatem bet 7 bet heo deð se þe gelið raðe he styrðo oðde genunge he ariseð swefnu ydele sint fram melius ac melius agit. qui recumbit cito moritur aut cito surgit. Somnia una sunt. ab tide þære sxtan ð(o) æfen god mona blod lañan hora vi usque sero bona luna sanguinem minuere.

---

61 oferbruwe] oferbrawe Cockayne (1864-66).
62 scamfæst] scanfæst; emended to scamfæst in Cockayne (1864-66).
63 puella] puello.
64 eðhylde] ððhyld Cockayne (1864-66).
65 intingum] nitingum.
66 gesælig] corngesælig. so Cockayne (1864-66). The hapax legomenon corngesælig is a literal gloss to the Latin granosus, a mistake for gratiosus.
67 gratiosus] granosus, so Svenberg (1936). This erroneous reading also occurs in 9.1/3 (Puer natus granossus fiët).
68 maðen] -d- < -
69 xxx+] XXX Svenberg (1936).
70 cnapa] cwapa.
71 swefen] swæfnæ; emended to swæfæn in Cockayne (1864-66).
72 ys] emended to nys in Cockayne (1864-66).
73 bedigla ys na god] bedigla over cela, ys over est, na god over bona.
74 lanifica] letificæ. The Old English gloss has the correct reading wultewestre.
75 bet 7 bet] bed 7 bed, so Cockayne (1864-66).
76 swefnu] swefna Cockayne (1864-66).
77 fram] f- < w.
78 una] - || < fol. 34r >.
79 þære sxtan] over .vi. usque.
mona se ændlefta wyldæda biddan treowu\(^{30}\) ceorfan ys cild acenned weallende

Luna .xi. beneficium petere, arbores abscidere. apes inuadere\(^{82}\) utilis est. puercus natus. feruidus. abered\(^{83}\) modful on langfære\(^{84}\) ylde bet he ðeð maedæn tacn on anwñitan 7 on breoste hæbende
callidus. animosus. in postera ðeràt melius agit. puella signum in fronte. & in mamilla habens.

wís heo bið clæne on ylde ungodum deáðe heo swyht seoc lang adlað\(^{93}\) ðode ðredlice arís(\(\)) Sapiens erit. casta in ðeràt non bona morte morietur. eger diu languescit uel celeriter surgit.

swefen\(^{86}\) betwuh fewer dagas gewyrð(\(\varepsilon\)) beo þu\(^{87}\) calwsw. god mona nys blod
Somnium inter .iii.\(^{98}\) dies fier(\(\gamma\)autus) esto. Similiter bona luna non est sa(\(\\alpha\(\))guinem\(^{89}\)

lætan

minuere.

mona se twelfta on e’llum weorcum nythic ys sawan wif lædan wæg faran cild acenned
Luna .xii.\(^{m\alpha}\) omnibus operibus utilis est seminare. uxorem ducere. iter pergere. puercus natus.
god luflíc\(^{90}\) tacn on handa swirþran xæðð ðode on\(^{91}\) cneowe xfrencful maedæn tacn on bonus. amabilis. Signum in manu dexteræ habet. uel in\(^{92}\) genu periculosus. puella signum in breoste xæðð witig ac na\(^{93}\) lang líf heo adrycð seoc ðode he længe \(\langle\text{ad}/\text{lað}\rangle\) ðode

mamilla habet. speciosa. se(d)\(^{d}\) non diuturnam uiam agit. eger uel diu languescit uel
he swyht swefen\(^{95}\) ys gewe orsorh beo þu ealne dæg god ys mona blod lætan
moritur. Somnium est. certum. securis\(^{96}\) esto tota die bona est luna sanguinem minuere.

mona se þreoteopa xfrencful to angennene þinc ne þu mid freondum na ðit se þe ðeð ræpe
Luna xiii. periculosæ. ad incipiendas res. nec cum amicus c’o’ntendas.\(^{97}\) qui fugit. cito
bíð funden cild acenned þæncfull tacn abuta(n)\(^{n}\) eagan hæbende þriste reaful ofermod him sylfum

iuinentur. puercus natus. animosus. Signum circa oculos habens. audax rapax. Superbus. sibi soli
gelicigende na læge ne leofað maedæn tacn on neccan xæðð ðode on þe omermod þæncfull

placens. non longe uuiuit. puella signum in ceruice habet. uel in femore superba animosa.\(^{98}\)
þriste on lichaman mid manegu \(\text{m} \) weru ræpe heo swylt seoc ræde ætwint ðode lange he hadlað
temeraria in corpore cum multis uiris cito moritur. Eger cito euadit. uel diu languescit.
swefn binnan dagum nigon bið gefylded fram tide þere syxtan\(^{99}\) ōd æfen\(^{99}\) god mona blod

Somnium infra dies .ix.\(^{100}\) completur. ab hora .vi.\(^{101}\) usque sero bona luna sanguinem lætan

minuere.

mona se feowertecode e’illaum god(um) þingum god þeawas bicgan wif lædan cildan on scola

Luna .xiii.\(^{104}\) omnibus bonis rebus bona. mancipia emere. uxor(em) ducere. pueros in scolam\(^{102}\)
beteæcan cild acen ‘ed ceapman tacn abutan eagan oððe on þeo hæðð þriste modig him

mittere. puer natus mercator signum circa oculos. uel in fémore habet. audax. superbus sibi
sílfan licigende radæ swelt méden tacn on neccan hæð modig dyrstig manega weras
soli placens cito moritur. puella signum in uertice habet. Superba temeraria. multis uiros

gewilnigende\(^{103}\) (raðe) swilt seoc gif (na)\(^{104}\) raðe (swylt raðe) gewerpð. swefen on sceortum
desiderans. cito moritur. eger si non cito (moritur cito) conualescit.\(^{105}\) Somnium breui
timan gefremminge hæð nytlíc\(^{106}\) ys mona blod lætan
templo effectum habet. utilis\(^{107}\) est luna sanguinem minuere.

mona\(^{108}\) se fifteoða gewitnyssa syllan hit nis trum cild acenend fræcenful tacn on eaxle\(^{109}\)
Luna .x\(^{110}\) testimonium dare non est. firmum. puer natus. periculosus. Signum in humero

wistran hæð (milde) cumlide fræcedesíse hæð of ysen(e) oððe on watere méden scamfæst
sinistro habet. benignus. hospitalis. periculum habet de ferro. uel in aqua. puella uerucunda.
geswincful clæne wærum geligende\(^{111}\) seoc gif he\(^{112}\) æfter þrim dagum na arist\(^{113}\) he bið geswenct swefn
laboriosa. casta. uiris placens. eger si post triduum non resurgit. periclitatur. somnium
na deráð na ys god mona blod lætan

non nocebit. non est bona luna sanguinem minuere.

mona\(^{114}\) se syxtæoda nanum þingum nytlíc\(^{114}\) (buton) stalam se þe æweg gewit dead he bið gecyd cild acenend
Luna xvi\(^{115}\) nullí\(^{115}\) rebus utilis nisi furtis. qui recedit. mortuus\(^{116}\) nuntiatur. puer natus

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\(^{99}\)pere syxtan\] over .vi.\(^{100}\) usque.
\(^{100}\).ix.\(^{100}\) IX Svenberg (1936).
\(^{101}\).vi.\(^{101}\) VI Svenberg (1936).
\(^{102}\)scolan\] scola Förster (1944).
\(^{103}\)gewilnigende\] over desiderans cito.
\(^{104}\)na\] (no) Cockayne (1864-66).
\(^{105}\)conualescit\] - [fol. 34v].
\(^{106}\)nytlíc\] liflic, which correctly glosses the misplaced Latin word uitalis, so Cockayne (1864-66).
\(^{107}\)utilis\] uitalis.
\(^{108}\)mona\] monc, so Cockayne (1864-66).
\(^{109}\)eaxle\] tuæde; silently emended Cockayne (1864-66).
\(^{110}\).xvi\] XV ta Svenberg (1936).
\(^{111}\)geligende\] i.e. geligende.
\(^{112}\)he\] heo, probably because of the previous account of the birth of a girl, but the present prediction is an illness component, so Cockayne (1864-66).
\(^{113}\)arist\] -s< l.
\(^{114}\)nytlíc\] nytlíce, over utilis nisi.
\(^{115}\)nullí\] nullus.
\(^{116}\)mortuus\] mortus Förster (1944).
117 pencl emended to penclful in Cockayne (1864-66).
118 staðolfea -a- < .
121 her beforan over ut supra.
120 eger -g- < .
123 geseliga -li- < u; gesæligra Cockayne (1864-66).
122 scol; silently emended Cockayne (1864-66).
123 freo n’dheald Freond. heald Cockayne (1864-66).
124 amicabilis astutus. Sapiens litteratus. audax. uerax. puella uerbis docta.
125 swefne raðe gewyrð na ys god mona omnibus rebus utilis. casta. diues. eger diu egrotabit. Somnium cito fiët. non est bona luna blod letan.
126 gewyrð r´u on eallum þingum nytlic clæne wælig seoc lange adlað swefne raðe gewyrð na ys god mona omnibus rebus utilis. casta. diues. eger diu egrotabit. Somnium cito fiët. non est bona luna blod letan.
127 swefne emended to swefen in Cockayne (1864-66).
129 sanguinem minuere.
130 mona se ehteoða eallum to do’nd’um nytlic gemacan on huse gelædan cild’r’u on scol.
131 Luna xviii omnibus agendis utilis. coniugem in domumducere. pueros in scolam.
132 betæcan cild acenced (un)ofercum est. pueros in scolam.
133 Luna seofonteoða nan ys geseligra onginnan sawan cildru on scol betæcan cild acenced
135 puella signum ut puer. casta. laboriosa. seruatrix. in posteriori etate melior. eger rape arist swefen binnan dagum þyn beoð gefylled ealne dag god mona[137] blod letan cito surgit. Somnium inter dies .x. com completur tota die bona luna sanguinem minuere

...
mona se nigontedā c[a]llum āingum to dondum nylic\[138\] cild acenned milde abered swīðe wis
Luna .xviii\[139\] omnibus rebus agendis utilis. puer natus. benignus. astutus. multum sapiens.

wexende betere 7 betere tacn on oferbruwe mæden ealswa swa cnapa\[139\] on anum were
crescendo melior ac melior. Signum in supercilio. puella similiter ut puer in uno.\[140\] uiro
heðhylde heo ne bið seoc raðe gewyrtō þurh læcræft swefne\[141\] binnan fīf dagum geopenud
contenta non erit. eger cito conualescit. per medicinam. somnium. inter .v.\[142\] que \[143\] dies patefactum

bið frām tide [pare forman].\[144\] oð ða\[145\] nigoðan\[146\] nys na god mona blod lātan
erit. ab hora .i.\[147\] usque nonam. non est bona luna sanguinem minuere.

mona se twentigopha callum āingum ydelust ys cild acenned yrðinge gep mæden ealswa weras

Luna .xx.\[148\] omnibus rebus unissima. est puer natus agricola. astutus. puella similiter uiros
forhogað seoc lange adlað raðe\[149\] na arisað\[150\] swefne binnan fif dagu
geopenud
contenta non erit. eger diu languescit. cito non surgit. somnium non credendum. non est bona luna

sanguinem minuere.

mona se an?twentigopha unnytlic\[151\] to wyrcnene buton\[152\] suwordwyrtan 7 (gif) \[153\] sylst (feoh) na
Luna .xx.\[154\] omnibus rebus unissima. est puer natus agricola. astutus. puella similiter uiros
forhogað seoc lange adlað raðe\[149\] na arisað\[150\] swefne binnan fif dagu
geopenud
contenta non erit. eger diu languescit. cito non surgit. somnium non credendum. non est bona luna

sanguinem minuere.
mona se twa/twentigoða nytlíc\textsuperscript{156} biicgan\textsuperscript{157} celawas cild acenned lece mæden ealswa\textsuperscript{158} þearfend\textsuperscript{159}

\textit{Luna} .xx.\textsuperscript{160} utilis emere mancipia. puer natus. medicus.\textsuperscript{161} puella similiter. paupercula. seoc raðe bid gestrangod nytlíc ys mona blod lætan swefnu\textsuperscript{162} gewisse beð gifi beð gehealdene
eger cito confortatur. utilis est luna sanguinem\textsuperscript{163} minuere. Somnia certa erunt. si fuerint retenta on gemynde.
in memoria.

mona se þri/twentigoða\textsuperscript{164} callum to dondheim nytlíc. cild acenned follic mæden þancful seoc lange
\textit{Luna} .xx.\textsuperscript{165} omnibus agendis utilis. puer natus. popularis. puella. animosa. eger diu
he adlā ðode raðe swylt swefen\textsuperscript{166} na to gelyffen na on mode to healdenne od da\textsuperscript{167}
languescit. uel cito moritur.\textsuperscript{168} somnium non credendum nec in animo retinendum. usque ad
systan tide god mona blod lætan.

horam .vi. bona lu’n’a sanguinem\textsuperscript{169} minuere.

mona se feower/twentii\textsuperscript{170} to ongynnenn\textsuperscript{171} þinc nytlíc cild acenned winnende mæden strang seoc raðe\textsuperscript{169}
\textit{Luna} .xx.\textsuperscript{172} ad incipiendas res utilis. puer natus. pugnans. puella fortis. eger cito
he swylt swefen naht ys on uhtan god mona blod lætan

moritur Somnium nichil est. in matutino bona luna sanguinem minuere.

mona se fif/twentii hunteðas began nytlíc cild acenned grædig mæden grædig wulltewestre seoc binnan
\textit{Luna} .xx.m\textsuperscript{173} v.\textsuperscript{174} uenationes exercere utilis. puer natus. cupidus. puella. lanefica. eger infra

\textit{pri}m dagum cuð bid\textsuperscript{175} swefe binnan nigon dagum swutele\textsuperscript{176} beð frære systan tide od
triduum manifestus erit.\textsuperscript{177} Somnia intra dies .ix.\textsuperscript{178} manifesta erunt ab hora .vi.\textsuperscript{179} usque
nön god mona blod lætan\textsuperscript{173}

nonam bona luna sanguinem\textsuperscript{174} minuere.

\begin{enumerate}
\item nytlíc\textsuperscript{156} nytlíc, so Cockayne (1864-66).
\item biicgan\textsuperscript{157} i.e. biçgan, so Cockayne (1864-66). Duplication of i by this scribe is attested more often, cf. Förster (1944: 121, n. 3).
\item ealswa \textsuperscript{158} -l- < -.
\item þearfend\textsuperscript{159} þearfena, so Cockayne (1864-66).
\item ðri/twentigoða\textsuperscript{163} -r- < t.
\item swefen\textsuperscript{166} -f- < f. 
\item ðaë ðoda; - over usque.
\item moritur\textsuperscript{164} mortetur; emended to morietur in Förster (1944).
\item feower/twentii\textsuperscript{171} i.e. feower/twentigoða. The change from cardinal to ordinal number is also present in subsequent phases.
\item ongynnenn\textsuperscript{168} onginnenne Cockayne (1864-66).
\item ðaðe \textsuperscript{169} -r- < -.
\item bið - so dæg, so Cockayne (1864-66).
\item swutele\textsuperscript{176} svutole Cockayne (1864-66).
\item erit - dies.
\item lētan Cockayne (1864-66), Förster (1944).
\item sanguinem\textsuperscript{174} sang || fol. 35v (Förster 1944 wrote 36v)]; sang(uinem) Förster (1944).
\end{enumerate}
mona se syx7twenti cild acenned gemindig mæden geradod seoc raðe he swylt swefen swa her beforan Luna .xx³ma>vii. a puer natus momentosus.\(^{175}\) puella citata. eger cito moritur. Somnia ut supra.

\(^{176}\) fram undertid oð nón nys na god mona blod lætan
ab hora .iii. \(^{177}\) usque nonam non est bona luna sanguinem minuere.

mona se seofon7twenti cild acenned snoter\(^{178}\) mæden wyrdful wis seoc leofað swefenu habbað

\(^{179}\) Luna .xx³ma>vii. a puer natus, prudens. puella honesta. sapiens. eger uiuer. Somnia habent
gremingenge naht na deraða calne dæg god mona blod lætan.\(^{179}\)
effectum. nichil nocebunt. tota die bona luna sanguinem minuere.

mona se eahta7twenti cild acenned geswincful on eallum geleafful mæden gehyrsum getriwe seoc
Luna .xx³ma>viiii. a\(^{180}\) puer natus, laboriosus. in omnibus credulus. puella obediens. fidelis. eger raðe geþrað swefnu swa her beforan fram nontid\(^{181}\) oð æfen\(^{182}\) god mona blod lætan.

cito ualer. Somnia ut supra. ab hora. nona usque sero bona luna sanguinem minuere.

mona se nigon7twenti cild acenned gelæered\(^{183}\) 7 rice mæden wis 7 wælig swefnu. god
Luna .xx³ma>vix. a puer natus eruditus.\(^{184}\) & eminens. puella. Sapiens. & diues. Somnium bonum

\(^{175}\) momentosus] mementuosus; Förster (1944) suggested memoriosus.
\(^{176}\) undertid] i.e. undertid.
\(^{177}\) .iii.] III Svenberg (1936).
\(^{178}\) snoter] stoter.
\(^{179}\) lætan] Cockayne (1864-66).
\(^{180}\) .xx³ma>viiii. a] .xx³ma>vii. a; silently emended Svenberg (1936).
\(^{181}\) nontid] -o < -.
\(^{182}\) æfen] afen Cockayne (1864-66).
\(^{183}\) gelæered] geleafful, which correctly glosses the misplaced Latin credulus, so Cockayne (1864-66), Förster (1944).
\(^{184}\) eruditus] credulus, so Förster (1944).
\(^{185}\) nys] nys, so Cockayne (1864-66).
\(^{186}\) est. Non est\(^{186}\) est, erroneously expunged, probably by the scribe who could not make sense of the Latin and glossed nys na for est. Non. However, est, belongs to the dream component, and Non est to the bloodletting component. The expunction is therefore unwarranted, and the Old English gloss should be emended from nys na to ys na (ys).
\(^{188}\) Finiunt... prophete,] not in Svenberg (1936)
ARGUMENTVM | LVNARE AD REQUIRENDS WSQVOMODO LVNA QVALITER OBSERVTRV. 1

3 Luna .i. hec dies ad omnia agenda. utilis est. In lecto qui inciderit diu languescit. & longa infirmitate patietur. Et quidquid uideris in gaudium convuertetur. & si uideris te uinci. tu tamen uinces omnes inimicos tuos. Infans si fuerit natus uitalis erit.

6 Luna .ii. similiter hic dies ad omnia agere utilis est emere. uendere. nauim ascendere. iter facere. sementem seminare. propagines facere. ortum struere. terram proscindere. furtum factum cito inueniuet. Infirms2 cito conualescet. & si uideris somnum siue bonum siue malum non ‘in animo’ ponas3 quia nullum effectum habet. Infans cito crescit. & non erit uitalis.

Luna .iii. de omnibus quae agenda sunt abstinere oportet. nisi solum quod uis ut non renascatur utile est extirpare. In ortum nullum penitus opus exerceretur. quia uane nascuntur. herbe. furtum factum cito inueniuet. Somnunm si uideris nullum effectum habet. In lectum qui inciderit non euadet. Infans mediocriter crescit & non erit uitalis.

Luna .iii. omnia opera. incipere bonum est molendinos edificare. aqueductus aperiere. qui fugerit cito inueniuet. In lectum qui inciderit aut cito moriuerit. aut uix euadet. Somnunm si uideris effectum habet. spera. & consule deum. Infans tractator regni erit.

Luna .v. sacramentum dare non est bonum sed periculosum. Qui fu’g’erit aut mortuus aut ligatus annuntiabitur. furtum factum inueniuerit. In lectum qui inciderit cito moriuerit. Somnia suspensa erunt. secundum quod uideris fiet tibi. caue consilium ne prodas. Infans iuuenis moriuerit.

Luna .vi. utile est uenatum pergere. furtum non inueniuerit. Infirms diu languescit. Somnum6 certum erit. sed caue ne dicas alteri. cautus esto. consilium detegere non erte. Infans iuuenis uitalis.

Luna .vii. sanguinem minueru bonum est & pectus purgare. Qui fugerit cito inueniuet. Eger si medicatus fuerit. cito sanabtur. & somnum uerum erit. presens & futurum & post longa tempora.

Infans bonus erit. utilis & uitalis.

Luna .viii. semen seminare. & apes mutare bonum est. Eger diu languescit. & non euadet. Somnum cito fiet secundum id quod uideris. & si aduersa uideris ad orientem te uerte. Infans in omnibus erit adquisitor & iuuenis decidet.

Luna .viii. in omnibus agentibus inchoare bonum est & somnum cito manifestab Turit. Infra dies .xii.9 eger diu egrotabit & sanabtur. Infans bonus erit & uitalis.

Luna .x. omnibus rebus bonum est inchoare. & somnunm uanum erit. tamen infra die 10 .iii. euenire solet. Qui in laborem inciderit. non diu permanebit. Infans multas regiones circumebit.

33 Luna .xi. bonum est in uineam ingredere. somnium sine periculo expl ebitur. infra triduum & non est falsum. Infans adquisitor erit in omnibus.

2Infirms -us [-] .
3non ‘in animo’ ponas] non ponas in animo, so Günzel (1993). Diacritic signs over non and in animo indicate that in animo should follow non instead of ponas.
4omnibus -us [-] - || <fol. 27v>.
5Somnum somnium Svenberg (1936).
6enim] - || <fol. 28r>.
7extra[neis] - < - .
9Infra dies .xii.] - may belong to the dream rather than to the illness interpretation.
Luna xii. in omnibus rebus agentibus bonum est inchoare, & somnium firmum erit. & cum omni gaud’io fieri. secundum quod uidieris. & infra dies .ix. Eger diu languebit & surget. Infans religious erit.

Luna xiii. aliquid opus inchoare non est bonum. Somnium infra dies .ix. explebitur. secundum quod uidieris. tamen te ipsum cautum agas & sollicitum. Eger longo tempore cubabit. Infans emipt erit. & iracundus & non erit uiualis.

Luna xiii. omnia que agenda sunt bonum est inchoare. Somnium infra dies .xii. complebitur fier iuxta quod uidisti. cum omni gaudio psalmis & orationibus

Luna xv. non est bonum inchoare ullam opus. Somnium bonum & effectum habet. Infans iuuenis morietur

Luna xvi. post longum tempus fier somnium. est namque utilis. Eger diu languebit & uix euadet. Infans uitalis erit & pauper.


Luna xvi. Similitudo somnii in secreto tuo uideal infra dies .x. caue ne plus quam duobus dicas. quia ualde auguriosum est Eger per medicinam sanabitur. Infans in magno honore erit.

Luna xx. Somnium ne dicas ullo homini caute enim agere debes. explebitur siquidem licet a longe.

Eger cito surger sanus. Infans felix erit. & fortissimus bellator.

Luna xxi. quodcumque in somnipio uideal bonum est licet aliquid sit peruerse. Eger non diu languebit. Infans erit latro fortissimus.

Luna xxi. uerum est somnium & certum. Eger cito sanabitur. Infans religiosus erit.

Luna xxiii. dicere somnum socio debes. quia aliquando solet accidere infra dies .viii. Eger prope surger sanus. Infans luxuriosus erit nimos.


Luna xxv. precaue metus futuros. solet enim euenire infra dies xv. Eger sustinebit maximam iniuriam. Infans inopiam patietur.

Luna xxvi. Sollicitus esto quia infra diem ipsum euenire solet. aliquando in bonum aliquando in malum. Eger uero diu languebit Infans mediocris erit. nec diues nec pauper.

Luna xxvii. ad gaudium ueniet somnum tuum sed de inimicorum insidiis sollicitum te facito. Eger cito conuasailct. Infans amabilis erit ualde.


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11[inhoare] - h< o.
12[fier] - || <fol. 28r>.
13cum... orationibus] transposition mark after this phrase makes it seem that it should follow the word opus in phase 15, which is also followed by a transposition mark. This cannot be correct in view of the readings of other collective lunaries.
14[erit] - || <fol. 29r>.
15[medicinam] - e< i.
18[uero] uere.
20[ languebit] - || <fol. 29v>.
21[ somnum] somnium Svenberg (1936).
22I have exchanged the text of phases 26 and 27 in accordance with the readings in other collective lunaries.
Luna .xxviii. hylaritatem\textsuperscript{23} & gaudium significat. Eger non morietur. Infans bonus erit & suavis. Luna .xxx. Similitudinem aliquam infra dies .ix.\textsuperscript{24} uidebis aut totum somnium. Eger numquam sanus erit. Infans de fortuna tractabit.

EXPLICIT:-

\textsuperscript{23}hylaritatem] hilaritatem Svenberg (1936).
\textsuperscript{24}dies .ix.] - dies.
scribe frequently wrote \textit{Luna i.ii.} Diem ha\textit{n} \textit{potuerit te abstinere expedit: Etiam si \textit{uolueris} in \textit{ciuitatem} ingredere \& emere non erit congruum. neque in agrum \textit{operari nisi} solum \textit{quod renascatur}; Vtile est stirpare. animalia \textit{domare ne} in ortum \textit{aliquit} \textit{seras} \textit{quae} herbe urano \textit{nascuntur}; Furtum si fuerit \textit{factum} cito \textit{iuuen i’erit. In lecto qui ceciderit aut cito \textit{conuolescet}. Aut longam febre sustinebit; Puer natus erit \textit{aliem} \textit{cupidus de reb\textit{us} alienis, difficile qui senex erit \textit{bonam mortem}. non moriens; Puella nata erit; cupida de \textit{reb\textit{us} alienis laboriosa \& multiis \textit{uiris}. cupida erit. \& non \textit{perueniet ad senetu(t)c\textit{em} \textit{somnium nullum effectum} habet.} \\

\textit{Luna iii.} Diem ha\textit{n} \textit{‘} \textit{operat inciperem bonum est. puerum in scolis mittere. Aq\textit{ueduct\textit{um} adducere. molend\textit{inium bonum est inciperem qui fugerit. celer\textit{erius inuenietur; In lecto qui ceciderit aut cito}}
morietur. aut si\textsuperscript{27} loco (non) mutauerit uix euadet; Puer natus erit. laboriosus & fornicator annos .xii.,\textsuperscript{28} si easerit diues morietur & periculum. habebit. permultum; Puella nata erit laboriosa. & cupida & morte mala morietur; Somnium siue bonum. siue malum. nichil nocebit;

Luna \textit{x}. Sacramentum dare non est bonus si fuerit qui f(\textit{u})\textit{gerit}\textsuperscript{29} mortuus adnuntiabitur; Legatus similiter\textsuperscript{30} futurum factum difficile inuenitur. Puer natus moritur\textsuperscript{31} infans difficile euader\textsuperscript{32} post\textsuperscript{33} annos quinque. Si easerit inutilis morietur; puella nata non erit uitalis. Et si d’iu’ i’xerit\textsuperscript{34} pessima moritura\textsuperscript{35} erit aut malefica aut eraria. Et in lecto qui ceciderit morietur.\textsuperscript{36} & sonnia\textsuperscript{37} suspensa erunt\textsuperscript{38} Luna \textit{xi}. Vè narè aprum feras. Petras\textsuperscript{39} accipere utile est. fouecam facere congrium est. futurum factum non\textsuperscript{40} inuenitur. Infirmitus diu & leniter longuescet. fugitiius inuentus adnuntiabitur; Puer natus erit. audax & magnus & multum astutus. In anno .xxx.iii. si easerit fortunatus erit. Puella na(\textit{a}) erit laboriosa in ima.\textsuperscript{41} çatç & in senectute si uiserit\textsuperscript{42} (duies) permanebit. Et quod uolerit lanificare\textsuperscript{43} expediet cito; Et erit casta uiris accepta grata in om(\textit{n})ibus\textsuperscript{44} bonis et quodcumque somnium. uideris certissimum erit. Cautus esto uteç conxilio tûo & alio eum ne prodas.

Luna \textit{vii}.\textsuperscript{46} Húnc diem forciç notç sanguinem minire omnen\textsuperscript{47} genus infirmitatis medicare perutile\textsuperscript{48} est. Pecus domare siue castare. congrium est Qui fugerit\textsuperscript{49} inuenitur. Futurum factum conuolescet. Puer natus prudens erit memoriosus. strenuus doctus\textsuperscript{40} literatus uerax amicabilis; Puella nata erit uerbosa docta uiris accepta Eger medicamentis sanabitur. & sonnia\textsuperscript{51} certa erit.

LVNA\textsuperscript{52} \textit{viii}. Húnc diem sementes facere siue omnen\textsuperscript{53} genus sementis in terra pròicerem bonum est. Siue
apes mutare perutilis est. Fur(t)um factum. non inuenietur. Puer si natus (fuerit) erit innotus
strenuus multum periclitabitur in aqua. Puella nata. erit laboriosa & propter uiros curiosa
magna utiles uereconda. casta set uno uiro contenta non erit. Eger non diu languebit sed cito
mortietur & somnium cito fiet si deo fuerit commendatum.

Luna viii. Ille dies omnibus graminibus utile est. Ortuum facere fontes mundare congruum est. Qui
fugerit cito inuenietur. Eger cito confalescet. Puer natus gratiosus fiert & erit in omnibus rebus
astutus & periclitabit usque in annos viii. & si uexerit annis.xxx. diues erit. Puella nata erit
sapiens studiosa casta. Sonnium cito fiert & deum illud. opor(tet) commendare.

Luna. DecyMA. Om(n)ibus agendis utile est. Mancipia emere uendere granaria inlustrare
pomaria inputrare (uineas) edificare in domum nouam introire. Puerum in scolam tradere. Puer
natus erit amicabilis. & inuincibilis (signum) sinistra. uel manu dextra erit bonus. Item
laboriosus in prima etatç periclitabit in mare & euadet. Puella nata erit benigna & semper ueniente
etate melius in melius aget. Eger aut cito mortietur aut cito surget & somnium uana erit.

Luna xi. Vindemia ingredere nauem. ascendere beneficium petere & dare filio adaptare arbores
amputare. sues suppotare apes inuasare; Puer natus erit amicabilis feruid
calidus animosus posteriori etatç melius agit. Puella nata erit sapiens casta. utile casta. &
art complexato (mortce) morietur. In lecto qui incidét diu languescit. aut celeris surget. & somnium
infra dies.iii(iei). fiert cónsumatum cautus esto

Luna xii. Die hac omnibus operibus agendis. bonum est; Seminare uxórem ducre. sponsalia faceré
iter peregere Puer natus erit bonus. & periculum habebit. Permultum. Puella nata erit speciosa set

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53[innotus] i.e. ignotus.
54[strenuus] strenuus.
55[periclitabitur] perinclinabitur.
56[contenta] teccontenta.
57[erit] - <fol. 213r>.
58[graminibus] grān; Svenberg (1963) suggested gerendis.
60[mundare] inundare, so Svenberg (1936); emended to - in Svenberg (1939, 1963).
61[gratiosus] granossus, so Svenberg (1936), emended to - in Svenberg (1963). This erroneous reading also occurs in 9.1/1.
63[Sonnium] emended to somnium in Svenberg (1936).
64[Luna] Ec.
65[Om(n)ibus] omnibus Svenberg (1936).
66[emere] e- < o.
67[inlustrare] ieluausstrare.
68[inputrare] emended to inputare in Svenberg (1936); emended to imputrare in Svenberg (1963), see also Svenberg (1939).
69[inuincibilis] inuincabilis.
70[manu] manus.
71[aut] a'ü [t.e.
72[adaptrare] - filio, filio underlined to indicate deletion; adaptare Svenberg (1936).
73[ supplotare] suppotares.
74[apes] aues.
76[seruidus] seruidus; silently emended in Svenberg (1936).
77[casta] - <fol. 214r>.
78[uallitudinaria] d- < t.
79[uxórem] urórem.
80[habebit] - on erasure.
non diu(tu)rna\textsuperscript{81} uita exigit.\textsuperscript{82} In lecto\textsuperscript{83} qui inciderit, aut languescet. aut cito morietur. & somnium erit certum s\textsuperscript{sc}uratus esto.

Luna xiii. Pericilitatur neque con amicis contendere. neque feniciare expedit quodcumque uoluerit.\textsuperscript{84} u(\textsuperscript{i})ndemiar\textsuperscript{c}.\textsuperscript{85} aut uuum premere suos supponere\textsuperscript{86} propagines facere Qui fugerit cito iunienieter; Puer natus erit uiciousus. audax. rapax superbus sibi \textsuperscript{(so)\textit{li}} placens & in magna etatem. iuu(\textsuperscript{e})t;\textsuperscript{87} Puella nata erit superba in animo & ten\text{\v{e}}ra in corpore multos uiros. habens. set cito moritur\textsuperscript{88} erit;

In lecto qui inciderit aut cito euadet. aut diu languescet. & somnium infra dies\textsuperscript{89} .viii. erit consummatum. & certissimum erit;

Luna xv. Artificium \textit{\textsuperscript{(quad)cumque}} fundare aut testamentum dare \textit{non} est firmum. Puer natus erit periculos\text{\text{u}}s.\textsuperscript{90} astutus. hospitales.\textsuperscript{91} benignus & periculum habebit de ferro. aut de aqua. Puella nata erit uercund\textit{a} laboriosa uiris placens. In lécto qui neciderit pericitabitur. ac post triduum surget. & somnium\textsuperscript{92} nichil nocebit;

Luna xvi. Nullis est utilis héc dies nisi fortis\textsuperscript{93} & gladiatoribus barbarum aut capillos tendere \textit{(bonum)} est. Qui recessit mortuus ad uentabitur. Puer natus erit hospitalis efficax. & conualescet \& stabilis erit \& in \textit{(e)}tatem. melior. Puela nata erit astuta omnibus amata. & quicquid uoluerit lanificare cito (expediet). Eger sustinebit \& conualescet\textsuperscript{94} sicut superius dixit.\textsuperscript{95} & somnium\textsuperscript{96} post multum tempus fiet expletum \& dolus erit.

Luna xvii. Nulla felicior\textsuperscript{97} terram\textsuperscript{98} proscindere frumenta serere.\textsuperscript{99} Puerum scolae tradare medicamentum facere aras dedicare.\textsuperscript{100} Puer natus erit periculos\textit{us} amicabilis. astutus sapiens; Literatus. audax uerax\textit{que}. Puella nata erit uerbosa docta in omnibus rebus utilis casta lanificae. felicitatem\textsuperscript{101} optimam habens. In lecto qui ceciderit diu egrotabit. \& somnium\textsuperscript{102} cito fiet manifestum.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[81]diu(tu)rna\textsuperscript{81} so Svenberg (1936); emendation reversed in Svenberg (1963).
\item[82]exigit\textsuperscript{82} exgut.
\item[83]lecto\textsuperscript{83} lecta.
\item[84]uoluerit\textsuperscript{84} uolueri[t], \{t\} > 's'.
\item[85]u(\textsuperscript{i})ndemiar\textsuperscript{c} unde imar\textsuperscript{r}.
\item[86]suos supponere\textsuperscript{86} emended to sues suppotare in Svenberg (1936); emendation reversed in Svenberg (1963), see also Wistrand (1942).
\item[87]iuiu(\textsuperscript{e}t);\textsuperscript{87} silently emended in Svenberg (1936).
\item[88]moritura\textsuperscript{a} moriturr\textsuperscript{a}.
\item[89]infra dies\textsuperscript{89} iter dies; emended to inter dies in Svenberg (1936).
\item[90]periculos\textsuperscript{90} u(\textsuperscript{i})s \textsuperscript{-} \textit{u} \textsuperscript{-} \textit{\textless} i (not expunged or erased).
\item[91]hospitales\textsuperscript{91} sp- < st (ligature); - \[\text{fol. 214v}].
\item[92]somnium\textsuperscript{92} somnium Svenberg (1936); emendation reversed in Svenberg (1963).
\item[93]fortis\textsuperscript{93} i.e. furris.
\item[94]Eger sustinebit \& conualescet\textsuperscript{94} conualescet. Eger sustinebit, so Svenberg (1936); emended to - in Svenberg (1963).
\item[95]dixit\textsuperscript{95} diximus Svenberg (1936).
\item[96]somnium\textsuperscript{96} somnium Svenberg (1936).
\item[97]felicior\textsuperscript{97} emended to feliciorn in Svenberg (1936); emendation reversed in Svenberg (1963).
\item[98]terr\textsuperscript{a}l\textsuperscript{98} terram = ES36.
\item[99]frumenta serere\textsuperscript{99} stumenta serere; emended to strumenta facere in Svenberg (1936); emended to - in Svenberg (1939, 1963). \textit{There seems to have been a mix-up between instrumenta facere (found in some other redactions of collective lunaries) and frumenta serere.}
\item[100]aras dedicare\textsuperscript{100} aras dare; emended to arma dare in Svenberg (1936); emended to - in Svenberg (1939, 1963). Both arma dare and aras dedicate are attested readings.
\item[101]facultatem\textsuperscript{101} facultatem.
\item[102]somnium\textsuperscript{102} somnium Svenberg (1936).
\end{footnotes}

Luna xx. Vanisimem est hic dies omnibus operibus agendis; Bonum est uotis reddere terram proscindere granaria inlustriae. puerum. in s[c]olis tradere uестem nouam induere; Puer natus erit egriolaris. benignus astutus. litteratus. Iudex in posteri(ori) çatçė erit. Puella nata erit lanefica astuta moribus bona uios spernens; & qui in lecto ceciderit aut diu languescet aut cito surget. Qui fugerit mortuos adnuntiabitur aut ligatus (reducetur); & sonniu non est credendum.


Luna xxii. hic dies mercandia locutionibus facere bonum est car e emere mancia. Puer natus erit...
mendicus.\footnote{mendicau \ mundicu.} Puella nata similiter: Eger\footnote{Eger} cito confortabitur. Et sonnia\footnote{sonnia \ somnia Svenberg (1936).} certa\footnote{certa \ certa.} et\footnote{et} si tamen fuerint retenta\footnote{retenta -t- < c.} (in memoria);

Luna xxiii. Omnibus rebus agendis utile est. Puer natus erit popularis. Puella nata erit animosa. Eger\footnote{non diu longueset quia aut cito conualescet aut cito morietur. Somnium non est credendum\footnote{credendum \ credement.} nec in animo tenendum.} non diu longueset quia aut cito conualescet aut cito morietur. Somnium non est credendum\footnote{credendum \ credement.} nec in animo tenendum.

Luna xxiii;\footnote{ xxiii} Omnibus rebus incipiendis utile est. Puer natus erit pugnans. Puella nata erit fo(r)tis.\footnote{fortis \ fortis.} Eger cito morietur. Et sonnia nichil erit.

\footnote{Svenberg \ Svenberg (1936); \ Svenberg \ Svenberg (1963).} Luna xxv. Omnibus uenacionibus\footnote{ueacionibus \ ueracionibus.} exercere utilis est\footnote{exercere utilis \ exercer utilis.} Puer natus erit cupidus. Puella nata erit cupida. & lanifica. Eger infra triduum. erit manifestus. Et sonnia oimes peregrinos iniuinguuntur;\footnote{inuiguuntur \ iniuinguuntur.} Et quicquid uideris. inter dies .viii erit manifestum.

Luna xxvi. Puer natus erit momentosus. Eger cito\footnote{momentosus \ momentosus.} morietur. & sonnium\footnote{sonnium \ sonnium.} ita fiet. sicut superius dixit.\footnote{dixit \ dixit.}

\footnote{Svenberg \ Svenberg (1936).} Luna xxvii. Puer natus erit prudens. Puella nata erit honesta sapiens. Et qui in lecto ceciderit ad uitam

\footnote{surget. & sonnium effectum. habebit \ habebit.} surget. & sonnium effectum. habebit & scias eum actum esse futurum.

\footnote{Svenberg \ Svenberg (1936).} Luna xxviii. Puer natus erit laboriosus & in omnibus credulus.\footnote{credulus \ credulus.} Puella nata erit obediens & fidelis. & qui in lecto\footnote{lecto \ lecto.} ceciderit cito confortabitur. & sonnium sicut superius dixit.\footnote{dixit \ dixit.}

Luna xxviii. Puer natus. erit eruditus. & eminens.\footnote{eminens \ eminens.} puella nata erit sapiens diues. & sonnium. bonum erit. & certum futurum tamen.

\footnote{Svenberg \ Svenberg (1936).} Luna xxx. Puer natus erit felicissimus\footnote{felicissimus \ felicissimus.} & benignus; Puella nata erit felix. bennigna quieta mansueta.\footnote{mansueta \ mansue.} Puella nata erit pudica. & bennigna quieta mansueta.\footnote{mansueta \ mansue.} Puella nata erit pudica. & bennigna quieta mansueta.\footnote{mansueta \ mansue.}

\footnote{Svenberg \ Svenberg (1936).} Et qui in lecto cecide ctit. perpetuer. quasi mortuus set\footnote{set \ set.} ad uitam \(\langle\text{con}\rangle\text{uertetur};\)\footnote{\(\langle\text{con}\rangle\text{uertetur} \ Svenberg (1936) retained uertetur.} Et sonnium infra triduum. reuelabitur; Interdum tamen cauta agendum est.
LUNAR Y, SPECIFIC, AGENDA

9.2.1/1 London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fols 39v/24-40r/4

On anre nihte ealdne monan. far þu to cinge. bide¹ þæs þu wille² he þe þæt gifð. gang in to him on þa
þriddan tide þæs dæges. oððæ þænnne þu wene þet sæ sy full.

3 On twa nihtne monan far to. 7 bige land þet þine yldran ahton. þonne miht þu hit alysan.
On .iii. nihtne monan. far þonne on þin land. 7 þu his wel gewealst. 7 sec þine friyd. 7 hi þe beoð
blyðe.

9.2.1/2 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115 (5135), fols 152v/4-153v/16¹

ON annihte monan fær to cyninge. 7 bidde þæs þu wille. he² þe þæt gefed³ gang in to him on þa
þridda tid þæs dæges. oððæ þonne þu wyte þet sæ si ful.

3 On .ii. nihte monan gang. þonne⁴ 7 byge land þæt þine yldran æt ahton. þonne meht þu hit alésan. 7
on .ii. nihte mona he byð god to férranne on oðer land. 7 wyf to onfonne to riht life.
On .iii. nihtne monan far þonne on þin land. 7 þu hys þonne wel gewaldest. 7 sec þine freonde 7 h(³)³
beoð blyðe. 7 .iii. nihta mona byð god an to fixanne.
On .iii. nihta monan sibba þa cidenda men. 7 þu hie gesibbast. 7 on þone dæg sec þine fiend 7 þu hie
gemetext. 7 hi ge⁵ beoð⁶ gewaldne. Se .iii. nihta mona se byð god þæm érgendan hys sul ut to
done. 7 þæm grindere his cweorn. 7 þæm cipemen hys⁸ cipinge to anginnane.
On .v. nihte monan gang to þinum þehtere 7 he þonne⁷ þe in callum þingum wel geþengeð. 7 sec on
þone dæg þine freond. 7 se þe⁹ stelad on þone dæg.¹¹ ne geáhsad hit manna.
12 On .vi. nihtne monan dó þonne hig on þin bed.¹² þonne hasfat þu þæron nenige wunelic sar. ac þu þer
byst gefeonde he is eac god circan on to timbrane. 7 eac scipes timber on to anginnanane.
On .vii. nihtne monan bidde þine laford he þe seleð. 7 gyf þu wille fedan cynigas bearn. oððæ æðæles
monnes geleð¹³ hine in þin hus 7 in þines hiredes 7 fed hine þonne byð þe þet god. Se .vii. nihta
mona is god on to fixiane 7 æðæles monnes wergíld an to manianne.¹⁴

²wille] - || <fol. 40r>.
¹Text is incomplete and ends with phase 17.
⁴gefeð] gefed Cockayne (1864-66).
⁵þonne] þiþnu.
⁶h(³)³] hi Cockayne (1864-66).
⁷ge] not in Cockayne (1864-66).
⁸ge beoð] gebeoð Cockayne (1864-66).
⁹hys] his Cockayne (1864-66).
¹⁰þonne] þ[°]iþonne.
¹¹æðæles] æðæles.
¹²æðæles] æðæles.
¹³manianne] Cockayne (1864-66) suggested nimanne.

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Se .viii. nihta monan geuntrumað ne léofað he lange. ac he ys gód on oðer land to feranne. 7 wyf to bringane.\(^{15}\)

On .ix nihhte monan. fer to cyniges bene gang in to him æt fulre séo. þonne byst\(^{16}\) þu gesundful wyð hine.

On .x. nihtne monan bidde swa hwas swa þu wylle. hyt þe bydð gere. Se .x. nihta mona he ys gód to standanne mid ædelum monnum. 7 to sprecanne hymb heora weorc. 7 éac byscop an to césane. 7 ealdormen. 7 cynigas.

On .xi. nihta eald mona\(^{17}\) fær on swa hwelce hálfe middangeardes swa þu wylle. ne sced þe nænig wiht ne man (ne) dior. 7 he byð gód an to cwellanne\(^{18}\) micle fixas on sæ.

On .xii. nihta monan byð god to féranne ofer sæ. 7 on hird to féranne. 7 æac to gewyfianne.

On .xiii. nihta monan eald fær in niwe hus. 7 nim eac\(^{19}\) mid þeo þrio fata ful ðæles 7 mœlce. 7 hyt byð\(^{20}\) æac gód (s)ceap to mílcian.\(^{21}\)

On .xiii. nihta monan is god ælc telge\(^{22}\) to anginnanne ærest. 7 on niwe hired to féranne. 7 preost to halgiene. 7 nunnan halig ref to anfone. 7 wildeswin.

On .xv. nihte. monan. hys gód to fixianne. 7 huntum heortas to secanne. 7 wildeswin.

On .xvi. nihta monan far\(^{23}\) ofer\(^{24}\) sæ. 7 site on þes scipes fórðstefna. ðonne geseces þu þæt land swa þeo leof e´st beóð. 7 freond findest begeondan ðæm sæ. 7 he is god hordern ón to sceawiene. 7 minster to gereran. 7 to sættenne.\(^{25}\)

On .xvii. nihta monan gyf þu wylle hus timbran. ber þæt timber:-

\(^{15}\)brigane i.e. bringane.

\(^{16}\)byst [i]byst.

\(^{17}\)eald mona the first word of the collocation – can be both inflected (i.e. ealdne monan) and uninflected, as in this case. The uninflected form is most commonly found in computistical tables of the duration of moonshine, e.g. Cockayne (1864-66: III.222-24), and rules for finding movable feasts, e.g. Henel (1934a: 42-43), cf. Healey and Venezky (2000: proximity search of kald and mona). See also 9.2.2/2 and 9.2.4/2.

\(^{18}\)cwellanne] || <fol. 153v>.

\(^{19}\)xiii. xiii. Cockayne (1864-66).

\(^{20}\)eac] eal.

\(^{21}\)byð] bid Cockayne (1864-66).

\(^{22}\)mílcian] mílcian Cockayne (1864-66).

\(^{23}\)telge] telge Cockayne (1864-66).

\(^{24}\)far] -r < n.

\(^{25}\)offer] offer, so Cockayne (1864-66).

\(^{26}\)sættenne] sættenne Cockayne (1864-66).
LUNARY, SPECIFIC, BIRTH

9.2.2/1 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 716

O(n a)nihte ealdne monan þæt cild þæt swa bið acenned þæt bið lic.
3 On .ii. nihte ealdne monan þæt bið seoc 7 sicle. On .iii nihte ealdne monan se leofða lange.
On .iii. þæt bið on wurðunge2 geond feola deode
On .v. nihte ealdne monan þæt geong sweltað
On .vi. nihte þæt bið lang lifes (7) gesælig.
9 On .vii. nihte3 ealdne monan se leofða lange on wurðunge
On .viii. nihte þæt iung4 sweltað.
12 On .ix. nihte ealdne (monan) se bið frecenlice acenned.
On .x. se bið þrowere.
15 On .xi. nihte alde monan se bið landes ofergænge.
On .xii. nihte3 alde monan se bið on allum þingum wurðful.
18 On .xiii. nihte. se bið æwfest 7 rihtwis.
On .xiii. nihte in allum þingum he bið welgetyd.
On xv. se geong sweltað.
(O)n xvi se bið in allum6 þingum nytwyrðe.7
24 On .xvii.4 nihte se bið sona gewiten.
On .xviii. nihte se bið earm 7 geswingful on his life
27 On xix. on weordunge
On xx. þæt bið sona gefaren
(O)n xxi þæt bið on godre weordunge.
30 On xxii. unheore feohtling.
On xxiii. se bið þeofsceadæ.10

On x’x iii.11 se bið geswingful on his life.
33 On xxv. se bið halsum12 in his lif.
(O)n xxvi. þæt bið weorces gelsa
On xxvii. se bið on frecnum þingum acenned.
36 On xxviii ne bið se naðer ne wælne ne arm.
On xxix. se bið forsæwen.
On xxx. se bið freondlide

1 O(n a)nihte Onre i.; Liuzza (2001) suggested On .i.
2 wurðunge -r- < n.
3 nihte ni- < m.
4 iung] iung[e.
5 nihte ni- < m.
6 allum] -m partly illegible through hole.
7 nytwyrðe nytw[lyrðe.
8 On .xvii.] O.n xvii.
9 On] -n < x.
10 þeofsceadæ þeof 7 sceadæ. Emended in accordance with texts 9.2.2/2 and 9.2.2/3, which read þeofsceadæa and

[12]halsum i.e. gehealdsum.
Gif mellon bið akenned\textsuperscript{1} on anre nihte\textsuperscript{2} eal(\textit{d}/\textit{ne})\textsuperscript{3} monan. se\textsuperscript{4} bið lang lifes 7 welig.  
3 Gyf\textsuperscript{5} he bið on tweigr\textsuperscript{6} nihta akenned. se bið a seoc 7 unhal.  
Gif he bið on þreora nihta. se leofað lange.  
6 Gif he bið on .iii.\textsuperscript{7} nihta akenned se bið a in wordum (\textit{leas}).\textsuperscript{8}  
Gif he bið on .v. nihta eald\textsuperscript{9} on geogoðe gewiteð.  
9 Gif he bið on .vi. nihta eald\textsuperscript{10} se bið lang lifes 7 gesælig.  
12 Gyf he bið on tweigr\textsuperscript{11} nihta akenned. se bið a word.  
15 Gif he bið on .ix. nihta eald. se bið frecenlice\textsuperscript{12} akenned.  
18 Gif he bið on .xii. nihta eald. se bið weorþunge.  
21 Gif he bið on .xvii. nihta se bið on eallum þingum wurðfull.  
24 Gif he bið on .xviii. nihta oððe. on .xix. se bið geæfaren.  
27 Gif he bið on .xxi. nihta se bið akenned. se bið a word.  
30 Gif he bið on .xxii. nihta se bið unearh\textsuperscript{21} fihtling.  
33 Gif he bið on .xxiii. nihta se bið \textit{þeofsceaða}.\textsuperscript{22}  
36 Gif he bið on .xxvii. nihta se bið to frecnum þingum akenned.  
Gif he bið on .xxviii. nihta se bið on eallum þingum akenned.  
42 Gif he bið on .xxxi. nihta se bið on eallum þingum akenned.  
45 Gif he bið on .xxx. nihta eald monan\textsuperscript{29} akenned. se bið gód 7 frendliðe.\textsuperscript{30}  

\textsuperscript{1}akenned\textsuperscript{1} acenned throughout Mitchell (1995).  
Mitchell’s claim (1995: 18) that he did not regularise the spelling of the Old English texts he cited is void in view of his edition of this text and that of 3.1.11.  
\textsuperscript{2}nihte\textsuperscript{2} niht Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{3}eal(\textit{d}/\textit{ne})\textsuperscript{3} silently emended Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{4}se\textsuperscript{4} so; he Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{5}Gyf\textsuperscript{5} Mitchell (1995) Liuzza (2001).  
\textsuperscript{6}tweigr\textsuperscript{6} twegra Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{7}iii.] iv Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{8}(\textit{leas})\textsuperscript{8} silently added Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{9}eald\textsuperscript{9} adl; caldne throughout Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{10}cald\textsuperscript{10} adlig.  
\textsuperscript{11}lyfåð\textsuperscript{11} lifåð Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{12}frecenlice\textsuperscript{12} frecendlice Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{13}cald\textsuperscript{13} cildne Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{14}xiii.] xiv Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{15}æwwæst\textsuperscript{15} -f- has closed curve like a wyn, but the horizontal stroke indicates an f, æwwæst Förster (1912c).  
\textsuperscript{16}gewitan\textsuperscript{16} gewiten Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{17}Gyf\textsuperscript{17} - hif.  
\textsuperscript{18}(\textit{bii})\textsuperscript{18} silently added Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{19}se\textsuperscript{19} so; he Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{20}weorþunge\textsuperscript{20} weorwunge Cockayne (1864-66).  
\textsuperscript{21}unearh\textsuperscript{21} unearg Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{22}\textit{þeofsceaða}\textsuperscript{22} þoef 7 scavada Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{23}xxiii.] xxiv Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{24}on\textsuperscript{24} in Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{25}gehealscum\textsuperscript{25} gehealdsum Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{26}weorces\textsuperscript{26} weorces Cockayne (1864-66), Mitchell (1995).  
\textsuperscript{27}Gyf\textsuperscript{27} Git Cockayne (1864-66).  
\textsuperscript{28}ne\textsuperscript{28} [e]ne, [e].  
\textsuperscript{29}cald monan\textsuperscript{29} the first word of the collocation - can be both inflected (i.e. caldne monan) and uninflected, as in this case. The uninflected form is most commonly found in computistical tables of the duration of moonshine (e.g. Cockayne 1864-66: III.222-24), and rules for finding movable feasts (e.g. Henel 1934a: 42-43), cf. Healey and Venezky (2000: proximity search for cald and mona). See also 9.2.1/2 and 9.2.4/2.  
\textsuperscript{30}frendliðe\textsuperscript{30} freonliðe Mitchell (1995).
Gif man\(^1\) biþ acenned on ane nihte\(^2\) ealdne monan. se lang lifes. 7 welig bið.
Gif he bið on tweigra nihta acenned. se bið a seoc. 7 unhal.
3 Gif he bið on þreora nihta. se lyfað lange.
Gif he bið on iii.\(^{3}\) nihta acenned. se bið a in wordum leas.
Gif he biþ .v. nihta eald\(^4\) on geoguþ gewiteþ.
6 Gif he bið .vi. nihta. eald\(^4\) se bið. lang lifes 7 gesælig.
Gif he bið .vii. nihta. se bið a weord. 7 lifeþ\(^5\) lange.
Gif he biþ .viii. nihta eald se swelteð sona.
9 Gif he bið .ix. nihta se byð frecenlice acenned.
Gif he biþ .x. nihta se biþ þrowere.
Gif he byþ .xi. nihta se bið landes ofergenga.
12 Gif he byþ .xii. nihta eald. se biþ on eallum þingum wurðfull.
Gif he bið .xiii. oððe .xiii. nihta se bið æwfaest 7 rihtwis.
Gif he bið .xv. nihta se bið sona gefaren.
15 Gif he byð .xvi.\(^6\) nihta. se byþ on eallum þingum nytwyrfþe.
Gif he bið .xvii. nihta. se bið sona gewiten.
Gif he bið .xviii. nihta. se bið ðæs ælgenum lifeþ.
18 Gif he bið .xx. nihta.\(^{7}\) se byþ sona gefaren.
Gif he bið .xxi. nihta. se bið on goddre weorþunge.
Gif he bið .xxii. nihta. se biþ ʿunere fihtling.
21 Gif he bið .xxiii. nihta. se byð ʿpeafscealþa.
Gif he byþ .xxiii. nihta. se bið geswincfull on his life.
Gif he byð .xxv. nihta. se biþ gehealtsum. his lifes.
24 Gif he biþ xxvi. nihta. se byð weorces gælsa.
Gif he bið .xxvii. nihta se bið to frecnum þingum acenned.
Gif he biþ .xxviii. nihta. se ne biþ næpor ne earm ne welig.
27 Gif he bið .xxix. nihta. oððe .xxx. se bið god. 7 freondliþe.

\(^{1}\) man\] mann Liuzaa (2001).
\(^{2}\) nihte\] nihtne.
\(^{3}\) eald\] adl him.
\(^{4}\) eald\] adli.
\(^{5}\) lifeþ\] -þ < s.
\(^{6}\) .xvi.] -v- < [x].
\(^{7}\) nihta.] ~ <fol. 41v>.
SE þe bið acenned on annihtne mona. se bið lange. lifes. 7 weleði. 
Se þe bið on .ii. nihta ealdne monan. se bið2 seoc. 
3 Gif he bið acenned on .iii. nihtne monan. se leofaþ lange 7 hydig. 
Gif he biþ feower nihta eald: he bið rice. 
Se þe bið on .v. nihtne bið geboren. gung 'he' gewitað. 
6 Se þe bið acenned on .vi. nihtne. se biþ lange lifes. 7 geselig. 
Se þe bið acenned on vii. nihta ealdne mona. se leofaþ lange on wurþunge. 
Gif se mona bið eahta nihta eald.3 se gewiteþ sona. 
9 Gif he bið acenned on nigan nihtne ealdne monan.4 se biþ fræcendlice5 acenned. 
Se þe þe bið acenned on .x. nihtne eal(d)ne monan.6 se bið ðrowere. 
Gif man biþ acenned on xi. nihta ealdne monan. se bið landes ofergenga. 
12 Se þe biþ acenned on xii. nihta eal(d)ne monan. se biþ lifes.7 7 on eallum his þingum weorþ mannum mid gode. 
Gif man bið acenned on xiii. nihta ealdne monan. se bið rices waldend. 7 godcunde.8 
15 Gif man biþ acenned on xiii. nihta eal(d)ne9 mone. se bið ælces godes wyrþe.

---

1 Text is incomplete and ends with phase 14.
3 eald] ealð.
4 nigan nihtne ealdne monan] contamination of nigan nihtne ealde monan and nigan nihte ealdne monan.
5 fræcendlice] fracendlice Cockayne (1864-66).
6 x. nihtne eal(d)ne monan] see previous note.
7 lifes] Cockayne supplied a supposedly missing langes, i.e. (langes) lifes.
8 godcunde] godcund Cockayne (1864-66).
9 eal(d)ne] silently emended in Cockayne (1864-66).
se þe acenned bið liflic he bið
Luna .i. qui natus fuerit. uitalis erit.
3 medeme he bið
Luna secunda: mediocris erit.
untrum he bið
6 Luna tertia: infirmus erit.
trahtnere cyninga he bið
Luna .iii." tractator" regnum erit.
9 geog he bið genumen
Luna .v." iuanen toletur.
lillic he bið
12 Luna sexta: uitalis erit.
lillic 7 notwurđe he bið
Luna vii." utialis & utilis erit.
15 geog he afealleð
Luna .vii." iuanen deci-dat.
calra strinend he bið
18 Luna .ix." omnium adquisitor erit.
he abuten färđ fel a rica
Luna .x. circuiubit multa(ś)9 regiones.
21 calra strinend he bið
Luna .xi." omnium adquisitor erit.
æwfast he bið
24 Luna .xii: reli(gi)osus erit.
widereard letted he bið
Luna .xiii." aduersus impeditor erit.
27 calra trahtnere he bið
Luna x"iii." omnium tractator erit.
geog (he) swylt
30 Luna .x"v. iuanen morietur.
lillic 7 þearfa he bið
Luna .x"vi." utialis & pauper erit.
33 na lange he ne leofað
Luna .xviii. non diues nec pauper erit.
on wyrdscipe he bið
36 Luna xix. in honore erit.

feohtere he bið
Luna .xx: bellator erit.
39 sceapa sceáncful he bið
Luna .xxi. latro ingeniosus erit.
geswincful he bið
42 Luna .xxii. laboriosus erit.
wicudò he bið
Luna .xxiii. uulgarus erit.
45 genihtsum he bið
Luna xxiiii. copiosis(us) erit.
fracnyssa feala he ðolað
48 Luna xxv. pericula multa patietur.
næ velig na wædla (he)3 bið
Luna xxvi. nec diues nec pauper erit.
51 freond(lic) he bið
Luna xxvii: amicus(us) erit.
gimeleas he bið
54 Luna xxviiii: negligens erit.
god 7 forsceawere he bið
Luna .xxviii: bonus & prouisor erit.
57 ceapa feala he asmeað
Luna xxx: negotia multa tractabit.

1Text is incomplete and lacks entry for phase 17. The scribe of the gloss frequently dropped the letter n (cf. Förster 1910: 56, n. 3), e.g. geog (entries 5, 8, and 15) and letted (entry 13).
2TRACTATOR] tractatur; tractatus Förster (1912c), but the last letter is clearly a continental r, not an insular s.
4multa(ś)] l- < i.
5[he]] he Förster (1912c).
9.2.2/6 London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 65r/22-65v/6

Incipit Lunaris sancti danielis de natuitate

'infantum'.¹

3 Luna .i. qui natus fuerit uitalis² erit.
   Luna .ii. mediocris erit.
   Luna .iii. infirmus erit.
6 Luna .iii. tractator reg(n)um erit.
   Luna .v. iuuenis tolletur.
   Luna .vi. uitalis erit.
9 Luna .vii. uitalis & utilis erit.
   Luna .viii. iuuenis decidet.
   Luna .ix. omnium adquisitor erit.
12 Luna .x. circuibat multas regiones.
   Luna .xi. Omnium adquisitor erit.
   Luna .xii. Religiosus erit.
15 Luna .xiiii. aduersus impeditor erit.
   Luna .xv. Iuuenis morietur.
   Luna .xvi. Vitalis & pauper erit.
18 Luna .xvii. Infelix erit.
   Luna .xviii. non diu uiuet.
21 Luna .xx. Bellator erit.
   Luna .xxi. Latro ingeniosus erit.
24 Luna .xxii. Laboriosus erit.
   Luna .xxiii. Vulgaris erit.
   Luna .xxiv. Copiosus erit.
27 Luna .xxv. p(eri)cula multa patietur.
   Luna .xxvii. Nec diues nec pauper erit.
   Luna .xxviii. Amicos(us) erit.
30 Luna .xxviii. Neglegens erit.

Luna .xxx. negotia multa tractabit.⁹

9.2.2/7 London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fols 7v/2-8r/13

incipit lunaris' Sancti danielis de natuitate.

Luna .i. qui natus fuerit uitalis erit.
3 Luna .ii. mediocris erit.
   Luna .iii. infirmus erit.
   Luna .iii. Tractator reg(n)um erit.⁵
6 Luna .v. iuuenis tolletur.
   Luna .vi. Vitalis erit.⁴
   Luna .vii. Vitalis & utilis erit.⁵
9 Luna .viii. iuuenis decidet.⁶
   Luna .ix. omnium adquisitor erit.
12 Luna .x. Omnium adquisitor erit.
   Luna .xii. Om(nium) tractator erit.
15 Luna .xiii. Aduersus impeditor erit.
   Luna .xv. Iuuenis morietur.
   Luna .xvi. Vitalis & pauper erit.
18 Luna .xvii. Infelix erit.
   Luna .xviii. non diu uiuet.
21 Luna .xx. Bellator erit.
   Luna .xxi. Latro ingeniosus erit.
   Luna .xxii. Laboriosus erit.
24 Luna .xxiii. Vulgaris erit.
   Luna .xxiv. Copiosus erit.
27 Luna .xxv. Per(eri)cula multa patietur.
   Luna .xxvii. Nec diues nec pauper erit.
   Luna .xxviii. Amicos(us) erit.
   Luna .xxviii. Neglegens erit.
30 Luna .xxviii. Bonus & prouior(sor)⁹ erit.
   Luna .xxx. Negotia multa tractabit.¹⁰

²reg(n)um] regnum Günzel (1993).
³erit] ~ not in Birch (1878).
⁴Ibid.
⁵Ibid.
⁶Ibid.
⁷decider] dicidet Birch (1878).
⁸erit] ~ not in Birch (1878).
⁹sor] ~ not in Birch (1878).
Luna i Quí natus fuerit utalis erit;
Luna ii Mediocris erit.
3 Luna iii Infirmus erit.
Luna iii Tractator regnum\(^{2}\) erit.
Luna v Iuuenis tolletur.
6 Luna vi Vitalis erit.
Luna vii Vitalis & utilis.
Luna viii Iuuenis decidet.
9 Luna ix Omnium adquisitor erit.
Luna x Circuibil\(^{3}\) multas regiones;
Luna xi Omnium adquisitor erit.
12 Luna xii Religiosus erit.
Luna xiii Aduersus impeditor erit.
Luna xiii Omnium tractator erit.
15 Luna xv Iuuenis morietur.
Luna xvi Vitalis & pauper erit.
Luna xvii Infelix erit.
18 Luna xvii i’ Non diu uiuet;
Luna xix Honorabilis erit.
Luna xx Bellator erit.
21 Luna xxi Latro ingeni\(\text{osus}\)\(^{4}\) erit.
Luna xxi Laboriosus erit.
Luna xxi Omnium tractator erit.
24 Luna xxi Omnium tractator erit.
Luna xxv Pericula multa patietur.
Luna xxvi Nec diues nec pauper erit.
27 Luna xxvii Amabilis erit.
Luna xxvii i’ Negligens erit.
Luna xxix Bonus & prouisor erit.
30 Luna xxx Negotia multa tractabit;

\(^{1}\)Text is in columns.
\(^{2}\)Regnum] regni.
\(^{3}\)Circuibil[ Circuibil.
\(^{4}\)Ingeniosus] & -. The other Latin birth lunaries do not have & between latro and ingeni\(\text{osus. The Old English translations common\(\text{ly read }\text{þeofsceaða} \text{and }\text{þeofsce}a\(\text{þa, }\text{(9.2.2/2 and 9.2.2/3, respectively, which indicates that the Latin may have been regarded as a compound. On the Old English compound, see För\(\text{ster (1912c: 24-25, n. 6). Old English text 9.2.2/1 reads }\text{þe\(\text{o}\(f\) sceaðe, in which the coordinator is preserved.}}

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LUNARY, SPECIFIC, BLOODLETTING
ORDER: 1, 7, 2, 5, 3-4, 8, 10, 9 (NB text 6 is now lost)

9.2.3/1 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422, p. 27\(^1\)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>gimenett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Non est bona. nis hit her god tíma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ab hora tertia bona est. fraðer .iii. tide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>In matutina bona est. on (ærne mergen.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Non est bona. nis hit her god tíma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>De nona usque ad noctem bona est. fram none.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Non est bona. nis hit her god tíma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>A quinta ora bona est. fram ðære .v. tide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Bona est. her hit is gód tíma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Inutilis est. nis hit her nytwirðlic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Non est bona. nis hit her god tíma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Non est bona. nis hit her god tíma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Melior est. her hit is bet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Non est bona. nis hit her god tíma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>In matutina bona est. on ærne mergen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Ab ora .iii. ad .vi. bona (est). fram underne oð middæg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Ab ora quinta bona est. fram ðære .v. tide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Bona est. her hit is gód tíma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Non est bona. nis hit her god tíma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Totâ die bona est. ealne dæg hit is gód.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Non est bona. nis hit her god tíma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Bona est. her hit is gód tíma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Non est bona. nis hit her god tíma.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^1\)The top right-hand corner of the page as been torn out, so the endings of the first six lines are lost.

\(^2\)Non bona est. nis hit her god tíma.] Bona est. her hit is god tíma; emended in accordance with the other insular bloodletting lunaries.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.2.3/7</td>
<td>London, British Library, Harley 3271, fol. 102v/1-31&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><strong>DE SANGVINE MINVERE:</strong>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA i.</td>
<td>Tota die bona est.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA ii.</td>
<td>Non est bona.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA iii.</td>
<td>Ab hora .iii. bona est.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA iiiii.</td>
<td>In matutina bona est.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA v.</td>
<td>Non est bona.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA vi.</td>
<td>Non est bona.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA viii.</td>
<td>De nona usque ad noctem bona est.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA ix.</td>
<td>Non est bona.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA x.</td>
<td>Non est bona.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA xi.</td>
<td>Non est bona.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA xii.</td>
<td>Non est bona.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA xiii.</td>
<td>Ab hora quinta bona est.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA xiiii.</td>
<td>Bona est.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA xv.</td>
<td>Non est bona.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA xvi.</td>
<td>Inutilis est.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA xvii.</td>
<td>Bona est.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA xviii.</td>
<td>Non est bona.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA xix.</td>
<td>Melior est.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA xx.</td>
<td>Non est bona.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA xxi.</td>
<td>In matutina bona est.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA xxii.</td>
<td>Ab hora .iii. &amp; .vi. bona est.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA xxiii.</td>
<td>Ab hora .v. bona est.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA xxiiii.</td>
<td>Bona est.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVNA xxv.</td>
<td>Non est bona.</td>
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<td>LVNA xxvi.</td>
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<td>LVNA xxvii.</td>
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<th>Page</th>
<th>Column</th>
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<td>9.2.3/2</td>
<td>London, British Library, Arundel 60, fol. 1r&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><strong>AD SANGVINEM&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt; MINVENDVM.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Luna i</td>
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<td>Luna xxvi</td>
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<td>Luna xxvii</td>
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<td>Luna xxviii</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luna xxx</td>
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<sup>1</sup>Text is in columns. Text is framed in four coloured rectangles; columns are demarcated by double vertical lines.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lunar Phase</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Note</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luna i</td>
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<td>3 Luna ii</td>
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<td>In matutina bona est.</td>
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<td>6 Luna v</td>
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<td>Luna vii</td>
<td>Non est bona.</td>
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<td>Luna viii</td>
<td>De nona usque ad noctem bona est.</td>
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<td>Luna viiiii Bona est.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12 Luna x</td>
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<td>15 Luna xiiii</td>
<td>Ad hora .v. 3 bona (est).</td>
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<td>Luna xiiii Bona est.</td>
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<td>18 Luna xvi</td>
<td>Inutilis est.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Luna xvii Bona est.</td>
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<td>Luna xviii Non est bona.</td>
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<td>21 Luna xvi</td>
<td>Melior est.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Luna xx Non est (bona).</td>
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<td>Luna xxi In matutina bona est.</td>
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<td>24 Luna xxii</td>
<td>Ad hora .i.ii. &amp; .vi. bona est.</td>
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<td>Luna xxiii Ad hora .v. bona est.</td>
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<td>Luna xxiiii Bona est.</td>
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<td>27 Luna xxv</td>
<td>Malum est.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Luna xxvi Non est bona.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Luna xxvii Tota die bona est.</td>
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<td>30 Luna xxviii</td>
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<td>Luna xxviii Bona est.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Luna xxx Non est bona.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 Text is in columns. Left margin is exceedingly faded.
2 Bona est most other Anglo-Saxon bloodletting lunaries read non est bona.
4 Non est (bona) Günzel (1993).
5 The predictions for phases 28 and 29 were swapped in the manuscript. I have emended them to the correct reading.

---

Text is in columns. Left margin is exceedingly faded.

2 Bona est most other Anglo-Saxon bloodletting lunaries read non est bona.
4 Non est (bona) Günzel (1993).
5 The predictions for phases 28 and 29 were swapped in the manuscript. I have emended them to the correct reading.
6 Luna .i. tota die bonum est.
7 Luna .ii. non est bonum.
8 Luna .iii. in matutina bonum est.
9 Luna .v. non est bonum.
10 Luna .vi. non est bonum.
11 Luna .vii. tota die bonum est.
12 Luna .viii. de nona usque ad sero bonum est.
13 Luna .ix. non est bonum.
14 Luna .x. bonum est.
15 Luna .xi. non est bonum.²
16 Luna .xii. bonum est.
17 Luna .xiii. bonum est usque ad hora nona.
18 Luna .xv. non est bonum.
19 Luna .xvi. inutilis est.
20 Luna .xvii. tota die bonum est.
21 Luna .xviii. non est bonum.
22 Luna .xix. melior est.
23 Luna .xx. tota die bonum est.
24 Luna .xxii. in matutina bonum (est).
25 Luna .xxiiii. ab hora viii. bonum est.
26 Luna .xxviii. non est bonum.
27 Luna .xxix. non est bonum.³
28 Luna .xxx. non est bonum.

---

4 Non est bonum Günzel (1993).
5 The predictions for phases 28 and 29 were swapped in the manuscript. I have emended them to the correct reading.
6 Luna .i. tota die bonum est.
7 Luna .ii. non est bonum.
8 Luna .iii. in matutina bonum est.
9 Luna .v. non est bonum.
10 Luna .vi. non est bonum.
11 Luna .vii. tota die bonum est.
12 Luna .viii. de nona usque ad sero bonum est.
13 Luna .ix. non est bonum.
14 Luna .x. bonum est.
15 Luna .xi. non est bonum.²
16 Luna .xii. bonum est.
17 Luna .xiii. bonum est usque ad hora nona.
18 Luna .xv. non est bonum.
19 Luna .xvi. inutilis est.
20 Luna .xvii. tota die bonum est.
21 Luna .xviii. non est bonum.
22 Luna .xix. melior est.
23 Luna .xx. tota die bonum est.
24 Luna .xxii. in matutina bonum (est).
25 Luna .xxiiii. ab hora viii. bonum est.
26 Luna .xxviii. non est bonum.
27 Luna .xxix. non est bonum.³
28 Luna .xxx. non est bonum.

---

1 Text is in columns. Left margin is exceedingly faded.
2 Bona est most other Anglo-Saxon bloodletting lunaries read non est bona.
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5 The predictions for phases 28 and 29 were swapped in the manuscript. I have emended them to the correct reading.
De flebotomatione uel de minuendo sanguine

Luna prima. Tota die bonum est.

3 Luna .ii. non est bonum.
Luna .iii. bona est
Luna .iii. in matutina bona est.

6 Luna .v. non est bonum.
Luna .vi. non est bonum.
Luna .vi. in matutina bona est.

Luna .vii. Tota die bonum est.

9 Luna .viii. de nona usque ad sero bonum est.
Luna .ix (non) est bonum.
Luna .x. (bonum est.)
Luna .xi. non est bonum.
Luna .xii. bonum est.
Luna .xii. bona est usque ad hora nona.

12 Luna .xiii. bonum est.
Luna .xiii. bona est usque ad hora nona.

15 Luna .xv. non est bonum.
Luna .xv. non est bonum.
Luna xvi Inutilis est.
Luna xvii. Tota die bonum est.
Luna .xviii. non est bonum.
Luna .xix. melior est.

21 Luna xx. Tota die bonum est.
Luna .xx. In matutina bona est.
Luna .xx. Tota die bonum est.

24 Luna .xxiii. Ab hora .viii. bonum est.
Luna .xxiii. bonum est.
Luna .xxv. Non est bonum.

27 Luna .xxvi. Non est bonum.
Luna .xxvi. Tota die bonum est.
Luna .xxvi. Non est bonum.

30 Luna .xxix. Non est bonum.
(L)una .xxx. Similiter.

---

1Text is in columns. This text, together with 9.2.4/8, is framed in two double-lined rectangles.
2bonum] bonum.
3matutina] matutino.
Luna i. Tota die bona est.
Luna ii [Non est bona.] 'Bona est.
Luna iii [Bona est.] 'Non est bona.'
Luna iii. [In matutina bona est.] 'Ab hora .vi. usque ad .ix. bona est.'
Luna v Non est bona.
Luna vi Non est bona.
Luna vii Tota die bona est.
Luna viii. De nona usque ad uesperum bona est;³
Luna ix [Non est bona.] 'Vtilis est.'
Luna x. Bona est. 'A .vi. usque seram bona est.'
Luna xi. [Non est bona.] 'Similiter.'
Luna xii Bona est.
Luna xiii Bona est usque ad horam nonam;⁵
Luna xiii. Bona est. 'A .vi. hora usque ad seram.'
Luna xiv [Non est bona.] 'Vtilis est.'
Luna xv Inutilis est.
Luna xvi Bona est.
Luna xvii Non est bona.
Luna xviii Non est bona.
Luna xix [Melior.] 'Non est bona.'
Luna xx Tota die bona est.
Luna xxi In matutina bona est. 'usque ad .iii.'
Luna xxi. Tota die bona est.
Luna xxii [Ab hora .viii. bona est.] 'Usque .vi. bona (est).'²
Luna xxiii Bona est. 'matutina hora.'
Luna xxiv Non est bona.
Luna xxv Non est bona.
Luna xxvi Non est bona.
Luna xxvii Tota die bona est.
Luna xxviii. [Non est bona.] 'Ab .vi. usque seram bona (est).'³
Luna xxix. [Non est bona.] 'Similiter.'
Luna xxx [Similiter;] 'Non est bona.'
LVNA PRIMA BONA EST
Luna secunda      bona est
3 Luna tertia      bona est
4 Luna quarta     bona est
5 Luna quinta     mala est
6 Luna sexta      mala est
7 Luna septima    bona est
8 Luna octaua     mala est
9 Luna nona       bona est
10 Luna decima    bona est
11 Luna .xi.      bona est
12 Luna .xii.     mala est
13 Luna .xiii.    bona est
14 Luna .xiii.    bona est
15 Luna .xv.      mala est
16 Luna .xvi.     bona est
17 Luna .xvii.    bona est
18 Luna .xviii.   mala est
19 Luna .xviii.   mala est
20 Luna .xx.      bona est
21 Luna .xx.      bona est
22 Luna .xxi.     mala est
23 Luna .xxii.    bona est
24 Luna .xxiii.   bona est
25 Luna .xxiv.    mala est
26 Luna .xxv.     mala est
27 Luna .xxvi.    mala est
28 Luna .xxvii.   bona est
29 Luna .xxviii.  mala est
30 Luna .xxx.     mala est

1Text is in two columns, i.e. phases 1-15 and 16-30.
LUNARY, SPECIFIC, DREAMS

9.2.4/1 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, pp. 720/4-721/11

Þonne se mone bið anre nihtæ eald swa hwæt swa þu gesihst þæte kymð to gefean.¹
On twam nihtum 7 on .iii. ne bið on þam sweafe ne göð ne yfel.
3 On .iii. 7 on .v. þæt bið göð wite þu þæt on þinne heortan.
On .vi. nihte monan þæt ðe þonne dynde þæt þu gesoo sy þæt fæst on þinum breostum heald þe georne²
þæt dú þone gefanc ne forleose
6 On vii nihte monan swa hwæt swa þe þonne on eage gebyred æfter langre tide cymð seo geendum.
On .viii. 7 on .ix. nihte sona þe ætwð swa hwæt swa þe geswefndað gig þu unrotnesse geseo wend þin
heafud eas(t bi)de god are.
9 On x nihte þin swefen agæð. butan frecednesse.
On xi nihte þæt swefen kymð to gefean.
On twel nihte 7 on .xiii. binnan .iii. nihtum þu gesihst þæt ðe on swefen æteowde.
12 On .xi. nihte monan scorte fulfremmednesse hafað þæt swefen:
On .xvi. nihte monan æfter langre³ tide þæt swefen agæð.
15 On xvii. 7 on .xviii. 7 on xix þæt swefen bið göð (7 o)n manegum dagum geendað.
On xx. 7 on xxii nihte ceapunge⁴ 7 hwearfunge⁵ þæt getacnað.
On xxii. 7 xxiii. seo meting bið geteres ful 7 geflites⁶ 7 costunge ne bið þæt god swefen.
18 On xxiii(i). nihte þæt getacnað gefean 7 hælo
On xxv. xxvi. towardlice fyrhtu 7 brogan þæt getacnað 7 on ix. dagum oðde on .x. þæte bið æteowed
ac wend (þin heafud) east bide god are.
21 On xxvii. ⁷ on xxvii(i). 7 on xxix. þæt swefen tacnað ealne gefean 7 eghwylcere agnesse⁸ 7 uneðnesse
smyltnesse 7 glædnesse gehatað.
On xxx. nihte aldne monan efter twegra daga fyrste þæt swefen agæð butan frecednesse.¹¹

¹[gefean] gesecan.
²[georne] [∫]georne.
³[langre] lang[e]re; langere Förster (1925-26).
⁴[on] in, i- < o.
⁵[ceapunge] -p- < n.
⁷[þæt] 7.
⁹[?] - þe bið 7.
¹⁰[agnesse] i.e. angnesse.
¹¹[frecednesse] strecednesse.
On anre nihta eald monan1 swa hwæt swa þe mæteð þæt cymð to gefean.
On tweigra nihta eald monan.2 7 on þreora næþæt swefen nænige fremednesse gódes ne yfeles.
On feower nihta. 7 on fisa. þæt bið gód swefen wite þu þæt georne on þinre heortan.
On .vi. nihta þæt þe þonne (þince) þæt þu geseo. þæt beo fæst on þinum breostum. wite þæt þin þanc ne losige.
On .vii. nihta swa hwæt swa þe on eage byrød. æfter (langre) tide cymð seo endung.
On .viii. nihta.3 7 on .ix. sona þæt yped.4 swa hwæt swa þe geswefnað. gif þu unrotnysse gesawe. wend þin heafod east bide þe god are.
On .x. nihta þin swefen agæð butan frecednysse.
On .xi. (nihta) þæt swefen agð³ mid gefean.
On .xii. nihta. 7 on .xiii. binnan þrim nihton þu gesiðst þæt þe ær on swefne ætywde.
On .xiii. nihta. næþæ þæt nænige fremednysse gódes ne yfeles.
On .xiv. nihta sceortwyrlpic þæt bið.6
On .xv. nihta æfter langre tide hit agæð.
On .xvi. nihta þæt swefen bið god. 7 on .xvii. nihta þæt swefen þæt tæcnað ceapunge 7 hwearfunge.7
On .xvii. 7 on .xviii. nihta þæt swefen þæt got swefnað. 7 þæt sengest þæt æt þin þanc 7 eall gesynto 7 hærlo.
On .xviii. 7 on .xix. nihta þæt swefen bið god. 7 on .xx. nihta þæt tæcnað ceapunge 7 hwearfunge.7
On .xx. 7 on .xxi. nihta þæt bið geypped. ac wend þin heafod east bide þe (god) are.
On .xxi. 7 on .xxii. nihta þæt swefen (swefen) tæcnað ealne11 gefean. 7 eall12 angnysse. 7 uneaðnysse. smyltnysse 7 gladnesse gehatað.
On .xxii. 7 on .xxiii. nihta þæt swefen bið geflan. 7 eall12 angnysse. 7 eall an gnysse. 7 un eaðnysse. smyltnysse 7 gladnesse gehatað.
On .xxiii. nihta eallswa þæt ætre.
On .xxiv. nihta ær twegra daga13 fyrs þæt swefen agæð butan frencnum þingum.

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1eald monan] the first word of the collocation - can be both inflected (i.e. ealdne monan, cf. 9.2.4/3) and uninflected, as in this case. The uninflected form is most commonly found in computistical tables of the duration of moonshine (e.g. Cockayne 1864-66: III.222-24), and rules for finding movable feasts (e.g. Henel 1934a: 42-43). cf. Healey and Venezky (2000: proximity search for eald and mona). See also 9.2.1/2 and 9.2.2/2.
2Ibid.
3nihta] Förster (1925-26).
4yped] ywæð or yped; it is hard to distinguish between wyn and p in this instance.
5agð] ægæð Cockayne (1864-66).
7hwearfunge] hwearfunge.
8geteres] gecornes, so Cockayne (1864-66).
9geflites] geflitnes, so Cockayne (1864-66).
10gesynto] ge|synto <fol. 132r>.
11ealne] ealdne.
12eall] ealle.
13daga] nihta, so Cockayne (1864-66).
On anre nihta ealdne monan swa hwæt swa þe mæted þet cyms to gefean.
On tweigra nihte monan. 7 on þeora. næþ þet swefen nænige fremednesse godes ne yfeles.
On feower nihtne. 7 on fifa. þet byþ god swefen. wite þu þet georne on þinre heortan.
On syx nihta. þet þe þonne þince þet þu geseo. þet beo ðæst on þinum brestum. wite þet þin gehanc ne leose.
On .vii. nihta swa hwæt swa þe on eage byþ þæfter (langre) tide cymsð seo endung.
On .viii. nihtæ. 7 on .ix. sone þet ypeð swa hwæt swa þe geswefnaþ. gif þu unrotnesse gesawe. wend þin heafod east. bide þe god are.
On .x. nihta. þin swefen agæþ. butan frec(ed)nesse.
On xi. nihta þet swefen agæþ mid gefean.
On .xii. 7 on .xiii. nihta. binnan þrim nihton þu gesyhst þet þe ær on swefne ætywede.
On .xiv. nihta. næþ þet nænige fremednesse. godes ne yfeles.
On .xvi. nihta æfter langre tide hit agæð.
On .xvii. 7 on .xviii. 7 on .xix. nihta. þet swefen byþ god. 7 on manegum dagum geendað.
On .xx. nihta. 7 on .xxi. þet tacnæþ. ceapunga. 7 hwearfunga.
On .xxii. 7 on .xxiii. nihta seó mæting byþ geteres. 7 geflites. 7 eall costnunge full. ne biþ þæt na god swefen.
On .xxiv. nihta. þet tacnæþ (gesynto 7 hælo.)
(On .xxv. 7 on .xxvi. nihta þet tacnæþ) toweardlice firhto. 7 brogan. 7 on nigon dagum oððe on .x. þet byþ gypped. ac wend þin heafod east bide þe (god) are.
On .xxvii. 7 on .xxviii. nihta. þet swefen tacnæþ ealne geðæ on .x. þet angsumnesse. 7 uneadnesse smyltnesse. 7 glædnysse gehateþ.
On .xxix. nihta allswa þet ætte.
On .xxx. nihta. ær tweigra daga' fyrste þet swefen ageð butan frecnum þingum.

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1 On <O>n Liuzza (2001)
2 ypeð [ypeð] yweð or ypeð; it is hard to distinguish between wyn and p in this instance.
3 geteres | gecornes.
4 geflites | geflitnes.
5 [call] ealle.
6 gehateþ = || <fol. 38r>.
7 daga] nihta.
DĒere æresten nyhte þonne niwe mone byd ecymen.² þet mon þonne³ in sweofne gesihþ. þet cymed to gefean.

3 þere æfteran niht. 7 þore⁴ ðriddan nyht: ne byod þet nader ne god ne yfel. Ðære feordan nyht. 7 þeora⁵ ðitan: wene heo godre gefremednesse. Þære syxtan niht⁶ þet þu gesyxt(t). swa hyt byod. 7 þeo wyð eorðþu geoscilt.

5 þere seoðan nyht. þet þu gesixt. swa hyt byod. 7 æfter⁷ mycelre tyde agæð. Þære .viii. niht.⁵ 7 þere nigoðan. raþ þu gesihst. swefn þet bið adle⁵ oðþe trega Þære teodan¹⁰ niht þet þeo gemeted. þet bioð butan festnesse.¹¹

9 þeore .xii. niht. 7 þeore .xiii. niht. ine þrim dagum þu gesihst þin swefn þeore .xiii. niht.¹² ne hafað þæt nane gefremédnesse. þeore .xv. niht: hit hafað little gefremædnesse.¹³

12 þeore xvi. niht: æfter¹⁴ mycelre tide agæð þin sweofn. Ðære xviii. niht. 7 xviii. 7 nigonente. in .iii. 7 c.um. daga bið god¹⁵ swefn. Ðonne se mona bið xx. niht. 7 .i. 7 xx. niht. þet bið scir oðþe ceap in þem sweofne toweard.

15 þonne heo byd .ii. 7 xx. niht eald. þet þu gesihst hit lengeð to gode gefean.¹⁶ þonne heo bið .i. 7 xx. nihta eald. þet bið¹⁷ cid 7 geflit. Ðonne heo bið .iii. 7 xx. nihta eald. 7 v. 7 xx. 7 vi. 7 xx. nihta eald. þet bið weorðlic ege on nigon dagum. oðþe on .x. þin sweofn agæð.

18 þonne heo bið¹⁸ .vii. 7 xx. 7 viii. 7 xx. nihta eald: calne gefean þet bicnæð. þonne heo bið .ix. 7 xx. 7 fulle .xxx. nihta¹⁹ eald. þet bið æfre buton fræcnæsse;

¹ Text is incomplete and lacks phase 11.
²ecymen] ecumen Cockayne (1864-66).
³ponne] ponne Förster (1925-26).
⁵þeora] þeora.
⁷æfter] æster; silently emended in Cockayne (1864-66), Förster (1925-26).
⁹ade] able.
¹⁰teodan] nigoðan.
¹¹festnesse] -s - < t.
¹²niht] nihta.
¹³gefremædnesse] gefremednesse Cockayne (1864-66).
¹⁴æfter] æster; æften Cockayne (1864-66); silently emended in Förster (1925-26).
¹⁵god] god, so Cockayne (1864-66).
¹⁶gode gefean) Cockayne (1864-66) supplied a supposedly missing 7, i.e. gode (7) gefean. The emendation is unnecessary, cf. Förster (1925-26: 91-92, n. 9).
¹⁷bið] bid.
¹⁸bið] bid Förster (1925-26).
¹⁹nihta] nihta, silently emended in Förster (1925-26).

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9.2.4/5 London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fols 35v/15-36r/13

swa wæt swa þu gesihs t on blisse bið 7 gif þu gesihs þe beon ofercumene2 (þu deahhwæþere)
Luna prima quicquid uideris in gaudium erit. & si uideris te uiici tu tamen

3 ofercymst calle feond þine geunnendum gode.
uinces omnes inimicos tuos annuente deo.
gif þu gesihs swefnu nane gefremminge heð na on mode þu asete odense god odense yfel

6 Luna .ii.4 si uideris somnium. nullum effectum habet. nec in animo ponas siue bonum siue malum.
calswic swilce se ðeðer
Luna .iii. qualis & secunda.
gode gefremminge heafð naht ne derað
Luna .iii. bonum effectum habet. nichil nocet.
callswe se feorþa

12 (L)una .v. sicut & quarta.
æfter þam þe þu gesihs swa þe gewyrð digle geþeah utlendisc(um)3 nelle þu areccan
Luna .vi. secundum quod uideris ita tibi fiët. Secretum consilium extraneis noli proferre.
swa hwæt swa þu gesihs æfter langum timan hit gewyrð
Luna .vii. quicquid uideris. post multum tempus fiët.
gewisse sint calle

18 Luna .viii. certa sunt omnia.
binnan twam4 dagum geli(m)pð5
Luna .viii. inter duos dies euenit.

21 swa hwæt swa6 þu7 swefnast nane gefremmige yfele heafð
Luna .x. quicquid somnium eris. nullum effectum malum habet.9
lesse sint calle

24 Luna .xi. falsa sunt omnia.
gewisse sint calle
Luna .xii. certa sunt omnia.
callswilc
Luna .xiii. qualis .xii11
gefremminge heafð scorces timan

30 Luna .xiii. effectum habet breuis temporis.
callswilc
Luna .xiv. qualis .xiii.8

33 æfter langum timan hit gewyrð
Luna .xv. post multum tempus fiët.

defremminger heafð

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1 The scribe of the gloss sometimes dropped the letter n (cf. Förster 1910: 56, n. 3), e.g. gefremmige (entry 10).
2ofercumene - over tu tamen.
3utlendisc(um) - < t.
4twam] twan.
5geli(m)pð] silyently emended Förster (1925-26).
6swa] -w-.
7þu] be.
8.x. ] x. Förster (1925-26).
9habet.] - || <fol. 36r>.
11.xii] xii. Förster (1925-26).
xfer dagun endlucon hit geli(m)/pð

36 Luna .xvii. post dies .xi. cim 13 eueniet.
    binnon twentigum dagum hit14 getimað
Luna .xviii. inter .xx. a dies contingent.
    binnon dagum feower hit gelimpð
Luna .xix. inter dies .iii. eueniet.
    ne þu sege swefen15 þin binnon dagum seofon16 ac begim gewiss
42 Luna .xx. ne tu dixeris somnium tuum intra dies .viii. cim sed obserua certitudinem.
    callsua uigessima
Luna .xxiii.i. m. sicut & .xx. m.
45 swa hwæt swa þu gesiht gewiss his to blisse becumman
Luna .xxiii.ii. quicquid uideris certum est ad gaudium pertinere.
    sacful geflit binnon dagum þrim gelimpð
48 Luna .xxiii. rixalis contentio inter dies .iii. eueniet.
    swa hwæt swa þu gesiht be hele þine hit bidð
Luna .xxiiii. quicquid uideris de salute tua erit.
47 æge towyrð binnon dagum ehta
Luna .xxiv.v. m. ne tus futurus inter dies .viii. cim.
    binnon dagum twentigum hit gelimpð
54 Luna .xxv. inter dies uiginti eueniet.
    callsua
Luna .xxvii. m. 18 sicut & xxvi.
57 calle blisse tacn(ad) 7 calle angsumyss blibe alemð
Luna .xxviii. & xxix. omne gaudium significat. & omnem angustiam19 hilaris auffert.
    binnon þrim dagum gewyrð swefen20 þin butan frecendnysse
60 Luna .xxx. m. infra triduum fiel. Somnium tuum sine periculo

Amen.

14 hit] híð.
15 swefen] swfn Förster (1925-26).
16 seofon] seofðan.
17 xxvii. m. xxv. Förster (1925-26).
18 xxvii. m. xxvii. Förster (1925-26).
19 angustiam] angustium.
20 swefen] swfn Förster (1925-26).

1. Tu autem [Ps 1:1 (all references are to the Gallican Psalter)].
2. Adstiterunt reges terræ. 
3. Quamdiu ponam consilio.
4. Domine susceptor.
5. L.una .i. quicquid uideris in gaudium. convertitur Beatus uir qui non abiit.
7. Luna viii. & ix. Cito fiet que uideris. Volucres celi Et factus est (dominus) refugium.
8. Luna .x. effectum habet sed nichil nocet. (V)ana locuti sunt.
10. L.una xii. & xiii. certissimum esse scias caue. Quorum os maledictione.
11. L.una xiii. intra dies .ix. fiet Qui ingeditur. 
13. L.una xiiii. & xv. effectum habent & in breui tempore fiet. 
15. L.una xx. & xxi. ne cogites quid uideris. Sperauit in domino (S)alua me ex ore leonis. 

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2. Luna... uideris the remainder (about half) of the line is left blank in the manuscript.
3. Beatus uir qui non abiit Ps 1:1 (all references are to the Gallican Psalter).
5. Tu autem domine susceptor Ps 3:4.
6. L.una - [<p. 719>].
9. Laborauit in gemitu Ps 6:7; gemitu gemitu.
10. Exurgat deus, Ps 67:2; possibly an erroneous reference for Exsurge domine Ps 7:7, which would fit the sequence of Psalm verses better.
11. Deus meus inpolulta Ps 17:31. This verse is redundant because a verse has already been quoted for this lunar phase.
12. Fiet fient.
15. (V)ana locuti sunt Ps 11:3.
16. Quamdiu ponam consilio Ps 12:2.
17. L.una xiii. [xii].
18. Quorum os maledictione Ps 13:3.
19. Qui ingeditur Ps 14:2.
21. Probasti cor meum Ps 16:3.
22. Saturati sunt filii(s) Ps 16:14.
23. Et apparuerunt Ps 17:16.
24. Mitta(t) tibi Ps 19:3.
27. (S)alua me ex ore leonis Ps 21:22.
18 Luna xxii. certissimum est quod uideris Confundantur omnes iniqua.\(^2\)
   Luna xxiii. & xxiii i.\(^3\) V/aniissimum est. Quis est homo\(^4\) Judica me domine quonium ego in innocentia mea.\(^5\)
21 Luna xxv & xxvi. Intra dies .ix erit. Tibi dixit cor meum.\(^6\) Secundum opera manuum.\(^7\)
   Luna xxvii. & xxviii effectum habent non nocent. Quo(\&)nia m ira \(\in\) indignatio\(\ne\) Esto michi\(^8\) in
deum\(^9\)
24 \(\langle\)Luna\(\rangle\) xxix. effectum habet non nocet. Super \(\langle\)omnes\(\rangle\) inimicos meos\(^10\)
   Luna xxx. In triduum\(^11\) fiet somnum caue \(\langle\)D\(\rangle iligite domine omnes sancti eius\(^12\)

9.2.4/7 London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fol. 9r/6-9v/13

Incipit lunaris de somnis
Luna i. quicquid uideris\(\langle\)s\(\rangle\) ad gaudium pertinet.
3 Luna ii. & .iii. affectus erit.
   Luna iii. bonus & affectus erit.
   Luna .v. & vi. secundum quod uideris fi(\&t).
6 Luna viii. quicquid uideris post multum tempus fi(\&t).
   Luna .viii. & .ix. cito uidebis.
   Luna .x. quicquid uideris nullum malum est.
9 Luna xi. somnus tuus sine pericolo (fi(\&t).
   Luna xii. cum omni gaudio fi(\&t) somnus tuus.
   Luna xiii. \(\langle\) & .xiii.\(\rangle\) infra dies .vii. fi(\&t) somnus tuus.
12 Luna xiv. Nullum bonum effectum abet.\(^13\)
   Luna xvi. post multum tempus fi(\&t) somnus tuus.
   Luna xvii Similiter.
15 Luna xviii. & xix. \(\langle\) & .xx.\(\rangle\) infra dies .xx. fi(\&t) somnus tuus.
   Luna xxi. & xxii. ad gaudium pertinet.
   Luna xxiii. rixam habebit & contentiones sineulla detractione.
18 Luna xxiii ali quam salutem promittit.
   Luna xxv. & xxvi. infra dies .x. fi(\&t) somnus tuus.
   Luna xxvii. & xxviii. & xxix. ad gaudium pertinet.
21 Luna xxx. infra \(\langle\)tri\(\rangle\) duuum fi(\&t) Somnus sine periculo.

\(^2\)Confundantur omnes iniqua] Ps 24:4.
\(^3\)Quis est homo] Ps 24:12.
\(^4\)Judica me domine quonium ego in innocentia mea] Ps 25:1.
\(^5\)Tibi dixit cor meum] Ps 26:8.
\(^7\)Quonia\(m\) ira \(\in\) indignatio\(\ne\)] Ps 29:6.
\(^8\)mich] - \(\langle\)p. 720\(\rangle\).
\(^9\)Esto michi in deum] Ps 30:3.
\(^10\)Super \(\langle\)omnes\(\rangle\) inimicos meos] Ps 30:12.
\(^11\)triduum\] - \(\langle\)i.
\(^12\)D\(\rangle iligite domine omnes sancti eius] Ps 30:24.
\(^13\)fi(\&t] - \(\langle\)fol. 9v\(\rangle\).
\(^14\)abes, so Günzel (1993).
9.2.4/8 London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 427, fol. 3rb

1 Text is in columns. This text, together with 9.2.3/8, is framed in two double-lined rectangles. The entries Luna are supplied from 9.2.3/8, which occupies the columns to the left of 9.2.4/8.

2 tuus\] tuus.
Luna i  Quicquid uideris ad gaudium pertinet;
Luna ii  Affectus erit.
3 Luna iii  Similiter.
Luna iii  Bonus & affectus erit.
Luna v  Secundum quod uideris fiet.
6 Luna vi  Similiter.
Luna vii  Quicquid uideris post multum tempus fiet.
Luna viii  Cito uidebis.
9 Luna ix  Similiter.
Luna x  Quicquid uideris nullum malum erit.
Luna xi  Somnus tuus sine periculo fiet.
12 Luna xii  Cum omni gaudio fiet somnus.  'Ea die aliquid inde uidebis, 7 die tercia explebitur.'
Luna xiii  Infra dies .vii. fiet somnus.
Luna xiii  Similiter.  'Eodem die fiet.'
15 Luna xv  Nullum bonum effectum habet.
Luna xvi  Post multum tempus fiet somnus.
Luna xvii  Similiter.
18 Luna xviii  Infra dies .xx. fiet somnus.
Luna xix  Similiter.
Luna xx  Similiter.
21 Luna xxi  Ad gaudium pertinet.
Luna xxii  Similiter.
Luna xxiii  Rixam habebit & contentiones.
24 Luna xxiii  'Ad salutem pertinet.
Luna xxv  In eodem die uidebitur.
Luna xxvi  Infra .x. dies fiet.
27 Luna xxvii  Ad gaudium pertinet.  'Eodem die uidebis.'
Luna xxviii  Similiter.
Luna xxix  Similiter.
30 Luna xxx  Infra triduum fiet sine periculo;

---

1 Text is in columns. Additions have been made to entries 12, 14 and 27, judging by the handwriting and the thickness of the pen used these additions were not made in one stint, nor were they the work of the scribe of the original text. The original entries have not been expunged, so it is unclear whether the additions were intended to supplant the original entries.

2 tercia explebitur. ] on line below for lack of space, transposition indicated.

3 somnus| s- < .
LUNARY, SPECIFIC, ILLNESS

9.2.5/1 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, pp. 717-718/1

Se þe o(n a)þre nihtæ monan weordæð untrum se bið on ðære adle1 swiðe geswenced. (O)n .ii. nihta monan hraðe æfter sare he arised. 3
Gif on iii. he winneð 7 eft in þære untrumnesse se mon sweltered. 3
Gif on .iiii. he winneð 7 eft arised. 3
Gif on .v. ne gedegeð2 þe þa adle. 6
Gif on vi he winneð 7 arised. 6
On vii nihte aldne monan3 he sceal feala findan butan him mihtig god milde wurðe4 værllice hine dead from life alæðed 8
Gif he bið on5 viii ne leofed he na lange. 9
Gif on ix. he bið lange seoc. (G)if on x. on his heortæ unhaelo cymð 7 he bið fraecnod6 12
Gif on xi on langum sare he sargæð 7 he gelomlice his hælo haðæð. eft 12
Gif on xii he winneð 7 eft arised 15
On xiii lytel sticce he ligeð seoc 15
Gif on .xiv. he winneð 7 eft arised. 18
Gif on xvii he swinceð 7 eft arised. 18
On .xviii. he winneð 7 eft arised. 21
On .xx. he arised. 24
On xxii radlice he hal arised. 24
On .xxiii. he arised 27
On xxiv. he bið lange seoc 27
On xxvii freocene bið þæs mannæ þing þæt ifel uneaðe beflið 27
Gif on xxv. he hraþe arised 27
Gif on xxvi. 7 on xxvii freocene bið þæs mannæ þing þæt ifel uneaðe beflið 27
On xxviii. 7 on xxix. he of þam sare sone arised 30
Gif xx he bið lange seoc þæhwæðere arised.8 30
Dis is eallum gemæne iungum 7 ealdum finit++9

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1ad] able, -b- < l.
2gede] gede[-]ged.
3monan] monnan.
5on] an, so Förster (1912c).
6fraecnod] fraecnod.
7lange] langa.
8arised.] - p. 718).
9Dis... finit++] - not in Förster (1912c), supplied from the manuscript by Ker (1957).
On anre nihte ealdne monan se þe hine adl gestandeð. se bið frecenlice gestanden.  
Gif hine on ii. nihta ealdne monan adl gestandeð. sona he ariseþ.

3 Gif hine. on .iii. nihte gestandeð. se liþ fæste. 7 swylt.  
Gif hine on iii. nihta gestandeð. se biþ geswenced. 7 þeah arist. 
Gif se mona biþ v. nihta eald. þone man mæg gelacnian.  

6 Gif he bið vi. nihta ea(ld). 7 hine adl gestandeð. se biþ lifes.  
Gif he bið vii. nihta eald se swincead lange.  
Gif he biþ eahta nihta eald. 7 hine adl gestande. se bið hraþe sweltende.  

9 Gif he bið vi. nihta eald. se swincead lange. 7 þeahhwæðere ariseþ. 7 ealswa x. 7 xi.  
Gif he bið xii. nihta. sona 7 he 7 ariseþ.  

Gif he bið .xiii. nihta eald. uel xv. uel xvi. uel xvii. uel xviii. uel xix. þæt bið swiþe frecenlic on þam nihtum.  
Gif he bið xx. nihta eald. se liþ lange 7 arist.  
Gif he bið xx. nihta eald. se liþ lange 7 swincead. 7 aristen.  

Gif he bið .xiii. nihta se ligð fæste.  
Gif he biþ on xxv. nihta. frecenlice se bið gestanden. 
Gif he biþ gestanden þonne se mona byþ xxvi. odðe xxvii. odðe xxviii. odðe xx xð þe nihta eald. se ariseþ.  

Gif he biþ on xxx. nihta ealdne monan. gestanden. uneade he gewyrþod 7 þeah ariseþ.

1 Text is incomplete and lacks phase 13. Marginal note at beginning, in a later hand: hic est infirmorum.  
3 swylt] smylt.  
9.2.5/3 London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.xv, fols 125vb-126r

Luna i. qui inciderit difficile euadet. Se þe afealð ea’r’ foð’lice’ he ætwint.
Luna ii. cito consurget. Raðe he arisð.
3 Luna iii. Non euadet. He ne ætwint.
Luna iii. Laborat & surget.5 He swincð 7 arisð.
Luna v. Tricabit & surget. He sipað 7 arisð.
6 Luna vi. Non euadet. He6 ne ætwint.
Luna vii. Medicina sanabitur. mid læcedome he bið gehæled.
Luna viii. Diu languet & surget. Lange he adlað 7 arisð.
9 Luna ix. Languet. He adlað.
Luna x. Diu egrotat. Lange he7 siclað.
Luna xi. Periculo9 periclicitat. On freednesse he dyrfð.
12 Luna xii. Surget. He arisð.9
Luna xiii. Aliquot tempus egrotat. Sumne timan he sicclað.
Luna xiii. Laborat & surget. He swincð 7 arisð.
15 Luna xv. Periclicitat. He dyrfð.
Luna xvi. Locum mutabit10 & surget. Stowe he awent 7 arisð.
Luna xvii. Tricabit & surget. He sipað 7 arisð.11
18 Luna xviii. Laborabit & surget. He swincð 7 arisð.12
Luna xix. Similiter. Eallswa.
21 Luna xxi. Rem adiuuabit. Ðingc he fultumað.
Luna xxii. Languet & surget. He adlað 7 arisð.
Luna xxii. Similiter. Eallswa.
24 Luna xxiii. Diu languet. Lange he adlað.
Luna xxiv. Languet & morietur. (He) adlað 7 he swelt.
Luna xxv. Languet. He adlað.
Luna xxvi. Languet. He adlað.
27 Luna xxvii. Tricabit & surget. He sipað 7 arisð.
Luna xxviii. Eger multum iacebit & morietur. Seoc swiðe he lið 7 swylt.
Luna xxix. Eger euadet. Seoc (he) ætwint.
30 Luna xxx. Eger laborabit & surget. Seoc he swincð 7 arisð.

1Text is in columns, the first two (the phase of the moon) on fol. 125vb, the last two (prediction in Latin and Old English) on fol. 126r. The Old English gloss is on the same line as the Latin.
2Luna] Luna throughout Cockayne (1864-66).
4Laborat] Laboret.
5surger] sarget.
6He] Hæ Cockayne (1864-66).
7he] h-<n.
8Periculo] Peri- in lighter ink.
9arisð] arisð Cockayne (1864-66).
10mutabit] mitabit.
11arisð] urisð.
12Luna... arisð.] entry not in Cockayne (1864-66).
9.2.5/4 London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fols 36v/23-37r/11

se þe afeallað earfoðlice he ætwint
Luna .i. qui inciderit. difficile euadet.
raþe he arist
Luna .ii. cito consurgeret.
he na ætwint
6 Luna .iii. non euadet.
he swincð 7 arist
Luna .iii. laborat & surget.
he na ætwint
12 Luna .vi. non euadet.
mid læcedome he bid geheled1
Luna .vii. medicina sanabitur.
lange he adlað 7 arist
Luna .viii. diu languet & surget.
he adlað
18 Luna .ix. languet.
lange he siclað
Luna .x. diu egrotat.4
21 on fræcnysse he dyrfð
Luna xi: periculo periclitat.
he arist
24 Luna xii. surget.
sumne timan he siclað
Luna xiii: aliquod tempus egrotat
he swincð 7 arist
Luna .xiii. laborat & surget.
he dyrfð
30 Luna xv. periclitat.
stowe awent 7 he arist
Luna xvi: locum mutabit & surget.
he sipað 7 arist
Luna .xvii: tricabit & surget.
he swincð 7 arist
36 Luna xviii. laborabit & surget.
calswa
Luna .xix: Similiter.
calswa
Luna xx: similiter.

9.2.5/5 London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 65v/7-9

Luna .i. qui inciderit difficile euadet.
Luna .ii. cito consurgeret.
3 Luna .iii. non euadet.
Luna .iii. laborat & surget.2
Luna .v. tricabit & surget.
6 Luna .vi. non euadet.
Luna .vii. medicina sanabitur.

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1 laborat] labor&; Förster (1912c) suggested laborabit.
2 tricabit] - || <fol. 37r>.
3 geheled] gehelend.
4 egrotat] egrot&.
5 laborabit] -a- <|&.
6 arist] arist.
Incipit luniare de aegris.

3 Luna. Cito consurget
   (Luna). Non euadet.
   Luna. Laborat & surget.
   Luna. Non euadet.
   Luna. Laborat & surget.
   Luna. Similiter.
   Luna. Non euadet.
   Luna. Medicina saluabitur
   Luna. Diu languet & surget.

9 Luna. Diu languet & surget.
   Luna. Diu languet.
   Luna. Diu egrotat.
   Luna. Similiter.
   Luna. Surget.
   Luna. Laborabit & surget.
   Luna. Similiter.
   Luna. Similiter.
   Luna. Similiter.
   Luna. Tricabit & surget.

12 Luna. Periculo & periclitat.
   Luna. Aliquod tempus aegrotat
   Luna. Laborat & surget.
   Luna. Laborat & surget.
   Luna. Laborabit & surget;
   Luna. Laborabit & surget;
   Luna. Laborabit & surget;

15 Luna. Laborat & surget.
   Luna. Laborat & surget.
   Luna. Laborat & surget.
   Luna. Laborat & surget.
   Luna. Laborat & surget.
   Luna. Laborat & surget.
   Luna. Laborat & surget.

18 Luna. Tricabit & surget.
   Luna. Tricabit & surget.
   Luna. Tricabit & surget.
   Luna. Tricabit & surget.
   Luna. Tricabit & surget.
   Luna. Tricabit & surget.
   Luna. Tricabit & surget.

21 Luna. Similiter.
   Luna. Similiter.
   Luna. Similiter.
   Luna. Similiter.
   Luna. Similiter.
   Luna. Similiter.
   Luna. Similiter.

24 Luna. Diu languet.
   Luna. Languet & surget.
   Luna. Languet & surget.
   Luna. Languet & surget.
   Luna. Languet & surget.
   Luna. Languet & surget.
   Luna. Languet & surget.

27 Luna. Aeger multum iacebit & morietur.
   Luna. Aeger multum iacebit & morietur.
   Luna. Aeger multum iacebit & morietur.
   Luna. Aeger multum iacebit & morietur.
   Luna. Aeger multum iacebit & morietur.

30 Luna. Eger laborabit & surget.

---

3 Luna] Luna Birch (1878).
4 Luna] tr. Birch (1878) - <fol. 8r>.
6 & surget] at in Birch (1878).
8 Re(m) adiuuabit Readiuuabit, so Günzel (1993).
10 Languet] Languet.
12 Languet] Languet.
13 Languet] Languet.
MONTH PROGNOSIS

10/1 London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 40v/6-17

Donne se mona bið acenned on sunnandæig. þæt tacnað .iii. þing on þam monþe. þæt is ren. 7 wind. 7 smyltnys. 7 hit tacnað. nytena wæsla. 7 manna gesynto 7 hælo.

3 Gif he bið o(n) monandæig acenned. þonne tacnað þæt þam þe akennede boð sare. 7 geongra manna heafod ece on þam monþe.

Gif he bið on tiwesdæig akenned. þæt tacnað eallum mannum gefean. 7 geongum geomrunge.

6 Gif he bið on wodnesdæig akenned. þæt tacnað þæt gesybsume weras wunið betwyh holdum freondum.

Gif he on þunresdæig bið acenned þæt. tacnað cynega hælo þurh læcecræfte.

9 Gif he bið on frigedæig akenned. þæt bið god huntoð on þam monþe.

Gif he bið on sæternesdæig akenned. þonne tacnað þæt gewinn. 7 blodgytas. 7 se þe hit mid sudanwinde onginne þonne hæfd he sige.

MOON, COLOUR

11/1 London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fols 5r/14-6r/1

Pithagoras1  uero uir2 animi sagax scribit a terra ad lunam cxxvi milia stadiorum esse collegit a solem autem ab ea duplum. inde3 ad xii. signa triplicatum.

3 Ex indicis sicut fertur. Si luna .iii. rubeat quasi aurum uento ostendit. Si pura sit serenitatem. Si in summo corniculo maculis nigrescit4 pluuiam indicat. At sol si5 orto suo maculosus sub nube latet pluuialem6 diem præsagit. Si rubeat sincerum. si palleat tempestuosum celum7 si mane rubet tempestuosum significat diem. Si uespere rubicundum aparuerit serenum crastinum portendit diem.

Arcus8 qui & hiris dicitur quadricolor ex aduerso sole nubibusque formatur.9 Nam de celo igneum de aquis purpureum de aere iacinctium de terra gramineum trahit colore10 & non cernitur nisi in pleni luno.11

1frigedæig| -ig < d.
2Pithagoras3 |Pithagoras, so Birch (1878: 477) Günzel (1993). P- is a light mark for the illuminator to make a rubricated P. By accident P was rubricated as V.
3uir| after --, writing continues on the next line, whereas there is still half a line available, for a title perhaps.
4inde| - || <fol. 5v>.
5nigrescit| ingrescit, so Wright and Halliwell (1841–43).
6si| se.
7pluuialem| pluuium, so Birch (1878).
8celum| celum Wright and Halliwell (1841–43).
9Arcus| Artus, so Birch (1878).
10formatur| formator.
11in pleni luno| impleni luno, impleniluno Birch (1878).
REGIMEN

12/1 London, British Library, Harley 3271, fols 122v/29-123v/25

MEDICINA YPOGRATIS. QVID VISITARE DEBEATVR. PER SINGVLOS MENSES.

DE IANVARIO. 3
3 Mense ianuariio non minuare sanguinem. potionem contra effocationem tantum bibe. & electuarium accipe. gingiber & reoponticum usitare debes.

MENSE FEBRVARIO.
6 Mense FEBRVARIO de pollice uenam incide quia tunc febricitat terra. & omnia que in ea sunt; & oximelle conficiendra accipere debes ad colera deducenda & flegma. melancolicum quod pleris que inueni a tur habundare expellit per uentrem. causa in capite circumsolut & quod ex humore nascuntur & ipsa non permittit generare. apium. & agrimoniam. usitare debes.

MENSE MARTIO.
9 Mense martio bonum est balneum usitare sanguinem. minuere. potionem ad soluendum non bibere. quia frigores generat. agrumen usitas. & radices confectas. & sicera. & potum dulceratam & lubastica usitare debes.

MENSE APRILI.
12 Mense aprili de ulla radice non manducare. quia tunc scabies & p ru rigines emittunt. bonum est sanguinem minuere. potionem bibere. carnes recentes manducare. sanguinem intercutaniam minuere. calidum usitare. & betonicam. & pipenellam. dolorem stomachi purgare. unguentum calasticum usitare.

MENSE MAIO.
15 Mense maio calidum bibe. calidum usita. caput purga. uenam epaticam incide. potionem ad soluendum. bibe. cataplasma. in capite pone quia oculos turbulentos sanata. agramen. manducare.

1 Each entry starts on a new line.
3 IANVARIO.] - l <fol. 123r>.
4 ianuariio] Liuzza (2001) wrote ianuarii, but this expansion is unwarranted on the basis of the ablative used in the headers for the months February-October.
6 conficiendra] confici - ditography of confici-.
7 melancolicum] -a < o.
8 pleris que] -eris- on erasure.
9 usitare] u[s]sitare.
10 Ibid.
11 APRILI] -R- < L.
12 scabies] <- e.
13 dolorem... usitare. ] this phrase is added above &... pipenellam, but the exact insertion point is not indicated.
14 cataplasma] - glossed by Old English cliþa. This gloss is not incorporated in the Old English Corpus Online (Healey and Venezy 2000: search on both cataplasma and cliþa). The search revealed that cataplasma, medicina and medicamentum are glossed by cliþa, lecedom(nessa) and lacnunga in Aldhelmian glossaries, and the Corpus, Cleopatra and Harley glossaries.

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& absint’ h’ium. & semen maratri. usitare. aquam ieiunus non bibe: de ullo capud. aut pede non manducare. quia tunc de aere in rós uene na mala ascendunt. & alia de terra surgunt.

24 MENSE IVNIO.
Mense iunio aquam ieiunis bibe. propter colera soluenda.\textsuperscript{15} saluiam usitare.\textsuperscript{16} ceruisam non nibes. lactucas manduca acetum bibe.

27 MENSE IVLIO.
Mense iulio uinum mocidum bibe quia cerebro humores\textsuperscript{17} tunc\textsuperscript{18} profect. sanguinem non minuère. potionem ad soluendum non bibere. saluiam. & rudan. apium. & flores uuq usitare.\textsuperscript{19}

30 MENSE AVGVSTO.
Mense augusto caulos. non manducare. quia uenefici sunt. pro\textsuperscript{p}ter uermes qui illos comedunt. maluas. non manducare: quia amara\textsuperscript{20} sunt tunc & colera. nigra nutriunt. agramen manducare. puleio. usitare.

33 MENSE. SEPTEMBRI.
Mense septembri omen que\textsuperscript{21} ’uis’ accipias. quia tunc\textsuperscript{22} omnes esce. pro fructum confecta sunt. lac caprinum & anunculinum\textsuperscript{23} ieiunus bibe. propter sanguinem adducendum. & coaucol’um\textsuperscript{24} ad temperandum. & pulmones curandos. casto\textsuperscript{25} & grano mastico usitare.

MENSE OCTOBRI.
Mense octobri\textsuperscript{26} racemos & musto\textsuperscript{27} usitare. quia corpus sanant. & solutionem faciunt & garofo.\textsuperscript{28} usitare.

Mense nouembri non\textsuperscript{29} balneare. quia de calore balnei. humores mouentur. quia tunc sanguis\textsuperscript{30} coagulatus. ’est’ bonum est studium habere. quia tunc omnes humores sunt purgati.\textsuperscript{31} cinna’mo’mum. usitare.

Mense decembru bonum est studium habere. uenam epaticam\textsuperscript{32} incidere. potionem ad soluendum. bibere. spíco. usitare.

\textsuperscript{15}soluenda.] - \textit{<fol. 123v>},
\textsuperscript{16}usitare] u[s]sitare.
\textsuperscript{17}humores] -e- < o.
\textsuperscript{18}tunc] -c < d.
\textsuperscript{19}usitare] u- on erasure.
\textsuperscript{20}amara] -a on erasure.
\textsuperscript{21}que] -e on erasure.
\textsuperscript{22}tunc] tunt.
\textsuperscript{23}anunculinum] -u, - < n.
\textsuperscript{24}coaucol’um’] coaucola, -’um’ - < [a\textsubscript{2}].
\textsuperscript{25}casto] cast[\textit{-}].
\textsuperscript{26}octobri] o- < -.
\textsuperscript{27}musto] -u- < ii.
\textsuperscript{28}garofo.] -flo. on erasure.
\textsuperscript{29}ouembri non] -ouembri non on erasure.
\textsuperscript{30}mouentur. quia tunc sanguis] - on erasure.
\textsuperscript{31}purgati] -i < e.
\textsuperscript{32}epaticam] -a2- < -.
SORTES SANCTORUM

13/1 Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 17, fols 157vb/9-158va/8

.c.c.c. Animum tuum si dubitantem sentis crede primo modum deo adiuuante impetrabiis3 quæ3 uis;
.c.c.v. De quo consulis crede constantem. quia perueniet ad te quod speras;
3.c.c.iii. De quo cupis deum roga. & ipse adiuuabit te ut peruenias ad id quod desideras;
.c.c.iii. Quod postulas securus esto. & ueniet tibi cum gaudio magno. sed pone in deum cor tuum confidentum;
6.c.c.iii. Elemosinam pauperibus tribue. & habe spem bonam in deum.
.c.i. De luce ad tenebras ire cupis. ubi nulla tibi consolatio est. uita tua carere desideras. sed cito cessa.
& non age hoc quod cupis;
9.c.v.v. Est uia incerta quam ire cupis. sed deus per suam misericordiam sanum te ducet.
.c.v.iii.ii. Magnum est quod rogas. & si uis ut fiat quod cogitas. quod non est in tua potestate sed in dei.
.c.v.iii. Non dubites quicquid de quo consulis. deum roga. bonum est tibi & illum timere;
12.c.v.iii. Tu dubitas utrum fieri possit. & tamen te incredulo ad tuas manus ueniet;
.c.v.i. Cum magno labore peruenies ad quod desideras. roga deum humiliter. ipse te adiuuuet. ideoque
securus esto;
15.c.iii.iii. Noli audire iniquam doctrinam. sed recede ab hoc consilio. & uide ne postmodum te peniteteat.
.c.iii.iii. Sicut nauis in mari iactatur a fluctibus & dubitat an perueniat ad portum. sic tu dubitas in
animo. & deo auxiliente peruenies ad quod desideras;
18.c.iii.ii. Si uicinus tuus ad te uenerit & blandis sermonibus uult te seducere. non credas ei. quia
penitebit te dum non poteris emendare;
.c.iii.ii. Vide primum quod non est animus tuus stabilis. & prua sunt intra pectus tuum. emenda illa.
&\2\* tunc tibi ueniet desiderium tuuum quod tibi uertetur in gaudium;
.c.iii.iii. Quod cogitas non potest fieri. aliud cogita. & magnum lucrum habebis
.c.iii.iii. Petio tuua accepta erit. si in deum permanserit firma;
24.c.iii.i. Via tibi difficilis est. tamem patiens esto. & deum roga. & inuenies desiderium tuuum.
.c.iii.i. De quo consulis si fides tua est firma. consequeris magnam gloriam a deo.
.c.iii.ii. Dicis quod times. & inimici tui cadent. & adhuc multum tibi melius erit.
27.c.i.i. Noli timere sed diligentius auge bonum sic poteris impetrare quod petis.
.v.v.v. Bonum est quod petis. & ideo inuenies cito.
.v.v.iii. In deum confide & eum in aditiorium querere. & uinces inimicos tuos. sicut in uoluntate
habes.
.v.v.iii. Sicut semen in terra feritur & fructus dilatat ut iterum in tempore suo maiorem fructum afferat.
sic & illud quod petis te latet. ut gaudium tibi maius fier cum ueniet.
33.v.vii. In uia ire cupis ubi nulla tua uia est & multi serpentes ante te sunt qui tibi cupiunt nocere. sed
recede ab hoc consilio. & cogita ut non perdas animam tuuam;
.v.v.ii. Expecta patientur. quia quod cupis cito ueniet in manus tuas cum gaudio.
36.v.iii.iii. Sicut plumbum magno auro cooperitur. sic quod cupis interius malum exterius pulchre

1 Text is continuous except for a break of two lines between entries .iii.ii. and .ii.ii.i. This break exists because .iii.ii.i.
accidentally precedes .iii.ii.i. in the manuscript, which may have confused the scribe to such an extent that he omitted entry
.i.ii.ii. altogether.
4 &]- <fol. 158ra>.

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tegitur. propter hoc non desideres quod non potest fieri.

viii.iii. Spem tuam ad deum dirige. & ipse te adiuuet ut aduersarium uincas;

viii.ii. Si aliud cogitas & aliud ad te uenirit. deum non spernas. ideo caue age ne forte pereas;

viii.iii. Non ingrediaris ad istud tempus. sed sustine quia difficile accipies.

viii.iii. Quæ in manibus tuuis. sed & anima[lia tibi futura cicius ueniunt.

viii.iii. Inimicum qui te uult nuncere fuge. noli tardare. sed libera te ne in mortem incurras. quia perderi adiutorium potes euadere;

viii.i. Noli esse desperans sed crede. quod ueniet tibi desiderium bonum cum gaudio.

vii.ii. Difficile perueniet hoc & tamen. si deum humiliter rogaueris impetrabis.

vii.i. Parata sunt quæ petis. noli sollicitus esse. Securus esto. quia impetrabis quæ cupis.

v.i. Hac hora recede a me quia non possum5 tibi modo uerum dicere. Veni alio die. & dicam quod uis uidere & nichil uereare.

....ii.iii.iii. Sustine modicum ‘tempus’. & postea ueniet tibi uoluntas tua.

....ii.iii.iii. Noli habes quod petis. & nichil amplius quæstras. quia non potest esse;

....ii.iii.iii. Noli timere. deus te adiuuet. securus esto;

....ii.iii.iii. Impetras quod cupis. inimicosque tuos uinces.

....ii.iii.iii. Quid contra me laboras in hæc consulendo ambula. quia malum est quod petis.

....ii.iii.iii. Nautis tibi ad portum parata est. ideo lœtus esto. quia tibi deus in adiutorium est;

....ii.iii.iii. Deum non times. multum promittis. & semper negligis. ora deum ut sit tibi propitius. quia ualde iratus est. & postea quod placabilis est roga eum. & quæ cupis cito consequeris.

....ii.iii.iii. Deus adiuuet te. & uoluntatem tuam consequeris quod desideras;

....ii.iii.iii. Tibi in animo est ut hoc possit fieri cum impedimento. & tamen nullus tibi potest impedire.

....ii.iii.iii. Exalto animo. & superba mente cupis. & tamen inutil est quod desideras;

....ii.iii.iii. Non tu gloria eris in isto seculo. sed roga deum. ut tibi det maiorem gloriam;

....ii.iii.iii. Dulce habes. & amarus cupis. & non impteras quod cupis.

....ii.iii.iii. Vide ne speres in diuitiis. Roga deum. & felicior eris.

....ii.iii.iii. Vnde sollicitus es. sustine longum tempus. & peruenies ad hoc quod cupis.

....ii.iii.iii. In hac hora non ingrediaris. quia non ueniet quod cupis.7

....ii.iii.iii. iam tibi apertus est ingressus. & Ianua patet. si ex toto corde uadis. sed sustine melius tempus.

....ii.iii.iii. Pecuniam tuam ad lucrum mittere cupis. uide ut ad gaudium tibi ueniet. quia nimis periculosum est quod cupis;

....ii.iii.iii. Tibi licitum est. perge quo cupis. cum bonis actibus impetrabis;

....ii.iii.iii. Non habes quod petis nisi uolueris cum bonis actibus mereri. tamen pone in deum cor tuum & inuenies quæ cupis;

FINIT;

72 ISTI PSALMI CANTANTVR; PSA[LVMS] Exaudi domine iusticiam8 meam.9 PSA[LMVS] Ad te domine

---

5possum[sum <fol. 158rb>.
6tempus’ – over [petis], [petis] underlined for deletion.
7Entry .ii.i.i. precedes .iii.i.i. in the manuscript. The latter entry is followed by a two-line break after which the text resumes with entry .ii.i.i., thereby skipping .ii.i.i.
8iusticiam[sticiam <fol. 158va>.
9Exaudi... meam] Ps 16:1.
leuau animam. 10 PSALMVS Deus misereatur. 11 PSALMVS Deus in adiutorium. 12 PSALMVS In te domine sperauit. 13 PSALMVS Inclina domine. 14 PSALMVS Benedicite. 15 Letania. Pater noster. Credo
in deum. collecta. Libera nos domine de potestate tenebrarum. & de manu mortis eternæ etripe nos. ut uoluntas tua sit in omnibus aperta absque ambiguitate per hoc signum sortis te nobis poscentibus. per deus.

10Ad... animam] Ps 24:1.
12Deus... adiutorium] Ps 69:2.
13In... sperauit] Ps 30:2.
14Inclina domine] Ps 85:1.
15Benedicite] Ps 65:8.
SUNSHINE PROGNOSTIC

14/1 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 713/1-19

kiningum 7 ricum mannum bið mycel syb þy geare.
Gif þy iii. dæge sunne sceined. þonne oðbeoreð ofendas mycel gold þam æmetum þe þonne goldhord
3 heoldan sculon.
Gif ðy vi. dæge sunne sceined mycle blostma 7 blæda mid mannum frecednes 7 manna hus frecenessa
þrowiðað.
Gif þy vii. dæge sunne sceined beorhte drihten asent mycle westmas on treowum on þam geare
Gif þy viii. dæge sunne sceined beorhte þonne bið cwisceolerf on angelkynne yðgeate
9 Gif on ix dæge sunne sceined god sendeð mycele fugeloð on þam geare
Gif ðy ix. dæge sunne sceined beorhte sǽ. 7 ealle ea beod mid fixum afyldde.
Gif þy x. dæge sunne sceined þonne bið mycelc costung deaðes mid mannum.
12 Gif þy xi. dæge sunne sceined men beod wace on mislicum brocum 7 bið mycel sib;

14/2 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, fol 149v/24-150r/17

Þy forma dæg drihtnes gebyrde. gyf sunne scyneð. mycel gefea byoð mid mannum. 7 genihtsum.
Gyf þy æfteran dæg sunne scynep. þonne byð on ængelcynne gold eaðbegeate.
Gyf þy þryddan dæg sunne scyneð. betweo hærmum mannum mycel gefeoht byð. 7 betweoh cinygum. 7 rycum mannum micel sib.
Gyf þy .iii. dæge sunne scyneð. þonne þa ofendas mycel gold oðberað þan ætmettu þæ þone goldhord
6 healden scolden.
Gyf þy .v. dæge sunne scyneð. mycel blostman (7) bleoda beod þy gere.
Gyf þy .vi dæge sunne scyneð driht(en) sendeð mycele meolc.
Gyf þy .vii. dæge sunne scyneð. mycele westmas on treowum beoð.
Gyf þy .viii. dæge sunne scyneð. donne byð cwisceolerf eaðgeate.
Gyf þi .ix. dæge sunne scyneð. þonne god sendeð micelne fulluht on geare.
12 Gyf þi .x. dæge sunne scyneð. þonne byð sé 7 ealle ðæa mid fixum ontined.
Gyf þi .xi dæge sunne scyneð. micel costung byð deaðes mid mannum.
Gyf þi .xii. dæge sunne scyneð. men beod wace. 7 byð micel sib on eordan:-

1sculon] -c- < t.
2ðy] ascender not crossed as should be, but the length of the ascender is intended for ð rather than a round d, which has a short ascender in this hand.
3Dy] Gy.
4angelkynne] -k- < h.
5mycel] m- partly illegible through hole.
6ængelcynne] - ] <fol. 150r>.
7byð] byd Cockayne (1864-66).
UNLUCKY DAYS

15/1 London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.xv, fol. 130r/13-27

Syndon twegen dagas on æghwylcum monðe swa hwæt swa (man) on þam dagum ongynð ne wurð hit næfre geendod.

3 On Januarius þonne se mona bið .iii. nihta eald 7 .iii.
   On Februarius þonne he bið v nihta eald 7 vii.
   On Martius þonne he bið vi nihta eald 7 vii.
6 On Apries þonne he bið ν nihta eald 7 viii.
   On Maius þonne he bið viii nihta eald 7 ix.
   On Iunius þonne he bið ν nihta eald 7 (x)xi.
9 On Iulius þonne he bið iii nihta eald 7 xiii.
   On Agustus þonne he bið viii nihta eald 7 xiii.
   On September þonne he bið v nihta eald 7 ix.
12 On October þonne he bið v nihta eald 7 xvi.
   On November þonne he bið vii nihta eald 7 ix.
   On December þonne he bið iii nihta eald 7 xii(i).
15 And swa hit bið gyme se þe wylle.²

¹Entries for February-December are in columns.
²æghwylcum ægwylcum Förster (1929).
³ongynð ongyð Liuzza (2001).
⁴Januarius Ianuarias, idnudarias Förster (1929).
⁵þonne þonne Förster (1929).
⁶ix.] - < [x].
⁷bið gyme se þe] - < [gyme se þe wylle.].
DE DIEBVS MALIS CVIVSQUE MENSIS:

(T)weigen dagas syndon on æghwilcum monðe. þæt swa hwaet swa man on þam dagum onginneð.

Ne wuð hit næfre geendod. þæt is þonne
On ianuariu(s) þonne se mona bið þreora nihta eald. 7 feowra.
On februarius. þonn(e) he bið .fifa. 7 seofena eald.

On martius. se syxta. 7 se seoðeða.
On aprilis. se fifta. 7 se eahtëpa.
On maius. se eahtëpa. 7 se nygeða.

On iunius. se .v. 7 se .xxviiii.
On iulius. se .iii. & .xiiii.
On augustus. se .viii. 7 se .xiiii.

On september. se .v. 7 se .ix.
On october. se .v. 7 se .xv.
On nouembar. se .vii. 7 se .xiiii.

On december. se þridda. 7 se þreotteða
(b)utan aelcan tweon swa hit bið gewislice. gyme se þe wille:-

15/3 Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 17, fol. 40vb/18-31

Sunt in unoquoque mense duo dies. quod cum in eis incipitur. non finitur unquam.
In mense ianuario: luna .iii. & .xiiii.
In martio: luna .vi. & .vii.
In aprile: luna .vi. & .viii.
In maii: luna .vii. & .ix.
In iunio: luna .vii. & .xxviiii.
In iulio: luna .iii. & .xiiii.
In ago: luna .vii. & .xiiii.
In septe: luna .xv. 7 .xiiii.
In octobre: luna .vii. 7 .xv.
In decembre. luna .iii. 7 .xiiii.

1 Margins damaged, but text is legible.
2 DE... MENSIS - CVM OBSERVATIONIBVS MEDICINALIBVS Hampson (1841).
3 (T)weigen Lueza (2001).
5 ianuariu(s) -ua- displaced through hole.
6 þonn(e) Hempson (1841).
7 þe, so Hampson (1841).
8 (b)utan Buton Förster (1929).
9 Each entry starts on a new line, except that of January. Due to tight binding writing in the right margin is not visible on microfilm.
10 duo duo[-].
WIND PROGNOSTIC

16/1 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, fol. 149v/8-23

Her segþ ymb drihtnes gebyrd. ymb þa .xii. niht h(i)s tide.
Gyf se wind byoð on þa forma niht. gehadode weras sweltað.

3 Þere æfteran niht. 7 Þere þriddan niht (gif) bið wind:² þonne westmas³ forweorðad. ⁴
Êore feððan niht⁴ gif wind byð: lef⁵ byð lytel.⁶
Dære .v. niht gif wind byð: þonne byð frecne on seo. 7 scipu forweorðad.

6 Ðere vi. niht gif wind byð. ðonne⁶ adla byoð þy geare. on eorðan mislica.
Dære vii. niht gyf wind② byð: þon ne westmas forweorðad.
Dære viii. niht gyf wind② byð. þonne ældemen⁸ sweltað.

9 Ðere ix. niht gyf wind② byð. scep sweltað.
Dære x. niht gyf wind② byð: treow⁹ byoð fornerwede.
Dære xi. niht gyf wind byoð. ælde nyetenu forweorðad.

12 Þonne xii. niht gyf wind② byð: þonne byoð micel gefeoht on eorðan:-

²wind] wind, so Cockayne (1864-66).
³westmas] wesnæs.
⁴niht] -h- < t.
⁵lef] i.e. hlaf (‘bread’); Cockayne (1864-66) translated this as ‘damage’.
⁷ðonne] ðonð.
⁸byoð] byod.
⁹ældemen; Cockayne (1864-66) suggested caldormen.
¹⁰treow] [-.] -.
¹¹wind] wind, so Cockayne (1864-66).
YEAR PROGNOSIS

17/1 London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fols 41v/8-42r/5

KL ianuarius gif he byð on monandæg.\(^2\) þonne bið grimm 7 gemenged winter. 7 god lencten. 7 windig sumor. 7 hroehfull gear biþ. 7 adlseoce menn beðð on þam geare.

3 KL ianuarius. gif he bið on tiwesdæg. þonne byð dreorig winter. 7 grimm. 7 windig lencten. 7 renig sumor. 7 mænig wif swylt. 7 scipu frecedlice\(^3\) gayrnað. 7 cynincgas.\(^4\) 7 ealdormenn sweltað.

KL ianuarius gif he biþ on wodnesdæg. þonne bið heard winter. 7 yfel lencten. 7 god sumor. 7 eorðan. 7 westmas. swiþe geswencte. 7 hunig ne genihtsumad.\(^5\) 7 cild sweltað.

KL ianuarius gif he biþ on þunresdæg. þonne biþ god winter. 7 windig. lencten 7 god sumor. 7 genihtsumnes on eorðan. westmum. 7 sib biþ ofer eorðan. 7 swaþeah sceap. 7 cild sweltað.

9 KL ianuarius gif he biþ on frigedæg. þonne bið missenlic winter. 7 god lencten. 7 god sumor. 7 micel genihtsumnes 7 sceapa eagan tedriað on þam geare.

KL ianuarius gif he biþ on sæternesdæg. þonne biþ snawig. winter 7 blawende lencten 7 renig sumor 7 eorðan westmas geswencte beð. 7 sceap. forwirðað. 7 ealde menn sweltað. 7 oðre\(^6\) menn adlseoce biðð. 7 mænigra eagan tedru biðð. 7 fyr ricsaþ on þam geare gærgerimes.

K' ianuarius gif he biþ on sunnandæg þonne bið god winter 7 windig lencten. 7 dryge sumor. 7 swype god gear biþ þy geare. 7 sceap weaxað. 7 micel hunig biþ. 7 genihtsumnes. 7 sib byð on eorðan.

17/2 London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 75v/3-21

Donne forme gearesdæg byð sundendað: hit byð god winter. 7 windig læncetid. dryge sumer. god hærfest. 7 scep tyððrigeð. 7 hit byð grīð. 7 westme manigfeald.

3 Donne hit byð monendað: hit byð scurfah winter. 7 god lænceten. 7 windig sumer. 7 storemig. 7 geswynfull hærfest.

Þonne hit byð tywesdæg: hit byð wæt winter. 7 windig læinten. 7 wæt sumer. 7 wifmæn swelteð 7 scipes forfareð. 7 cynges swelteð.\(^2\)

Þonne hit byð wodnesdæg: hit byð heard winter. 7 yfel læinten. god sumer. 7 geswynfull hærfest. 7 hunig byð gasne.

9 Donne hit byð þuresdæg hit byð god winter. 7 windig lænten. god sumer 7 god hærfest.

Þonne hit byð fridæg hit byð hwerefinde winter. 7 god lænten. 7 god sumer. 7 god hærfest.

Donne hit byð sæterdæg hit byð scurfah winter. 7 windig lænten. 7 ealle westmes yfeles gewænde. 7 scep cwelleð 7 ealde mænn.

---

\(^1\)Entries 2-5 start on a new line, the rest is continuous

\(^2\)monandæg] it is unusual for a year prognosis to mention the entry for Monday first. Customarily, year prognoses start on Sunday.

\(^3\)frecedlice] f- < r.

\(^4\)cynincgas] cyningas Förster (1908b).

\(^5\)genihtsumad] genihtsumed Förster (1908b).

\(^6\)oðre] - || <fol. 42r>.

\([K]\) Kl Förster (1908b).

\(^1\)A marginal note in a post-medieval hand (Talbot?) reads: (pro)gnosticon Anni. In the bottom margin, a post-medieval hand (Nowell?) added: Wynter, Læncten. sumer hærfest hoc sunt nomina Anglorum 4\(^{\text{th}}\) anni tempotum. The same hand has underlined several words in the text, including the names of the seasons.

\(^3\)swelteð] swelteð Warner (1917: 66).
Gif middleswintres messedæg b'ið on sunnanæg. ħonne bið god winter. 7 lengten wíndi. 7 drige sumer. 7 wingeardas gode. 7 sceap beoð weaxende. 7 huni1 beoð genihtsum. 7 eal sib bið genihtsumo.2

Gif he bið on monanæg se middleswintres messedæg. ħonne bið gemenged winter. 7 god lengten. 7 windig sumer. 7 ystig. 7 beoð gode wingeardas. 7 swip feorme mánnum.

Gif he bið on tiwesæg. ħonne bið yfag3 winter. 7 windig lengten. 7 renig sumer. 7 moni wif sweltað. 7 scip beoð frecnode. 7 ciningas forweordæð.

Gif seo midwinter bið on wodnesæg. ħonne bið heard4 winter. 7 grim. 7 yfel lengten. 7 god sumer. 7 wingeardas beoð geswincfúlle. 7 hunig byð lesse.

Gif heo byð on húnresæg. ħonne bið heard winter. 7 grim. 7 yfel lengten. 7 god sumor.5 7 ælc god bið genihtsum in þem selfan geare.

Gif seo midwinter bið on frigendæge. ħonne byð onwendædlic winter. 7 byð god6 leingten. 7 god7 sumer.8 7 byð genihtsumes mícel.

Gif se midwinter9 byð on seternesæg. ħonne byð winter gedrefedlic. 7 windig lengten. 7 westmas swincæð. 7 sceap cwellað. 7 ealde men gewitað. 7 þa clenan beoð leahtrode;-

---

1huni] hunii; hunu Cockayne (1864-66).
2genihtsumo] genyhtsumo; silently emended in Cockayne (1864-66).
3yfag] yfag; Cockayne (1864-66) suggested yfel.
4heard] -a- < -a-.
5sumor] - || <fol. 149v>.
6god] god.
7Ibid.
8god leingten. 7 god sumer] god sumer Cockayne (1864-66).
9midwinter] midwint Cockayne (1864-66).
gif bið on dag drihtenlicum winter god bið 7 wynsum 7i wearm (lænten) windhladen 7 Si fuerit kl januarius die dominico. hiems bona erit & suauis. ac calida. uer uentuusos. &
drige (sumor) wingead god sceap uer genihtsumad calde swealtæd 7 sib gewyrð sicca estas. uindemia bona. oues crescent mel habundabit senes morientur. & pax fiet.
gif bið on dag monan winter gemencged lænten god sumor windhladen 7 cwældbære Si fuerit kl januarius die lunæ. hiems mixta. uer bonus. estas uentuusa & tempestuosa.
wingead god strengð manna beon swealtæd uindemia bona. ulalito dominum. apes morientur.
gif bið dag martes winter æpelust lænten windhladen 7 renlid sumor god Si fuerit kl januarius die martis7 hiems nobilissima. uer uentuusus & pluuialis. estas bona. cynigas 7 èþelust lænten uer genihtsumad
cyældbære; silently emended Förster (1908b).
cwældbære; silently emended Förster (1910: 55, n. 5). Si fuerit kl januarius die uiois hiems.10 bona erit. uer uentuusos. estas bona & habundantia erit.
cynigas 7 èþelust lænten uer genihtsumad frumentum bonum. iuuenes moriuntur. mel non erit. mercatores laborabunt.
gif bið dag friggan winter stedfast 7 snaw bið lænten god 7 sumor sar eagea Si fuerit kl januarius die ueneris hiems stabilis. & nix erit. uer bonus & estas. dolor oculorum. wingerd god scap 7 beon forwyrðan bileofa leof gewyrð
gif bið dag sæternes winter genipful14 snaw bið bigleofa leof bið wæstm genihtsumad Si fuerit kl januarius die saturni. hiems caliginosa. nix erit annona cara erit. fructus habundabit.
e a’lle15 adliað 7 ealde swealtæd wingead god.
homes egrotabunt & ueterani moriuntur. uindemia bona.

---

17/4 London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 36r/14-36v/7

1) - wrongly glosses ac.
2) - wrongly glosses ac.
3) windhladen] wind- over uer, -hladen over uentuousus.
4) wingead] - over estas.
5) sceap] sweep.
6) gemencged] gemecaged; silently emended Förster (1908b).
7) cwældbære] cyaeldovere; silently emended Förster (1908b).
8) martis] -a- < o.
9) mercurii] mercuririi.
10) uindemia] uindemna.
11) hiems.] - 4 < fol. 36v>.
12) cynigas] cynigas; cynugas Förster (1908b), corrected Förster (1910: 55, n. 5).
13) scap] sfap.
14) genipful] -i < þ; genipfûp Förster (1908b).
15) e’alle] - wrongly glosses homines.
incipiunt signa de temporibus.

Si die i. *fetia* fuerint kl *ianuarius* hiemps bona & *uer* uentosum\(^1\) erit. aetas sicca. & uindemia bona erit. boues crescent & mel abundanter erit. senes morientur. & abundantia & pax erit.

Si ii.*fetia* fuerint kl *ianuarius*. hiemps mixta *iucundum*\(^2\) aetas sicca & *uentosa*\(^3\) *fiet*. & tempestas erit\(^4\) & uindemia non bona & ualitudo hominum\(^5\) erit & apes morientur.

Si iii.*fetia* fuerint\(^6\) kl *ianuarius*. hiemps pluviosa erit & *uer* uentosum\(^7\) aetas sicca uindemia laborabat. mulieres morientur & reges peribunt.


Si iv.*fetia* fuerint kl *ianuarius*. hiemps bona\(^8\) & *uer* uentosum\(^9\) erit ellas bona & uindemia bona. & abundantia erit & in illo anno principes siue reges peribunt.

Si v.*fetia* fuerint. kl *ianuarius*. hiemps mutabilis erit.\(^10\) uer bonum aetas sicca & bona. & oculorum dolor & uindemia bona erit. & oues peribunt.

Si vii.*fetia* fuerint. kl *ianuarius*. hiemps turbolenta uer uentosum & fructus laboriosus erit oues peribunt & senes morientur.

---

17/6 London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvii, fol. 25r/8-25v/3\(^3\)

**KL. IAN VARIVS.** Si fuerit in prima feria. hiemps bona erit. & uernus\(^2\) uentosus. & aetas sicca. & uindemia bona. & oues multiplicabuntur. & mel habundabit. & habundantia pacis.


**KL. IAN VARIVS.** Si fuerit in iii.*fetia*. hiemps ymbriosus & uentosus. & aetas pluuialis & tempestas. & mulieres plurime moriuntur.\(^3\) & naues pericitabuntur. & reges peribunt.

**KL. IAN VARIVS.** Si fuerit in .iii. *fetia*. hiemps dura & aspera. & uernus malus. & aetas bona. & uindemia laboriosa. & mel non erit.

**KL. IAN VARIVS.** Si fuerit in .iv. *fetia*. hiemps bona. & uernus uentosus. & aetas bona erit.

**KL. IAN VARIVS.** Si fuerit in .v. *fetia*. hiemps bona. & uernus uentosus. & aetas bona erit. & copiosa magna.\(^1\)

---

\(^2\) *iucundum*: *iucundum*\(^a\)[m]. -u-\^< [a].
\(^3\) *uentosa*: - -\^< [a].
\(^4\) *fiet*: er\^[un]t, -i-\^< [u].
\(^5\) *hominum*: hominum Birch (1878).
\(^6\) *fuerint*: fuerunt Birch (1878).
\(^7\) *uer* uentosum: so Birch (1878) Günzel (1993).
\(^8\) *bona*: dura Birch (1878).
\(^10\) *uer* er: - -\^< [u].

---

\(^3\)*Each entry starts on a new line. 
\(^a\)*uer* uentosum: so Birch (1878). 
\(^c\)*magna*: - -\^< [u].

17/7 London, British Library, Sloane 475, fol. 217r/7-217v/12

Natalis domini\(^1\) prima dies si acciderit dominica\(^2\) scitote hiemem\(^3\) se benignum & uentosam\(^4\) quadragessimam. estatem.\(^5\) aridam. uineas\(^6\) opulentas. oues. fetus. producentes.\(^7\) mel. sufficere. tempestiues homines mori. & pacem in terris.

Si dies lune fuerit. scitote hiemem\(^8\) turbulentem quadragessimam optimam. estatem uentosam; mel paruum homines infirmos uineas non fructuosas.

Si uero martis scitote esse\(^9\) pluuiale hiemem. quadragessimam uentosam estatem optimam feminas mori. reges périré classes periclitare.

Si dies mercurii, fuërit scitóte hiemem. durum & gelidum\(^10\) quadragessimam pessimam uineas fructiferas iuuenes mori mércatorés dispereunt.

Si dies iouis fugerit\(^11\) scitoté hiemem esse bonum quadragessimam uentosam estaté optimam om(n)iumque bónorum. sufficientiam. homines. annosós mori reges pacatos & pacem in hominibus.

Si dies ueneris\(^12\) fuerit scitote hiémem. contrarium quadragessimam optimam estatem bonam agustum opulentum. oculos. infirmos. oues. & apes mori;

Si dies fuerit sabbáti scitote. hiemem. grauem quadragessimam.\(^13\) uentosam fructum defici;
Si prima feria kl ianuarius fuerit. frugifer annus erit. extremi homínem morientur. frumentum & uinum abundabit. apes proficiunt. oues morientur. naues periclitabantur. gentes mouebuntur. fremitus bellorum erit. pugna nulla. pax breuis: in mense septembri grauis mortalitas & siluę proficiunt;  

Si secunda feria kl ianuarius fuerit. armorum sonitus. mutatio gentium diuersarum. scandala ubique. nauigia prospera. messes damnatę. quadrupedia plurima morientur;  

Si tercia feria kl ianuarius fuerit. frugifer annus erit. prospera negotia. tempestates in augusto & septembri. bella minime. & lites cessant;  

Si quarta feria kl ianuarius fuerit. fames per loca. uindemia par’c’a. messes fellent. piscatio multa. hibernus fortis. ţtas pluuialis;  

Si quinta feria kl ianuarius fuerit hiemis ualida. & pestifera: grando plurima. principes morientur. clades quadrupedum. sanguis plurimus effundetur. in oriente abundantia multa. in meridie fames. in occidente monstrabitur & auertur;  

Si sexta feria (kl ianuarius) fuerit. terremotus & prodigia multa. monstruosa animalia nascentur. noua signa apparebant. femiň morientur. plurimi fructus damnabantur. sterilitas messium. piscatio plurima. nauigia tuta;  

Si septima feria kl ianuarius fuerit hibernus bonus. uernus uarius. siccitas in ėstatę. in autumno aquatio multa. uindemia bona. glandis plurima. oues & porci morientur. mel multum. medietas hominum diuersis infirmitatibus periclitabitur. in oriente fames. in mari beluę & pisces morientur plurimi. coruscationes & tonitrua in augusto mense erunt;

---


2 proficiunt proficiet Liuzza (2001).


5 mortalitas -s < -. 

6 proficiunt proficiet Liuzza (2001).

7 par’c’a] ‘c’- < [u].
APPENDICES
APPENDIX 1
REFERENCE LIST

Below, I provide a list of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics and the manuscripts in which they are found. This is a condensed version of the information provided in chapters 2-4.

Abbreviations:

Header row:
lang language
seq sequence (explained in section 3.2.2)

Language:
Fr French
L Latin
L/OE Latin with running glosses in Old English
ME Middle English
OE Old English

Place of origin:
Ca Canterbury
CC Christ Church, Canterbury
NM New Minster, Winchester
Nth Northumbria
OM Old Minster, Winchester
Pe Peterborough
Sha Shaftesbury
StA St. Augustine’s, Canterbury
StM St. Mary’s, Winchester
Wi Winchester

Context:
cal calendar
comp computus
fill filler
med medicine
prog prognostic section
<table>
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<th>date</th>
<th>origin</th>
<th>pages</th>
<th>type</th>
<th>seq</th>
<th>number</th>
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<th>context</th>
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<td>s. xi</td>
<td>Worcester</td>
<td>pp. 3-14</td>
<td>Dog Days</td>
<td>6/5</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>cal</td>
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<td>sunshine prognostic</td>
<td>14/1</td>
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<td>pp. 714</td>
<td>bronology, hour (night office)</td>
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<td>pp. 714-15</td>
<td>bronology, compass directions</td>
<td>5.2/1</td>
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<td>p. 718</td>
<td>birth, three miraculous days</td>
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<td>pp. 718-20</td>
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<td>1064-1069</td>
<td>Worcester</td>
<td>p. 27</td>
<td>lunar day, bloodletting</td>
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<td>pp. 29-40</td>
<td>Egyptian Days, twenty-four</td>
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<td>c. 1061</td>
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<td>pp. 29-40</td>
<td>Egyptian Days, twenty-four</td>
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3Transferred to, and expanded in St. Augustine’s, Canterbury.
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APPENDIX 2
CONCORDANCE TO ANGLO-SAXON PROGNOSTICS

The following is a concordance to the indexation of prognostics in some of the major catalogues, manuals, and bibliographies. The first column represents the numbers I have assigned to the prognostics. The other columns contain references to Ker’s Catalogue of Manuscripts; the Cameron number and short title of the Old English prognostics for the Dictionary of Old English (DOE); Quinn and Quinn’s A Manual of Old English Prose; Voigts and Kurtz’s Scientific and Medical Writings in Old and Middle English; and, finally, the series Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile. The Old English prognostics have also been listed in Hollis and Wright’s Old English Prose of Secular Learning.

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3Hollis and Wright (1992).
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<td>B21.3</td>
<td>Med 3 (Grattan-Singer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1/6</td>
<td>239.19</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1/9</td>
<td>239.19</td>
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<td>8.1/10</td>
<td>239.19</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.3/1</td>
<td>139.A.h</td>
<td>B23.2.3.2</td>
<td>Days 3.2 (Först)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3/2</td>
<td>224.j</td>
<td>B23.2.5.3</td>
<td>Days 5.3 (Först)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3/3</td>
<td>239.8-9</td>
<td>B23.2.6</td>
<td>Days 6 (Henel)</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.3/6</td>
<td>84.6.e</td>
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<td>8.3/7</td>
<td>84.6.n</td>
<td></td>
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<td>8.3/13</td>
<td>233.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.3/21</td>
<td>239.19</td>
<td>C67</td>
<td>OccGl 67 (Henel-Ker)</td>
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<td>8.3/22</td>
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<td>B23.3.3.3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Prog 6.9 (Först)</td>
</tr>
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<td>67.d.iv</td>
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</tr>
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<td>B23.2.2</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9.2.3/3</td>
<td>186.12</td>
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</tbody>
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<sup>4</sup>References pertain to the medical work in its entirety, not just to the prognostic.
<sup>3</sup>Ibid.
<sup>5</sup>Ibid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Ker</th>
<th>Cameron</th>
<th>short title (DOE)</th>
<th>Quinn &amp; Quinn</th>
<th>Voigts &amp; Kurtz</th>
<th>ASMMF</th>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>67.d.viii</td>
<td>B23.3.1.6</td>
<td>Prog 1.6 (Först)</td>
<td>F401</td>
<td>192</td>
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<td>139.A.p</td>
<td>B23.3.2.2</td>
<td>Prog 2.2 (Först)</td>
<td>F402</td>
<td>112</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9.2.4/3</td>
<td>186.7.h</td>
<td>B23.3.3.1</td>
<td>Prog 3.1 (Först)</td>
<td>F403</td>
<td>115</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9.2.4/4</td>
<td>332.35.a</td>
<td>B23.3.6.1</td>
<td>Prog 6.1 (Först)</td>
<td>F406</td>
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<td>385.35.a</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.2.4/5</td>
<td>186.7.c</td>
<td>C16.3</td>
<td>ProgGl 3 (Först)</td>
<td>H041</td>
<td>154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.4/6</td>
<td>67.d.vii</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>67.d.v</td>
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<td>F401</td>
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<tr>
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<td>186.7.k</td>
<td>B23.3.3.4</td>
<td>Prog 3.4 (Först)</td>
<td>F403</td>
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<tr>
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<td>139.A.a</td>
<td>B23.3.2.1</td>
<td>Prog 2.1 (Först)</td>
<td>F402</td>
<td>140</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.5/4</td>
<td>186.7.f</td>
<td>C16.6</td>
<td>ProgGl 6 (Först)</td>
<td>H041</td>
<td>139</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.5/5</td>
<td>186.12</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/1</td>
<td>186.7.m</td>
<td>B23.3.3.7</td>
<td>Prog 3.7 (Cockayne)</td>
<td>F403</td>
<td>171</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/1</td>
<td>239.19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14/1</td>
<td>67.d.i</td>
<td>B23.3.1.1</td>
<td>Prog 1.1 (Först)</td>
<td>F401</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14/2</td>
<td>332.35.f</td>
<td>B23.3.6.6</td>
<td>Prog 6.6 (Först)</td>
<td>F406</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>385.35.f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15/1</td>
<td>139.A.e</td>
<td>B23.2.3.1</td>
<td>Days 3.1 (Först)</td>
<td>F203</td>
<td>155</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15/2</td>
<td>224.d</td>
<td>B23.2.5.1</td>
<td>Days 5.1 (Först)</td>
<td>F205</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>258.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16/1</td>
<td>332.35.e</td>
<td>B23.3.6.5</td>
<td>Prog 6.5 (Först)</td>
<td>F406</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>385.35.e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17/1</td>
<td>186.7.p</td>
<td>B23.3.3.9</td>
<td>Prog 3.9 (Först)</td>
<td>F403</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17/2</td>
<td>209.26</td>
<td>B23.3.5.1</td>
<td>Prog 5.1 (Warn)</td>
<td>F405</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>245.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17/3</td>
<td>332.35.d</td>
<td>B23.3.6.4</td>
<td>Prog 6.4 (Cockayne)</td>
<td>F406</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>385.35.d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17/4</td>
<td>186.7.d</td>
<td>C16.4</td>
<td>ProgGl 4 (Först)</td>
<td>H041</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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APPENDIX 3
VALUES, DATES, COMPOSITION

A3.1 APULEIAN SPHERES
Composition of Apuleian Spheres:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>letters</th>
<th>weekdays</th>
<th>lunar phases</th>
<th>diagram</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>to left of diagram</td>
<td>beneath diagram</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(^1)</td>
<td>in rings of diagram</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>in central circle of diagram</td>
<td>beneath diagram</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2 around diagrams (=4al and 4all)</td>
<td>around first diagram</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2 to left and right of diagrams (=5al and 5all)</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2 in rings of diagram (=6al and 6all)</td>
<td>above diagram</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>to left of diagrams</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>to right of diagrams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 13(^2)</td>
<td>unnecessary</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9(^1)</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>underneath diagram</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2 to left and right of figure uita/mors (=10al and 10all)</td>
<td>around figure mors</td>
<td>around rhomboid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2 in rings of diagrams (=12al and 12all)</td>
<td>underneath diagram</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A3.1: Apuleian Spheres, components

Variants of explanatory texts of Apuleian Spheres:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>incipit</th>
<th>number in intro</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>number in example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apuleian</td>
<td>Spera apulei platonici de uita et de morte uel de omnibus negotiis &amp; quicquid inquirere uolueris</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pythagorean</td>
<td>Ratio spere phytagori phylosophi quem apuleius descriptit ut de quacumque re scire uolueris uel consulere</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petosiris I</td>
<td>De quacumque re scire uolueris uel consulere</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petosiris II</td>
<td>Ratio spere phytagori phylosophi quem apuleius descriptit ut de quacumque re scire uolueris uel consulere</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A3.2: Apuleian Spheres, textual variants of explanatory texts in prose

\(^1\)2/2 does have a set of values for the weekdays, but these were added well after the copying of the rest of the text.
\(^2\)2/8 and 2/13 employ numerical values for the Greek alphabet. These values are fixed, which is why they are not included. This type of Apuleian Sphere uses numerical values for the lunar phases (see notes to 2/8, 2/13), but the list is not supplied in 2/8. The diagram of 2/13 is cut out. Since 2/8 and 2/13 derive from a common exemplar, it must have been a rhomboid.
\(^3\)The leaf that should have contained the diagram of 2/9 was never written upon. Dry-point markings show the outline of a circle.
Numerical values for the letters of the alphabet in Apuleian Spheres:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>small numbers</th>
<th>large numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1: 1, 3</td>
<td>4: 4aI, 12aI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2: 2</td>
<td>4: 4aII, 6aII, 12aII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3: 4aII, 12aII</td>
<td>5: 5aI, 10aI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6: 6aII</td>
<td>7: 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5aII, 10aII</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A iii</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B ii</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C xxii</td>
<td>xxii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D xxiii</td>
<td>xxiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E xv</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F iii</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G vii</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H vi</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I xv</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K xv</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L xxi</td>
<td>xxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M xxii</td>
<td>xxii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N xv</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O vii</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P xiiii</td>
<td>xiiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q xxi</td>
<td>xxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R xiii</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S ix</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T vii</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U v</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V vi</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W viii</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X vii</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y iii</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z ii</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A3.3: Apuleian Spheres, numerical values for the letters of the alphabet

---

4 On 'aI' and 'aII' designations, see table A3.1.
5 In 2/3 emended from xxiii.
6 In 2/2 emended from xxv.
7 In 2/6aII emended from xxvii.
8 In 2/5aI emended from xxviii.
9 In 2/6aII emended from v.
10 In 2/2 emended from xx.
11 In 2/3 emended from xii.
12 In 2/12aII emended from viii.
13 In 2/4aI emended from vii.
14 In 2/1 lacking through fire damage.
15 In 2/6aII emended from vi, but it is observed that the Apuleian Sphere in Harley 3017 also reads vii for this letter.
16 In 2/1 lacking through fire damage.
17 Ibid.
Numerical values for the weekdays in Apuleian Spheres:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>1, 3, 6, 9, 10</th>
<th>4, 12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>xiii\textsuperscript{18}</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>xviii\textsuperscript{19}</td>
<td>xvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>xv</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>xxv</td>
<td>xxv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>xi\textsuperscript{20}</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>xv</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>xxvi\textsuperscript{21}</td>
<td>xvii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A3.4: Apuleian Spheres, numerical values for the weekdays

Numerical values for the lunar phases in Apuleian Spheres:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>7</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>îcxxxix</td>
<td>mbxxxix</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>îcc’ cc’ lvx</td>
<td>mdxxciii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>îcvi</td>
<td>mcvi</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>îcclxxvi</td>
<td>mccccllixii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>îxviii</td>
<td>mxix</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>îcclxxxii</td>
<td>mcccclxixii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>îlxxxv</td>
<td>mlxxxv</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>îcc</td>
<td>mcccclxxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>îlxv</td>
<td>mxx</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>dcxxii</td>
<td>mccx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>îliii</td>
<td>mliii</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>dcccclxxii</td>
<td>dcccxxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>îc’ c’ cxxxix</td>
<td>mccccxxxi</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>dcccxxii</td>
<td>dclxxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>îcc’ cc’ lv</td>
<td>mcccclvi</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>mdcclxxix</td>
<td>dcvx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>îdcxxi</td>
<td>mccclxiv</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>dclxxv</td>
<td>mL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>îdxcxiii</td>
<td>mdcclxiv</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>dcl</td>
<td>mLxxxvi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A3.5: Apuleian Spheres, numerical values for the lunar phases

Numerical values in the diagrams of Apuleian Spheres:\textsuperscript{22}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rc + um</th>
<th>1: 1rc, 4dIlr, 6rc, 12dIlrc</th>
<th>2: 2rc</th>
<th>3: 4dIlr, 7dIlrc, 12dIlrc</th>
<th>4: 5um, 10dIlrc, 7dIlum, 12dIlrc</th>
<th>cc</th>
<th>r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>zmi</td>
<td>mom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>zmi</td>
<td>mou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>zmi</td>
<td>mom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>zmi</td>
<td>mom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>mL\textsuperscript{23}</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>tme</td>
<td>mom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>mL\textsuperscript{24}</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>tme</td>
<td>mom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{18}In 2/1 emended from xii.
\textsuperscript{19}In 2/1 emended from xvii.
\textsuperscript{20}In 2/1 emended from x.
\textsuperscript{21}In 2/1 lacking through fire damage.
\textsuperscript{22}Abbreviations: m=mors; mam=magna mors; mau=magna uita; mc=mors cita; meu=media uita; mom=modica mors; mou=modica uita; tme=thanatos megas (glossed by ‘mors cita’ in 2/3 and 2/11); tmi=thanatos mikros (glossed by ‘mors longa’ in 2/3, and ‘mors hominis’ in 2/11); u=uita; ype=ypergeion (glossed by ‘super terram’ in 2/3); ypo=ypogeion (glossed by ‘uita minor’ in 2/3, and ‘uita hominis’ in 2/11); zme=zoe megale (glossed by ‘uita longa’ in 2/3, and ‘uita cita’ in 2/11); zmi=zoe mikra (glossed by ‘uita minor’ in 2/3, and ‘uita hominis’ in 2/11). On ‘cc’, ‘rc’, ‘u’, ‘um’, see table A3.1.
\textsuperscript{23}In 2/6rc lost through fire damage.
\textsuperscript{24}Ibid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rc + um</th>
<th>rc</th>
<th>um</th>
<th>cc</th>
<th>r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1: 1rc, 4dIIrc, 6rc, 12dIIrc</td>
<td>2: 2rc</td>
<td>3: 4dIIrc, 7dIrc, 7dIIum, 12dIrc</td>
<td>4: 5um, 10lum</td>
<td>5cc, 11cc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>zmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>tme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>zmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>zme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>tme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiii u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiii u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ypo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvi u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvii u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xviii m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ypo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xix u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xx u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>zme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxi u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ypo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxii u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>zme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxiii u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u/m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ypo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxiv m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>u/m</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ypo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxv m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>tmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxvi u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>zme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxvii m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>zme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxviii m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>tmi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26 Lacking in 2/11cc.
27 In 2/6rc lost through fire damage.
28 In 2/7dIrc, 2/7dIIum, and 2/12dIrc emended from xii, which was listed under uita and mors.
29 Lacking in 2/11cc.
32 In 2/4dIIrc xvi was listed under uita and mors.
33 Lacking in 2/11cc.
35 In 2/4dIrc entry mors emended from xvii, which was listed under uita and mors.
36 Lacking in 2/11cc.
37 In 2/4dIrc entry uita for xix was lacking.
38 Lacking in 2/11cc.
39 In 2/6rc lost through fire damage.
40 Lacking in 2/11cc.
41 In 2/6rc lost through fire damage.
42 In 2/4dIrc entry mors emended from xx to xxiii, introducing an ambiguity already present in 2/7dIrc, 2/7dIIum, and 2/12dIrc.
43 Lacking in 2/11cc.
44 In 2/4dIIrc emended from xvi.
45 In 2/4dIIrc emended from xxvii.
Composition of Apuleian Spheres:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Diagram</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Petosiris II small 2/12</td>
<td>rc</td>
<td>rc/um</td>
<td>r 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verse + Apuleian small 1</td>
<td>cc</td>
<td>cc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verse + Pythagorean lost</td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>lost</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verse + Apuleian small 5</td>
<td>um</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verse + Apuleian small 5 +</td>
<td>still to be determined</td>
<td>um + r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A3.7: Apuleian Spheres, composition

A3.2 DOG DAYS

Dates of the Dog Days:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>1s, 6c, 7c, 10c, 11c, 17c, 27c</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3m, 4c, 5c, 22c, 8c, 9c, 15c, 21c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12s, 14s, 18s, 19s, 20s, 25m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16c, 23c, 26c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>begin 14/7, 17/7, 14/7, 14/7, 14/7, 14/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>end 5/9, 5/9, 5/9, 4/9, 5/9, 5/9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A3.8: Dog Days, dates

A3.3 MOONBOOKS

Lunar phases of moonbooks:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>bad phases</th>
<th>good phases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6/3, 6/12, 6/25</td>
<td>5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/14, 6/18, 6/19</td>
<td>4, 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/20</td>
<td>5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30</td>
<td>4, 14, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3/1, 8.3/2, 8.3/3</td>
<td>4, 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A3.9: Moonbooks, lunar phases

---

46 Should have been absent because Petosiris II employs the Greek alphabet.

47 These values were added at a later date and are, therefore, not taken into consideration.

48 The diagram of 2/13 has been cut out. In view of the relatedness with 2/8, this must have been a rhomboid.

49 The diagram of 2/13 has been cut out. In view of the relatedness with 2/8, the redaction will have been r 1.

50 Regular circular, like other Pythagorean redactions?

51 Abbreviations: c=calendar; m=embedded in medical tract; s=stand-alone text. Texts 6/2 and 6/24 do not provide dates for the Dog Days but mention them in discussing the periods in which the various humours are active.
A3.4  EGYPTIAN DAYS

Mondays of the three Egyptian Days:52

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>first day</th>
<th>second day</th>
<th>third day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 4</td>
<td>end of April</td>
<td>end of December</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, 5</td>
<td>end of April</td>
<td>beginning of December</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11</td>
<td>25 March</td>
<td>1 August</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A3.10: three Egyptian Days, Mondays

Dates of the twelve Egyptian Days:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A3.11: twelve Egyptian Days, dates

Dates of the twenty-four Egyptian Days:53

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2s, 3s, 5v, 6c, 8c, 10c, 10v, 15c, 16s, 17c, 17v, 18c, 18v, 19c, 19v, 20v, 21s, 22s, 23v, 25c, 25v, 26c, 27c, 27v, 29c54</th>
<th>1s, 5c, 11c, 12s, 13t, 20c, 28c55</th>
<th>4c</th>
<th>7v</th>
<th>9c</th>
<th>14s</th>
<th>24c</th>
<th>30c</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td></td>
<td>1, 25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1, 25</td>
<td>1, 25</td>
<td>2, 24</td>
<td>2, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td></td>
<td>4, 26</td>
<td>1, 28</td>
<td>12, 23</td>
<td>1, 28</td>
<td>10, 21</td>
<td>3, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td></td>
<td>10, 20</td>
<td>3, 21</td>
<td>10, 20</td>
<td>3, 24</td>
<td>3, 23</td>
<td>4, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td></td>
<td>10, 16</td>
<td>13, 22</td>
<td>14, 22</td>
<td>13, 22</td>
<td>7, 22</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td></td>
<td>1, 30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1, 30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7, 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td></td>
<td>3, 21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3, 21</td>
<td>13, 20</td>
<td>2, 25</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td></td>
<td>3, 22</td>
<td>3, 22</td>
<td>3, 22</td>
<td>3, 26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td></td>
<td>5, 28</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5, 28</td>
<td>5, 28</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td></td>
<td>12, 15</td>
<td>7, 22</td>
<td>11, 27</td>
<td>12, 15</td>
<td>12, 15</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A3.12: twenty-four Egyptian Days, dates

52The three Egyptian Days fall on Mondays around the times mentioned. Text 8.1/6 mentions the dates, but does not mention that the Egyptian Days fall on a Monday.

53Abbreviations: c=calendar; s=stand-alone text; v=verse.

54In 8.3/8c, three dates are listed for March: 1, 27 and 28. The entry for 27 March is probably an error which was not corrected. In 8.3/8c, the only dates present are for January, March and April, and the first date for February. In 8.3/10c, second dates for February and October are missing. In 8.3/15c, three dates are listed for December, viz. 12, 15, and 25. It is unlikely that the third entry was intended seriously. In 8.3/17c, the only date is the second for February. In 8.3/17v, the verse for December is missing. In 8.3/18c, three dates are listed for December: 7, 12 and 15. The entry for 12 December was erased. In 8.3/19c, the dates for July, the first date for March, and the second date for January, February and September are missing. In 8.3/19c, the second date for October emended from 24 to 22. In 8.3/20v, no verses are found after April. In 8.3/25c, the only entries are the first dates for June and July. In 8.3/25v, the first date of December emended from 6 to 7. In 8.3/26c, the second date for October emended from 23 to 22. In 8.3/27c, the only entries are for January and the first date of March. In 8.3/29c, the dates for January and December are missing, as well as the second date for July and the first date for September.

55In 8.3/5c, second date for March emended from 29 to 28. In 8.3/11c, second date for June is missing. In 8.3/20c, second date for April emended from 19 to 20.
A3.5 COLLECTIVE LUNARIES

Components of collective lunaries: ⁵⁶

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>+,d₁,d₂m,e,f,g</td>
<td>+,d₁,d₂,e,f</td>
<td>+,e,f,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>+,a,d₁,d₂,e,f,g</td>
<td>+,a,c,d₁,d₂,e,f</td>
<td>+,a,c,e,f,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a,c,e,d₁,d₂,f,g</td>
<td>a,c,e,d₁,d₂,f</td>
<td>-a,c,e,f,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>a,b,e,d₁,d₂,f,g</td>
<td>+,a,b,e,d₁,d₂,f</td>
<td>+,a,b,e,f,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>a,b,c,d₁,d₂,e,f,g</td>
<td>a,b,c,d₁,d₂,e,f</td>
<td>a,b,c,e,f,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>c,e,d₁m,d₂,f,g</td>
<td>a,c,e,b,d₁,d₂,f</td>
<td>a,c,e,f,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>a,b,c,d₁m,d₂m,e,f,g</td>
<td>a,b,c,d₁,d₂,e,f</td>
<td>a,b,c,e,f,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>a,c,d₁m,d₂m,f,e,g</td>
<td>a,c,d₁,d₂,e,f</td>
<td>a,c,e,f,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>+,a,b,c,d₁m,d₂m,e,f,g</td>
<td>+,a,b,c,d₁,d₂,f</td>
<td>+,a,b,c,d₁,d₂,e,f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>+,a,d₁,d₂,e,f,g</td>
<td>+,a,d₁m,d₂,e,f</td>
<td>+,a,d₁m,d₂,e,f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>a,d₁,d₂m,e,f,g</td>
<td>a,d₁,d₂,e,f</td>
<td>a,d₁,d₂,e,f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>+,a,d₁m,d₂m,e,f,g</td>
<td>+,a,d₁,d₂,e,f</td>
<td>+,a,d₁,d₂m,e,f,g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>-,a,b,d₁m,d₂m,e,f,g</td>
<td>a,b,d₁,d₂,e,f</td>
<td>a,b,d₁,d₂,e,f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>+,a,d₁m,d₂m,e,f,g</td>
<td>+,a,d₁m,d₂m,e,f,g</td>
<td>a,b,d₁,d₂m,e,f,g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>a,d₁m,d₂,e,f,g</td>
<td>a,d₁,d₂,e,f</td>
<td>a,d₁,d₂,e,f</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A3.13: collective lunaries, components

A3.6 UNLUCKY DAYS

Lunar phases of the unlucky days:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jan</th>
<th>Feb</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Apr</th>
<th>May</th>
<th>June</th>
<th>July</th>
<th>Aug</th>
<th>Sept</th>
<th>Oct</th>
<th>Nov</th>
<th>Dec</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3,4</td>
<td>5,7</td>
<td>6,7</td>
<td>5,8</td>
<td>8,9</td>
<td>5,27</td>
<td>3,13</td>
<td>8,13</td>
<td>5,9</td>
<td>5,15</td>
<td>7,9</td>
<td>3,13⁶¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A3.14: unlucky days, lunar phases

⁵⁶Abbreviations: +/-=general quality of the day; a=agenda; b=fugitive; c=property; d=birth (gender unspecified); d₁=male; d₂=female; m=birthmark; e=illness; f=dream; g=bloodletting. Classifications of the components of collective lunaries show a large degree of uniformity in Wistrand (1942: 11-12), Förster (1944: 6-7, 32-33), Weißer (1982: 15-20), Taavitsainen (1988: 98-101). Weißer’s classification since it makes a distinction between the overall quality of a day and the agenda component and indicates the presence or absence of birthmarks (the structure of the birth component is used by some scholars as a means of grouping collective lunaries together, cf. Svenberg (1936: 17-18).

⁵⁷a,b,c,d₁,d₂m,e,f,g in Weißer (1981: 64).

⁵⁸g,a,b,c,d₁m,d₂m,e,f,g in Weißer (1981: 64), but the first bloodletting instruction is part of the agenda component and does not form a bloodletting component on its own.

⁵⁹a,c,d₁m,d₂m,e,f,g in Weißer (1981: 64).

⁶⁰17 instead of 27 June in 15/1.

⁶¹12 instead of 13 December in 15/1.
## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABOMEL</td>
<td>Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add</td>
<td>Additional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF</td>
<td>Anglistische Forschungen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFK</td>
<td>Archiv für Kulturgeschichte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFp</td>
<td>American Journal of Philology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AkAWB</td>
<td>Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AM</td>
<td>Ars Medica. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Quellenkunde der alten Medizin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANQ</td>
<td>American Notes and Queries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archiv</td>
<td>Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literatur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASE</td>
<td>Anglo-Saxon England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPR</td>
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<td>Rlr</td>
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— (1908b). ‘Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Volkskunde II’, *Archiv* 120, 296-305.


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Het doel van deze studie van de Angelsaksische prognosticaties is een aantal nieuwe perspectieven en inzichten toe te voegen aan voorgaande onderzoeken naar dit onderwerp door Cockayne, Förster en Henel in de periode 1850-1950 (Deel I). Daarnaast biedt Deel II voor het eerst een omvattende editie van alle Oudengelse en een groot aantal Latijnse teksten van prognostische aard. De eerste substantiële editie van de prognosticaties door Cockayne (1861-66) werd gevolgd door een uitdieping van onze kennis over dit onderwerp in een reeks artikelen (1903-1944) van Förster. Försters opvatting dat de Angelsaksische prognosticaties vormen van folklore waren, werd bestreden door Henel (1934-1942), die van mening was dat prognosticaties binnen het wetenschappelijke interessegebied van kloosterlingen vielen. Helaas zijn Henels argumenten volkomen genegeerd, terwijl de voorliggende studie laat zien dat de Angelsaksische prognosticaties wel degelijk een vorm van wetenschap waren. Bovendien levert de contextuele benadering die in deze studie is toegepast een zinvolle bijdrage aan de analyse van de plaatsing van prognosticaties, de taal waarin ze voorkomen, de overlevering in handschriften en het bedoelde gebruik van de teksten.

Prognosticatie is een methode om de toekomst van een individu of een identificeerbare groep individuen te voorspellen met behulp van de observatie van vooraf vastgestelde tekens en tijdstippen, of met behulp van mantiek. Prognosticaties leggen een causaal of synchronisch verband tussen twee gebeurtenissen, bijvoorbeeld de uitkomst van een droom die iemand heeft bij een bepaalde maanstand. Om dit te bewerkstelligen maken prognosticaties gebruik van een drievoudige structuur die bestaat uit de identificatie van wat er geobserveerd moet worden, het onderwerp waarover men iets wil weten, en de bijbehorende voorspelling. De onderwerpen die bevraagd kunnen worden zijn divers, maar ze worden begrensd door de levensduur van het individu op wie de voorspelling van toepassing is. Geliefde onderwerpen zijn gezondheid (met name aangaande ziekteverloop en tijdstippen voor aderlating), geboorte en dood, de betekenis van dromen, meteorologische verschijnselen en agrarische kwesties.

Hoofdstuk 2 biedt een overzicht van het tekstcorpus waarop de studie is gebaseerd. Dit corpus beslaat 171 teksten uit zevenendertig (fragmenten van) handschriften. Er zijn vijftig teksten in het Oudengels, elf in het Latijn met doorlopende volkstalige glossen (een gesloten groep omdat alle teksten zijn geïdentificeerd) en 110 in het Latijn (een open groep omdat slechts een deel van de teksten is geïdentificeerd). Deze teksten dateren uit de Angelsaksische en de vroege Anglo-Normandische periodes.

Hoofdstuk 3 bevat beschrijvingen van de prognostische tekstgenres die voor de dertiende eeuw bekend waren in Engeland. Ieder genre is beschreven in relatie tot de historie, de structuur, de inhoud en de geschreven overlevering. Het blijkt dat sommige genres op basis van thematische of structurele overeenkomsten in vaste volgorde werden overgeleverd.

In hoofdstuk 4 komt de handschriftelijke context aan bod. Het is hierbij van belang dat de Angelsaksische prognosticaties op contextueel bepaalde plaatsen in een handschrift worden aangetroffen, te weten (1) in kalenders, (2) in de computus, (3) in medische secties, (4) als teksten die later toegevoegd zijn, en (5) in secties waarin alleen prognosticaties voorkomen.

(1) In kalenders kunnen prognosticaties worden aangetroffen die vaste data in het jaar aanwijzen waarop bepaalde medische ingrepen schadelijk zijn: de zogenaamde Egyptische Dagen en de Hondsdagen. (2) De middeleeuwse computus trok teksten aan die niet direct betrekking hadden op de kerkelijke tijdberekening, maar die wel te maken hebben met het bijhouden van tijd. Dit is van toepassing op temporele prognosticaties, dat wil zeggen tekstgenres waarin maanstanden, weekdagen, maanden en data worden gebruikt om de toekomst te voorspellen. Bovendien is er in laat-Angelsaksische computi een grote belangstelling voor diagrammen en tabellen waarneembaar. Deze belangstelling blijkt tevens een sterke aantrekkingskracht te hebben uitgeoefend op prognostische tekstgenres die gebruik maken van tabellen, zoals lunaria en de Sfeer van Apuleius. De Angelsaksische computus was bijzonder geliefd als context voor prognosticaties: er zijn meer dan vijftig prognosticaties in overgeleverd. (3) Omdat veel prognosticaties gezondheid als onderwerp hebben, kan de aanwezigheid van prognosticaties in medische secties verwacht worden. Angelsaksische medische handschriften bevatten echter slechts zelden prognosticaties, dit in tegenstelling tot continentale handschriften. Dit is bijvoorbeeld duidelijk te zien aan de voornoemde Sfeer van Apuleius, een prognosticatie die het verloop van ziekte voorspelt. In Angelsaksische handschriften komt dit genre uitsluitend voor in de computus (waarschijnlijk vanwege de diagrammen en tabellen die de tekst begeleiden), terwijl continentale handschriften meestal Sferen van Apuleius bevatten in een medische context (waarschijnlijk vanwege de medische toepasbaarheid). (4) Soms worden prognosticaties aangetroffen als toegevoegd materiaal, dat wil zeggen teksten die later aan een handschrift zijn toegevoegd nadat het kopiëren al was voltooid. Zulke toegevoegde prognosticaties sluiten qua inhoud niet noodzakelijk aan bij de boodschap van de context. Het is dan ook moeilijk na te gaan waarom een prognosticatie later werd toegevoegd aan bijvoorbeeld een reeks preken of een psalterium. Praktische overwegingen kunnen een rol hebben gespeeld, bijvoorbeeld de beperkte lengte van prognosticaties ten opzichte van de hoeveelheid beschikbare ruimte. (5) De laatste handschriftelijke context is de prognostische sectie, een tot op heden onopgemerkt groepering van teksten. Prognostische secties zijn veelal onafhankelijke delen binnen een handschrift, wat blijkt uit het feit dat zulke secties herhaaldelijk worden aangetroffen in aparte katernen. Het zijn delen van handschriften die louter of hoofdzakelijk prognosticaties bevatten. Deze secties worden bijna uitsluitend aangetroffen in elfde-eeuwse insulaire handschriften. De variëteit aan tekstgenres in prognostische secties is groot: zowel temporele (aan de hand van tijd...
gestructureerde) als non-temporele genres (bv. alfabetische droomboeken) komen hier aan bod. Het bestaan van aparte secties voor prognosticaties alsmede de diversiteit in tekstgenres toont aan dat het besef van prognosticaties als een afgebakende groep teksten reeds bestond in de Angelsaksische periode.

In hoofdstuk 5 worden de taal, de herkomst en de datering van de Angelsaksische prognosticaties geanalyseerd. De taal waarin prognosticaties zijn overgeleverd blijkt deels afhankelijk van de handschriftelijke context. Kalenders en medische secties vertonen een sterke voorkeur voor materiaal dat qua taal overeenkomt met de taal van de context. De computus daarentegen laat taalvariëteit toe onder bepaalde voorwaarden, wat tot uiting komt in de aanwezigheid van volkstalig materiaal, Latijnse prognosticaties met glossen in het Oudengels, en Latijnse tekstten. Voorwaarde voor die diversiteit in talen is dat de (overwegend Latijnse) computus ook teksten over tijdberekening bevat die in de volkstaal zijn geschreven. Prognosticaties die later aan reeds bestaande handschriften zijn toegevoegd hebben over het algemeen dezelfde taal als die van de context. De taalselectie in prognostische secties blijkt niet beïnvloed te worden door de handschriftelijke context, maar binnen de secties zelf is er sprake van een sterke scheiding op basis van taal. Een prognostische sectie met zowel volkstalige als Latijnse teksten met glossen houdt deze twee groepen strikt gescheiden. De meeste handschriften met prognosticaties komen uit Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester en Ramsey, maar de context en taal waarin de prognosticaties zijn overgeleverd, verschillen sterk per plaats. Teksten met glossen worden bijvoorbeeld slechts aangetroffen in handschriften uit Canterbury en Winchester; in beide locaties in de computus en in de eerste ook in een prognostische sectie. Prognosticaties worden voor het eerst in insulaire handschriften aangetroffen in de negende eeuw. Van een echte bloei is pas sprake in de elfde eeuw.

In hoofdstuk 6 wordt prognosticatie als vorm van bijgeloof besproken. Er wordt traditioneel verondersteld dat prognostische gebruiken indruisen tegen het orthodoxe Christendom in Angelsaksisch Engeland, maar voor deze veronderstelling is geen grond. Veel prognostische teksten bevatten verwijzingen naar klassieke en middeleeuwse autoriteiten die bedoeld waren om de geloofwaardigheid van de tekst te verhogen. Met behulp van Dieter Harmenings analyse van middeleeuws bijgeloof (1979) kunnen de prognosticaties worden geplaatst op het gebied van bijgeloof, en wel als vormen die gebruik maken van de observatie van tijden en tekenen, en mantiek. Mijn studie naar de Oudengelse woordenschat voor bijgeloof toont aan dat er nauwelijks woorden bestonden in de volkstaal om prognosticaties te beschrijven. De enkele woorden voor observatie en divinatie die er zijn, komen veelal uit elfde-eeuwse Latijns–Oudengelse glossaria samengesteld vooral aan de hand van het Latijnse werk van de schrijver Aldhelmus (639-709), die teruggreep op klassieke vindplaatsen voor zijn beschrijving van bijgelovige gebruiken. Deze observatie stelt de gangbaarheid van deze woorden in de Angelsaksische periode in twijfel, ondanks het feit dat geestelijke schrijvers zoals Wulfstan en Ælfric negatief stonden tegenover bijgeloof in het algemeen. Het publiek voor prognosticaties wordt soms gezocht buiten de Angelsaksische kloosters in de veronderstelling dat deze teksten een functie vervulden in de pastorale taken van priesters; hier heb ik echter geen enkele aanwijzing voor aangetroffen.

In hoofdstuk 7 behandelt ik de intentie waarmee prognosticaties opgetekend zijn. Los van enkele incidentele toevoegingen aan en correcties op bestaande teksten zijn er geen fysieke aanwijzingen dat deze ooit in de praktijk zijn gebracht. Wat betreft de beoogde functie van prognosticaties is het verstandig de handschriftelijke context in acht te nemen. Prognosticaties kunnen bijvoorbeeld in de computus voorkomen vanwege hun structuur (tabellen en diagrammen, tijdsindeling), en niet
noodzakelijk vanwege hun inhoudelijke functie als toekomstvoorspellende tekst. De enige context waarin de praktische waarde van prognosticaties tot haar recht komt is de medische: het is denkbaar dat een medische prognosticatie in een medisch handschrift daadwerkelijk gebruikt zou kunnen worden. Het bestaan van prognostische secties duidt erop dat men in de elfde eeuw overeenkomsten zag tussen verschillende prognostische tekstgenres, en dat men besloot deze te verzamelen. Of deze verzamelingen aangelegd werden als collecties van praktisch bedoelde teksten, is niet na te gaan. De studie wordt gecompliceerd door een editie van alle Oudengelse en een groot aantal Latijnse teksten (waarvan vele voor het eerst) van prognostische aard. Niet eerder was zo’n omvattende verzameling van Angelsaksische prognostische teksten voorhanden.
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