The Boke of Astronomy and of Philosophye

Edited From Wellcome Historical Medical Museum Ms. 411

by

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The Boke of Astronomy and of Filosophye

The Boke of Astronomy and of Filosophye is an edition of fols. 32r - 37v of Wellcome Historical Medical Museum Ms. 411. The anonymous tract is concerned primarily with astrology and cosmology and contains a description of the eleven heavenly spheres, elementary rules for determining a "nativity", a brief discussion of the foundations of astrological belief, medical applications of astrology, and an allegorization of the zodiac in terms of Christian symbolism.

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Preface

I would like to express my appreciation to Professor John B. Friedman of Sir George Williams University and to Dr. Charles H. Talbot of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum for their very generous suggestions, criticism, encouragement, and general assistance.
### Abbreviations

<table>
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All quotations from the Bible are taken from the Douay-Rheims edition.
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Provenance and Physical Description

The present edition is of a hitherto unprinted English astronomical and astrological tract, Wellcome Historical Medical Museum Ms. 411, fols. 32r - 37v. The manuscript, a medical commonplace book, dates from about the middle of the fifteenth century but includes marginalia in sixteenth and seventeenth century hands. It measures 22\(\frac{1}{2}\) X 15\(\frac{1}{2}\) centimeters, and comprises 63 leaves,\(^1\) bound in a leaf from a fourteenth century missal. Wellcome 411 is written in one, or possibly two, book hands throughout and generally has 31 single column lines to a page.

Collected in this commonplace book are twelve short treatises in English and Latin, two in verse, dealing with astrology, astronomy, rules of phlebotomy, cures for diseases of the eyes, and medical advice and herbal remedies for the treatment of wounds of "bytyng". All the tracts seem to have been copied into the manuscript during the fifteenth century, although there is quite a disparity in some of their dates of origin.\(^2\) Also, as mentioned

1. As it now stands, the manuscript is incomplete. The first tract, a mnemonic "Christmas Day Prognostication" (edited from a different source and printed in Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, ed. R. H. Robbins [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952], pp. 63-67), begins in the middle of a prediction for Monday and finishes with Saturday. The manuscript, however, appears to be in perfect condition so it is probable that a whole quaternion has disappeared.
2. For example, the third tract in the manuscript (fols. 4r - 9r) deals with prognostications determined by the various moons of the lunar month, and it is based upon a gloss of a Latin tract which dates back
above, there are later additions which show that the manuscript passed through a number of hands. On fol. 19r, for example, there is a list of prominent dignitaries who were all integrally associated with the Duke of Northumberland's plot to place his son Guildford and Jane Grey on the throne after the death of Edward VI. Included are: the Duke of Northumberland and his sons; the Duke's brother, Andrew Dudley; John and Henry Gates; the Earl of Huntington; Dr. Laurence Saunders; Henry and Thomas Palmer; the Marquis of Northampton; Richard Corbett; Lord Montague; Lord Chalmley; and Dr. Ridley, Bishop of London. Unless this list has been compiled in retrospect (and this seems very unlikely judging from the phrasing eg. "My Lorde Ambrose", My Lorde Dudlie"), we are able to date this writing within a period of three years: the Duke of Northumberland and John Gates were executed for treason in 1553, and Nicholas Ridley

at least to Anglo-Saxon times. Oswald Cockayne has published this "glosa" in Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcrufe of Early England (3 Vols.; London: Rolls Series; Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1864), III, pp. 184-197. On the other hand, the second tract (fols. 2v - 3v, "Dietarium Salutissimum") was written by John Lydgate (d. 1449) so it is improbable that the compilation was commenced much before the middle of the fifteenth century. This latter tract was published (again from another source) under the title "Lydgate's Dietary" in Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, ed. Robbins, pp. 73-76.

was only appointed Bishop of London in 1550. We also know that the scribe who copied out the tracts, did not write the list of names: in the tracts, "lond" is invariably used, while in the listing, we find "Northumberland"; and, in addition, the letters "e", "r", and "s" are formed differently by the two scribes. There is also an account listing later in the manuscript (fol. 30r) and this hand exhibits some of the same characteristics as found in the writing of the first addition. The final insertion (fol. 63v) has a date (1610) and a short debt notice which is written in a later hand which demonstrates a rather pronounced Renaissance flourish.\(^4\)

There is some doubt about the manuscript's provenance. The account on fol. 30r suggests that at some time in the sixteenth century, the commonplace book was being used by a man employed by a certain William Watnor,\(^6\) and on fol. 63v, at the top of the page, are two signatures or "pen trials" (Thomas Champe and

\(^4\) Unfortunately, the account lacks details as to the nature of the debt incurred.

\(^5\) Beside the date is written: "The xxv\textsuperscript{th} day of October, Georg Sheffield being movid by Allyn Harrow & Henry Parker to paye Mistress Allen hir x\textsuperscript{li} saide he wolde make hir tarry for a yere dispite of hir."

\(^6\) Above the account is the note: "Recyyyd of my master Wylliam Watnor the sum of iiii\textsuperscript{l}, xiii\textsuperscript{s}, iiiid, and a quarters wagys."
Willyam Davy) which demonstrate that in 1610 the manuscript had, at least, a limited circulation. Outside of this, however, there is little evidence of provenance. The case in which it is preserved bears only the rubric: Stanford Manuscript, circa 1450. This may refer to the library either of Sir Thomas Winnington (1811-1872) at Stanford Court, or to the Stanford Hall library belonging to Lord Braye (1849-1928). But in the "First Report" of The Historical Manuscripts Commission (which lists acquisitions from Stanford Court), and in the "Tenth Report" of the same commission (which should account for the manuscripts of the Stanford Hall library), no mention is made of a manuscript answering this description. Hence, there is no definite evidence of provenance. All that can be said with certainty is that the manuscript was purchased at Sotheby's 12 November, 1929, and thus arrived at the Wellcome library.

The text here presented is a diplomatic transcription of fols. 32r - 37v of Ms. Wellcome 411. Abbreviations have been expanded, and emendations are inserted within square brackets. The actual manuscript reading

is given in the *apparatus criticus*. Marginalia have been incorporated into the main body of the manuscript. Words, diction, capitalization, punctuation, and paragraphing accord with modern usage.
Introduction

It is likely that the astrological-astronomical tract printed here is a compilation which was used by a physician who practised sometime during the late Middle Ages. While there is no evidence as to the identity of the author or his dates, we may be fairly certain of two significant details which are important in an assessment of this text. In the first instance we may point out that an author who could assert that, "þer is no lech in þis worlde þat may truly wite his crafte but yf he haue þe science & þe kunnyng of þis boke", would be substantially in agreement with Chaucer's Doctour of Phisik who could, "spek of phisik and sugerye/ For he was grounded in astronomye."\(^1\) Although it is likely that there is a note of satire in the astrological detail of Chaucer's portrait\(^2\), it is difficult to believe that a medieval audience would have been aware of it: the most eminent medieval doctors, most of whose


writings Chaucer was familiar with, believed firmly in astrological medicine and a declaration of astrological belief usually accompanied the medical tracts which were being circulated at this time. One the other hand, the Christian allegorization of the zodiac is a very unusual feature for a work of this kind, and it is this religious concern which sets this tract apart from the numerous other astrological compilations of the day. By including this strongly religious element in his tract, the author suggests that he shared a general medieval and Renaissance concern to integrate classical knowledge into a Christian scheme, and that, at the same time, he recognized a need to justify his professional dependence on a science which had retained most of its pagan associations.

This introduction will restrict itself to three major concerns which must be considered to establish the tract's cultural context: in the first instance it will discuss the medieval West's attitude towards astrology; secondly, the allegorization of the zodiac will be examined; and finally, it will attempt to

relate the present tract, in terms of probable audience, to other astrological-medical compilations of the later Middle Ages.

**Astrology in the Middle Ages**

One of the earliest and most influential medieval definitions of astrology is that offered in the seventh century *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville:

> There is ... a difference between astronomy and astrology. For astronomy includes the revolutions of the heavens, the rising, setting, and movement of the stars from which it derives its name. Astrology, however, is partly a natural [science] and partly a superstition. The scientific part is that which investigates the course of the sun and the moon and the times and the positions of the fixed stars. The superstitious part, however, is that which is practised by the mathematicians who make auguries from the heavens and who assign twelve heavenly signs to each soul or each member of the body, and from the courses of the stars, they attempt to predict the nativities and characters of men.⁴

Isidore's definition, which seems more concerned to

⁴ "Inter Astronomiam autem et Astrologiarum aliquid differt. Nam Astronomia caeli conversionem, ortus, obitus motusque siderum continet, vel qua ex causa ita vocentur. Astrologia vero partim naturalis, partim superstitionis est. Naturalis, dum exequitur solis et lunae cursus, vel stellarum certas temporum stationes. Superstitionis vero est illa quam mathematici sequuntur, qui in stellis auguriantur, quique etiam duodecim caeli signa per singula animae vel corporis membra disponunt, siderumque cursu nativitates hominum et mores praedicare conantur."

attack divination or judicial astrology than to actually distinguish between astrology and astronomy, seems to allow a certain amount of legitimacy to the study of astral motions. Indeed, when he later discusses medicine, Isidore confirms that he is a little less than certain where the dividing line between the two sciences lies:

Finally, the doctor will have the knowledge of astronomy, by which is studied the rationale of the stars and the changes of the seasons. For just as a certain physician affirms, their influences and qualities modify our bodies.  

Considering the popularity and prestige of Isidore's work, it seems fair to deduce that even for the theologians and scholars of the medieval centuries there was a certain amount of overlapping of the two sciences. As astronomy and astrology had common


6. Hugh of St. Victor, probably following Isidore's definition, distinguishes between natural and superstitious astrology and then goes on to state that, "it is natural as it concerns the temper or 'complexion' of physical things, like health, illness, storm, calm, productivity, and unproductivity, which vary with the mutual alignments of the astral bodies; but superstitious as it concerns chance happenings or things subject to free choice." The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor, trans. Jerome Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), Bk. II, chap. 10, p. 68.
origins in the ancient world, the early Church had a great deal of difficulty making certain that the prestige of the superstitious science did not rise with that of the natural: the Paschal controversy and the general need for reformation of the calendar assured astronomy of a respectful audience, and it became increasingly difficult as the centuries passed and the astrological authorities multiplied to persuade the faithful that the position of the planets bore no relation to life on earth. Therefore, astrology, along with astronomy, became an important element in medieval science, religion, medicine, and art.

It was not, however, until the late Middle Ages that astrology became a truly accepted area of study and an important force in medieval culture. Before then, the medieval Christian had a fairly extensive astrological-astronomical library available to him,

7. Origen, in a letter to Gregory of Neocaesarea, suggests that a man should study astronomy because it is helpful for the interpretation of Holy Scripture. ("Epistola ad Gregorium", Patrologia Graeco-Latina, XI, col. 87). In the sixth century, Cassiodorus included astronomical studies in the quadrivium. (De artibus ac disciplinis liberalium litterarum, Patrologia Latina, LXX, col. 1216-20).

8. Available astrological and astronomical texts included: Plato's Timaeus, Cicero's In somnum Scipionis, Boethius' The Consolation of Philosophy, Martianus Capella's De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, Firmicus Maternus' Mathesis, Macrobius' In somnum Scipionis, Chalcidius' commentary on Timaeus, Aratus' Phenomena (available to the West in a slightly altered form through Germanicus Caesar's Latin translation), Manilius' Astronomicon, Hyginus' De astrologia, Pliny's Natural
but because astrology was still considered a diabolical science, his enthusiasm remained necessarily subdued. The recovery of Aristotle's De coelo, Metaphysics, De generacione et corruptione, Meteorologica, and Ptolemy's Almagest and Tetrabiblos in the twelfth century, 11

History, Isidore's Etymologiarum sive originum, and De natura rerum, and Bede's De rerum natura and De temporum ratione. Also very much responsible for keeping the population aware of the basic tenets of astrology was the Patristic literature: the "pagan science" was a favourite subject to attack, but the polemic usually included a detailed listing of the false beliefs. Hyppolytus, for example, gives a summary of the personalities produced by astral influence even though he condemns this sort of belief. The Refutation of all Heresies, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, V, pp. 32-34.

9. One of the most powerful arguments used by the Church was the one which associated astrology with Satan. The apocryphal Book of Enoch had stated that astrology had been taught to mankind by the fallen angels (I Enoch 8:3), and Tertullian (On Idolatry, chap. ix) and Lactantius (The Divine Institutes, II, chap. xvii) restated this theory in the early Christian centuries.

10. Lynn Thorndyke, in A History of Magic and Experimental Science (8 Vols.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1923-1958), I, pp. 690-691, has demonstrated quite clearly that astrology was not forgotten during the Middle Ages. He would disagree very strongly with T.O. Wedel's remark that, "From the time of Isidore to the middle of the twelfth century, astrology... lived only in the form of an academic discussion." The Medieval Attitude Towards Astrology (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), p. 40.

11. These texts were preserved by the Arabs and translated from Greek into Arabic. When the Christians reconquered Toledo, Cordova, and Sicily, western scholars such as Gerard of Cremona and Adelard of Bath studied and translated the Greek works and transmitted them to central Europe and England. See note 1, page 1.
however, changed all this: the "auctoritas" of these authors brought fresh attention to astrology and gave it the scientific prestige which was all it needed to flourish. Astrology, therefore, assumed a very influential position, and found itself integrated into Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologica*, Albertus Magnus' theological and scientific writings, and the more "popular" encyclopedias such as Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum*.

**Allegorization of the Zodiac**

The status achieved by astrology presented a number of problems, not the least of which was the fact that though the "pagan science" had been adopted into the Christian scheme, it retained almost all of its classical trappings: while the Greek and Roman deities were eclipsed on one side by the Trinity and the new saints and martyrs of the Christian era, they had also been given a form of permanence and honour by finding themselves absorbed into the titles given to the stars, the constellations,

12. Fritz Saxl, in a lecture entitled, "The Belief in Stars in the Twelfth Century", *Lectures* (2 Vols.; London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1957), I, pp. 89-90, relates that when in 1186 all the planets met in one and the same sign of the zodiac, the Archbishop of Canterbury ordered a three day's fast in an attempt to avert the disastrous effects that had been predicted.
the months, and the days of the week. The medieval Christian, who had been taught earlier that the classical deities were merely ancient heroes raised to the rank of gods,¹³ became very alarmed as he realized that, "The stars are alive: they have a recognized appearance, a sex, a character, which their names alone suffice to evoke."¹⁴ Therefore, the pagan gods were thought to be decisively defeated, but at the same time medieval man was occupied in trying to discover the planet (and the god who was still integrally connected with it) which would be most propitiously inclined towards him. Theologians were quick to discern this danger and we therefore find the Middle Ages attempting to expunge the pagan influence either by altering the names, or by Christianizing or moralizing ideas and phenomena.¹⁵ Boethius,

¹³. The "euhemeristic" argument is clearly enunciated in Lactantius' The Divine Institutes, I, chaps. xiv-xviii. See also page 11, note 10. A tradition which at least explained the "vital" nature of the planets was the one which identified the pagan gods with the fallen angels (I Cor. 10:20, and restated by Augustine, Ennarrationes in Psalms, Psalm 96).
in his sixth century The Consolation of Philosophy, admits the possibility that fate is carried out by the motion of the stars, by the whole activity of nature, or by angelic virtue or diabolical cleverness, but he also points out that fate itself is subject to God's providence. In the second century, Tertullian expressed dissatisfaction with the pagan "formalities" which were carried over into the Christian era, and, in the fourth century, new designations for the days of the week (feria prima, feria secunda, feria tercia, etc.) were adopted into the Latin liturgy; however, these were not welcomed by either the general population or the scholars, and therefore, Isidore, in the seventh century and Bede in the ninth still employ the mythological names with reluctance. In much the same way, we also find pagan gods renamed so as to conform with the established religion: in the thirteenth century, an abbot of St. Etienne in Caen directed that the following words be inscribed around a cupid: "Ecce mitto angelum meum"; and on a seal of the chapter of Notre Dame at Noyon of 1296, "Ave Maria gratia plena", was

16. The Consolation of Philosophy, Bk. IV, pr. 6.
17. Seznec, Pagan Gods, p. 43. Tertullian was generally concerned about the number of pagan elements in Christian culture. See On Idolatry, Patrologia Latina, I, chap. xxi, col. 769.
inscribed around a Minerva. But probably more important for this study, Christine of Pisa, significantly the daughter of a fifteenth century court astrologer and physician, allegorized Mercury and Mars as Christ, Jupiter and Saturn as Christian knights, Venus as the vain love which

21. R. Wittkower, "Transformations of Minerva in Renaissance Imagery", Journal of the Warburg Institute, II (1938-39), p. 109. A cautionary note might be appropriate here. Many examples of what appear to be "pure examples" of Christianization of the Greek gods (e.g. at the Campanile in Florence, dressed in a monk's robes, with a chalice in one hand and a cross in the other, sits Jupiter; in the Capella degli Spagnuoli in Florence, Mercury has assumed the likeness of a scribe; and in a fourteenth century illustration for Michael Scot's Liber introductorius, Mercury appears as bishop with mitre and crosier) actually descend from a very complex lineage. Apparently, when the the Arabic illustrators were working from the Greek texts they were generally indifferent to the descriptions of the Hellenistic gods and therefore modified the details so as to reflect in reality the Babylonian gods Nebo (Mercury), Marduk (Jupiter), Ninib (Mars), Ishtar (Venus), and Nergal (Saturn). Nebo, therefore, who in Eastern art carries a book and is a scholar, becomes Westernized in one case as a bishop, and in another, a clerk. With Jupiter, we again find that a literary rather than representational source is responsible: the Arabic Ghâya (widely known in the Christian world under the title Picatrix) states that Jupiter is the ruler of the Western countries, and that his followers should, "Be humble and modest, dressed in the manner of monks and Christians, for he is their patron; act in every way as the Christians do, and wear their costume: a yellow mantle, a girdle, and a cross." Cited by Seznec, Pagan Gods, pp. 162-163. For the above discussion I am generally indebted to Seznec, pp. 149-163, and F. Saxl, "Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Planetendarstellungen im Orient und Occident", Der Islam, III (1912), pp. 151-177.
turns men from caritas, Apollo as good counsel, and Phoebe as the fool who is as inconstant as the moon. In this context it is small wonder that the signs of the zodiac, which according to Emile Mâle so often decorated the pavements and tympana of medieval churches, also became subject to "interpretatio Christiana".

In his edition of Opicinus de Canistris' drawings, Richard Solomon notes that in the Carolingian period a man going under the name of

22. The Epistle of Othea to Hector, ed. J. D. Gordon (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1942), Fables 6-13, pp. 22-31. I have been unable to secure a more accessible edition of this text.


24. Richard G. Solomon, Opicinus de Canistris (2 Vols.; London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1936), Ia, p. 120.

25. The date seems significant for, "According to the most recent investigations it was in the Carolingian period that classical personifications ... were permitted not only to proliferate in illustrations of the Octateuch and the Psalter (where they had played a rather modest role in Early Christian art) but also to invade the Passion of Christ, where, so far as we know, they had not been tolerated before at all." Panofsky, Renaissance and Renascences, pp. 51-52.
"Hirenicus" wrote a poem on the zodiac wherein he attempts to adjust the signs to Christian symbolism:

\[
\text{igitur non torvus fronte vel cervice tumidus}
\text{Noster taurus est putans, non minax, sed optimus}
\text{Dulcis, blandus atque mitis atque suavis vitulus...}
\]

Solomon, however, seems unaware that this poem is primarily a reworking of St. Zeno's fourth century allegory of the zodiac:

\[
\text{Idem non tumidus cervice, non torvus fronte, non minax cornu Taurus, sed optimus, dulcis, blandus ac mitis vos admonet Vitulus ....}
\]

Also, around the eleventh century, the Anglo-Norman poet Philipe de Thaün wrote an allegory of the zodiac in which Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Virgo, Capricorn, and Pisces signify Jesus; Cancer, Leo, Scorpio, and

26. Dr. C. H. Talbot, in a private letter to the writer, suggested that "Hirenicus" was probably one of the Irish (Eire) scholars who worked in Europe during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries.


28. Zeno, "Tractatus XLIII", Patrologia Latina, XI, col. 495. The other signs are allegorized as follows: Aries, Jesus; Virgo, Virgin Mary; Libra, the new justice brought by Jesus; Scorpio, the serpent to be trampled underfoot; Leo, Judah; Sagittarius, the militant Christian; Gemini, the two Testaments; Capricorn, the Devil; Aquarius and Pisces, figures for the sacrament of Baptism; and Cancer, idolatry.
Sagittarius, God; and Aquarius becomes a symbol for the Holy Ghost.\textsuperscript{29} However, both of these allegories were independent of the one included in this manuscript. Solomon does, though, mention a ninth century manuscript (now preserved in the abbey of St. Gall), which contains the allegory which is almost identical to the one in Wellcome 411.\textsuperscript{30} The same allegory is also found in the Glossa of Bridifethus (or Byrhtferth) of Ramsey Abbey\textsuperscript{31} which is appended to Bede's De temporum ratione:

\begin{quote}
Aries, Abraham, pro eo quod arietem Domino obtulit pro Isaac frio suo. Taurus, Jacob, qui
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{29} Eduard Mull, ed., \textit{Li cumpoz Philipe de Thaün} (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1875), pp. 50-63.

\textsuperscript{30} Solomon, \textit{Opicinus de Canistris}, p. 120-121.

The St. Gall manuscript is described inaccurately in Seznec's \textit{Pagan Gods}, pp. 50-51.

\textsuperscript{31} Byrhtferth lived in the tenth and eleventh century at Ramsey Abbey in Huntingdonshire. This allegory was not included in the "handboc" of astrological and astronomical lore published under the title, \textit{Byrhtferth's Manual} (ed. S.J. Crawford [London: Oxford University Press; Early English Text Society, O. S. 177, 1929]). It would be interesting to attempt to trace this allegory's route to England. One might suggest, for example, that when Abbo of Fleury was brought to Ramsey he might have brought a copy of the St. Gall tract with him. If Abbo actually did bring a copy of the manuscript, it is likely that his most distinguished student, Byrhtferth, would have seen it. For a brief discussion of Abbo and Byrhtferth, see Dom David Knowles' \textit{The Monastic Order in England} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), pp. 46-47. In any event, St. Gall was one of the intellectual centres of the time and it could be expected that a large number of visitors might copy tracts from its library.

It seems strange, however, that in an age so fond of "interpretatio Christiana" such a small number of these allegories of the zodiac survive. It is probable that the reason for this is that the fourth century Priscillianists related the twelve signs of the zodiac to the twelve patriarchs, and a special canon at the council of Braga, in 561, was pronounced against them:

Si qui duodecim signa, quae mathematici observare solent, per singula animae vel corporis membra disposita credunt, et nominibus patriarchum adscripta dicunt, sicut Priscillianus dixit, anathema sint.33

32. Bridiferti-Rames "Glossa" on Bede's De temporum ratione, Patrologia Latina, XC, col. 361. In the allegory of Wellcome 411, Capricorn is, "clepid þe signe of a gote, forasmych as þe Iewys lost þe blessyng of Crist."

(xxiv)

The Audience

It should be emphasized that in practice, as well as in theory, astrology was at this time inseparable from medicine; every physician needed his star charts because no treatment could be prescribed without astrological considerations. 34 C.H. Talbot, when discussing the "vade mecum" (the folding astrological chart characteristically hanging at the belt of the general practitioner) best sums up the medieval physician's attitude:

The importance accorded to astrology... need not astonish the reader. Viewed against the background of popular medicine, of charmed potions, amulets, magical incantations and the like, this astrological medicine presented an aspect of precise and co-ordinated knowledge based on an accurate, determined, and predictable order of the heavens. It was "scientific" in that it was based on principles elaborated during classical times and handed down almost unchanged in the later centuries. 35

The principles to which Dr. Talbot refers formed the basis of all medical and astronomical-astrological texts of the Middle Ages: these treatises are usually

34. Eventually statutes were enacted requiring every doctor to consult astrological tables before letting blood. For a discussion of phlebotomy, and for several blood-letting tracts, see C.H. Talbot, Medicine in Medieval England (London: Oldbourne Book Co. Ltd., 1967), pp. 127-131.
not to be differentiated through divergence on major points (many of these points had, by this time, been accepted); rather it is usually a matter of comparing the tracts in terms of the scarcity or abundance of added detail which the author may, or may not, have gleaned from theological, secular, or pagan "philosophers". If, for example, we examine some encyclopedias such as Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum*, we will find that those parts which deal with cosmology and medical science are organized in a fairly standardized system which sets up a sympathetic relationship between man and the universe: man is a microcosm composed, like the macrocosm, of four vital elements (fire, air, water, and earth) with four qualities (hot and dry, hot and moist, cold and moist, and cold and dry) and four humours (choler or yellow bile, blood, phlegm, and black bile) which through imbalance and the resulting predominance of one fluid over the others precipitate four characteristic temperaments (choleric, sanguine, phlegmatic, and melancholic) which correspond to various planets and signs of the zodiac which influence, but do not determine, his inner organs and general fortune. The author, however, could, and usually did, incorporate into his tract an enormous number of details, such as Dionysius the pseudo-Areopagite's account of the
hierarchy of the angels, the tabulation of the
different celestial spheres (derived from Aristotle,
through Ptolemy and his Arabic and Christian
commentators); the more scientific explanation of the
movement of the stars and the theory of the epicycle;
"nativities" in terms of days of the week, days of
the month, and months of the year; star charts; rules
of phlebotomy; and general medical advice. If the
author proposed to follow in the footsteps of
Bartholomaeus Anglicus, he could then go on to zoological
and botanical studies.

With the exception of the allegorized zodiac and
its predictions, the additions made by the author of
the present text are fairly commonplace: the dialogue
on the merits of astrology which takes place between
the two philosophers, the description of "be cours of
be reyning of be vii planetes", and the nativities
according to the days of the week are to be found in
a great number of late medieval and early Renaissance
manuscripts. It is, therefore, difficult to date this
tract's original composition with much accuracy.
Nevertheless, whether it was compiled in the early
thirteenth or middle fifteenth century, we can be fairly
certain that the description of the universe which the
tract offers would not be considered out of date at the
time it was copied into Wellcome 411: the cosmology
is derived from the still influential Ptolemaic theories,
and although no explanation is given for their inclusion,
the tract also lists the "extra spheres" postulated by
the latest cosmological theories; a clear account of
the elements, humours, and vital fluids is offered;
it proposes what to some would be a very satisfying
fusion of pagan and Christian knowledge; and it concludes
with some rather elementary directions for determining
a "nativity". All of these things would ensure it an
interested audience in the late Middle Ages and early
Renaissance. It is doubtful, however, that the
astrological information would be well received by
the university trained physician of the day. Dr. Talbot,
when discussing the medical uses of astrology, states
that:

When the system reached its highest perfection
during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth
centuries, exact calculations by precision
instruments, similar to those of the astronomers
and navigators, were employed, and many of these
physicians' manuscripts contained a volvella
with adjustable parts to enable him to work out
these calculations with extraordinary accuracy.

Therefore, while it is quite likely that medical men
in general would value the allegorical justification

of their astrological practices, it is difficult to believe that a skilled fifteenth century physician would be much interested in the very elementary introduction to "nativities". On the other hand, though, the less trained general practitioner would still find that the tract was useful for determining the horoscopes which were so important for a proper diagnosis, and we might expect that until, at least, the end of the sixteenth century it would be considered a good practical astrological text. In conclusion then we may tentatively state that the tract would find an interested audience from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century but would probably have only limited appeal to those whose astrological training had been acquired in the universities.
Here bygyneth be boke of astronomy [fol. 32r]
& of filosofye conteyned & ymade of be wysest filosofers & astro[n]ymers bat eu er were syb be worlde was begun. *bat* is for 5 to say, of be lond of Greke, for in bat lond an Ynglyshman full wyse & wel vnder- stonde of filosofy & of astronomye studyed & compiled pis boke oute of Gr[e]we into Ynglish graciously. ¹ And *bus* first *pis* 10 boke tellyth hou many heuenysse *per* bene, afyrdwrard he promiciyth & declaryth of be course & be gouernall of be planetes,

ⁱ When Moslem Spain and Sicily were reconquered by the West in the eleventh and twelfth century, a great number of scholars travelled to the Arabic scientific centres of Toledo, Sicily, and Cordova in order to study and translate the Greek texts which had been preserved in Arabic translations. There were many Englishmen amongst them and most of these translators achieved a large degree of renown. The author likely has Adelard of Bath, Robert of Hereford, Alfred of Sareshel, Daniel of Morley, or Robert of Chester in mind, but I have been unable to trace this tract to any of these men. I expect, rather, that we are dealing with a personal compilation of material which could have been taken from any number of contemporary sources, and the ascription of the tract to the learned Englishman in Greece would, therefore, be the author's attempt to add prestige to his work. See George Sarton's Introduction to the History of Science (3 vols.; Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1927-48), II, pp. 153-181; 338-349; 491-495; and 829-834, for excellent biographical and bibliographical information on the twelfth century translators.
afterward of be sygnes & of be sterres of be firmament, afterward of be elementes & be complexiones & of be maneryes of manne, without pe whych, science & knoulych no man may
5 kun, ne com to be perfite wyrkyng of astronomye, fysik, ne surgere, ne of oper sotell science, for per is no lech in his worlde pat may truly wite his crafte but yf he haue pe science & be kunnyng of pis boke.

And hit is to vnderstande pat per be vii heuenys & ix orderis of angelis, & after be day of dome pat per be x orderis as hit was beforne at be begynnyng when God made hem. 2
Ther bene also vii planetes mevyng & wyrkyng

2. Dante, with only slight variations from Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite's On the Celestial Hierarchies, lists the following orders of angels: Seraphim, Cherubim, Powers, Principalities, Virtues, Dominations, Thrones, Arch-angels, and Angels. (Convivio, II, vi). The tenth order was the position left open when Lucifer fell from heaven, and, according to Augustine, "mankind ... having perished without exception under sin, both original and actual, and the consequent punishments, should be in part restored, and should fill up the gap which the rebellion and fall of the devils had left in the company of the angels." (Enchiridion, The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, III, chap. xxix, p. 247) See also The South English Legendary, C. D'Evelyn and A. Mill, eds., Vol. II (London: Early English Text Society, O.S. no. 236; Oxford University Press, 1952), "St. Michael", II, 11. 210-214.
in be vii heuens as hit shall be declared hereafter. And be be vii dayes, be whych hir proper namys be takyn of be vii planetes. 

Pat is to say in Latyn: Sol, Luna, Mars,
5 Mercurius, Iubiter, Venus, Saturnus, [&] on Ynglysh: Sunday, Munday Tuysday, Wendisday, Thursday, Fryday, & Saturday. Also be byth xii sygnes ysett in be vii heuenys, be whych bene for to say in Latyn: Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces. 

Pese xii sygnes ben named after beystes as hit is yshewyd hire in Latyn, 3 but by be wey of filosofye, bey bith lykned to such beystes.  

15 & bey be no more to say on Ynglysh, but be xii partes of be firmament of be which party hath a certayne numbere of sterres assyngned to pem. & pese xii signes ben clypped be

1 as ... hereafter add. in marg.  
2 be add. ñ. l.  
5 Saturnus on Ynglysh Ms.  
13 by add. s. l.  
15 no add. g. l.  
18 pem : hym expunct.

3. This etymology is also mentioned by Chaucer in A Treatise on the Astrolabe, Pt. I, chap. 21.
pe propur hous⁴ of pe vii planetes in pe which pey reste & abyde a certyn tyme as pe constellacoun declaryth. And a planet is for to say in Ynglysh, a stere, pe [fol. 32v]
5 which is dyscordyng from ober sterres in fourmyng & worchyg for he is gretter & more of pouere pen ober ben pat ben lasse. Also per be xii mounthes acordyng to be xii signes in which pese signes reygnen & worchyn.
10 Pat is for to say: March, April, May, Iune, Iuyll, August, Septembre, October, November, December, Ianeuer, Feuerell. & pese xii signes trauelen & workyn togedir in every mounth, but one of pem principally reygneth 15 & hath his domynacoun in his proper mounth. And first of all reygnyth Aries in be mounth of March for in pat sygne God made pe

13 trauelen : e add. s. 1.
16 Aries in marg.
17 March in marg.

4. In astrology, the sky is divided into twelve 30 degree "houses" which correspond to the twelve signs of the zodiac. Each planet has one or two houses or "mansions" wherein his influence is supposed to be greatest. Accordingly, Aries and Scorpio are the houses of Mars; Gemini and Virgo of Mercury; Cancer of the moon; Leo of the sun; Taurus and Libra of Venus; Pisces and Sagittarius of Jupiter; and Capricorn and Aquarius of Saturn. Gower's listing in Confessio amantis, VII, 11. 979-1237, differs slightly, but not significantly, from the above correspondences.
And in his sygne Aries is clepid be sygne of a ram, forasmuch as Abraham made his offryng to God of a ram for his sun Yssac. Whoso is born in his sygne shall be dredefull but he shall be ful of grace.

The second sygne is Taurus & reygneth in

be ful of *add. s. 1.*

Taurus in *marg.*

5. The belief that the creation of the world occurred in Aries (March-April) is reflected in a great deal of medieval literature, and it is stated explicitly in Chaucer ("The Nun's Priest's Tale", ll. 3187-3189), Gower (Confessio amantis, VII, ll. 993-996), and Dante ("Inferno", I, l. 37). In the fourth century, the Nicene Council established Easter as the first Sunday after the vernal equinox. As it was well known from the Gospel accounts that Jesus was crucified at Passover, and that the Hebrews observed Passover as the first day of the New Year on account of Exodus 12:2, "This month will be to you the beginning of months; it shall be the first in the months of the year.", it was generally accepted that the true beginning of the year (and by extension, the world) occurred in Aries. See Dionysius Exiguus' "Epistolae duae de ratione Paschae" (Patrologia Latina, LXVII, cols. 20-23), Bede's *De temporum ratione* (Bedae opera de temporibus, ed. Charles Jones, pp. 285-291), and Aelfric's *De temporibus anni*, ed. H. Henel (London: Early English Text Society, O.S. no. 213; Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. 16-19.

6. As will be readily noticed, most of the prognostications are based upon the Scriptural allegory. It is possible that these are the compiler's personal addition, but as it was not possible for me to examine the manuscript at St. Gall (Solomon only mentions it in passing and offers no details), I have been unable to come to any definite conclusions.
Aprill & is clepid pe sygne of a booll forasmymykel as Iacob wrastilled & strofe with an angell in Bedlem as a booll. Whoso is born in bat sygne shall haue grace of all beystes 5 & of his enmyes, but not of his wyfe.

The iii sygne Gemini reygneth in May & is clepid pe sygne of a man & woman forasmych as Adam & Eue were made & formed of oon kynd. Whoso ys born in pis sygne, pouere & febull 10 he shall be & shall lyue in waylyng & dissese. He shall be bold & a thefe.

The iiii signe Cancer regnyth in Iune & is clepid pe signe of a crab or else a cankere or a worm forasmych as Iob was a lepere 15 & full of cankris through pe [h]ond of God. Whoso is born in pis signe shall be febull, but he shall haue grace both here & in paradyse.

The v signe is Leo [&] regnyth in Iule & is clepid pe signe of a lyon, forasmych as
Daniell be prophete was put into a depe pyt among lyons. Whoso is born in bis signe shall be a strong thefe & an hardy.

The vi signe is Virgo & reynyth in 5 August & is clepid be signe of a mayden for-asmych as our Lady, be blessyd Virgin Seynt Mary, in be byrth, byfore be byrth, & after [fol. 33r] be byrth of Ihesu Crist our Saviour was [a] clene mayde. Whoso is born in bis signe shall 10 be wyse & lettryd & withoute gylte or cause to be blamyd.

The vii signe is Libra & reyneth in Septembre & is clepid be signe of a balaunce for-asmych as Iudas Scarioth made [h]is coun-
15 seyll with be I[e]wes & grantyd them bat bey shuld take Goddes Son of Hevyn. Whoso is born in bis signe shall be a wykkyd man & a tray-
ture. In an evyll deth he shall dye.

The viii signe is Scorpio [&] reynyth

4 Virgo in marg.; is Virgo reynyth Ms.
5 Augus in marg.
8 was clene mayde Ms.
12 Libra in marg.
13 Septembre in marg.
14 is Ms.
15 Iwes Ms.; bey add. in marg.
19 Scorpio in marg.; is Scorpio reynyth Ms.
in October & is clepid be signe of a scorpion forasmych as be children of Israell passid through be Rede See. Whoso is born in pis signe, he shall haue many aungrys & tribulacions.

5 The ix signe is Sagittarius [&] rengnyth in November & is clepid be signe of an archere forasmych as Kyng Dauid faught with Golyas. Whoso is born in pis signe shall be harde & lechorous.

10 The x signe is Capricornus & rengnyth in December, & is clepid be signe of a gote forasmych as be I[e]wys lost be blessyng of Crist. Whoso is born in pis signe shall be rych & lovyng.

15 The xi signe is Aquarius & rengnyth in Ianuare & is clepid be signe of a man heldyng water oute of a pott forasmych as Saynt Iohn Baptiste cristened & baptised Ihesu oure Lorde in Flume Iordayn to fullfyll be New Lawe 20 as hit was His wyll. Whoso is born in pis

1 October in marg.
5 Sagittarius in marg.; is Sagittarius regnyth Ms.
6 November in marg.
10 Capricornus in marg.
11 December in marg.
12 Iwys Ms.
15 Aquarius in marg.
16 Ianuare in marg.
signe shall be negligent & lesyng [h]is pynges.

The xii signe is Pisces & regnyth in Feuerere & is clepid þe signe of fyssh for-

5 asmych as Ionas þe prophete was caste into þe see[&]iii days & iii nyghtes lay in þe wombe of a whale. Whoso is born in þis signe shall be gracious & happy.

Ther be vii planetes as hit is rehersid 10 before, and hit is to vnderstond þat what man is born in one partis of þe day in þe which regnyth any of þe vii planetes, he shall be apt & disposid to good or to evyll after þe influence of þe constellacoun of þe planet in 15 þe which he is born in. But neuerþeless, hit is to knowe þat noon of hem constrynyth a man to do good or evyll.7 Forwhy by a mannys

1 is Ms.
3 Pisces in marg.
4 Feuerere in marg.
6 þe see iii days Ms.

7. The author's statement here reflects the astrologer's dictum, "Astræ inclinant non necessitant." Similar comments are to be found in most medieval astrological treatises. Thomas Aquinas (Summa theologica Ia, Quaestio CXV, art. iv) and Dante ("Purgatory", XVI, ll. 13-17) believe that man should be guided by his higher faculties which are exempt from astral influences. Hence the wise man may resist the astrological effects of the planets.
good fre wyll & grace of God comyng to fore, & by his good lyvyng & preyoures he may do good though all he be [be] disposid to do evyll after be nature & be influence of his planete.

5 In be same maner, evyn contrarye, by a mannes oune fre will & by be covetyng of a mannes fre herte & his yen, he may do evyll thowe he were disposid by his planete to do good. Vppon his oppyneon, a philosophere dysputith with anoper & askyth hym yf mannyys predestynacoun myght stonde by be profe of bis oppynyon, & he provyth bat hit myght stond soth by þese wordes of Paule, as he rehersith in Holy Scripture, "'bat þer be evell days', & be þis hit semyth þat þer

15 be many in þe kalender. Allso hit is declaryd þat þer be many dismalis.9 þat is to say, evill & vngracyous dayes. & þat is soth hit may well be provyd by þe fylosoferes of þe Old Lawe, for

3 all he be disposid Ms.
11 þe: his expunct.
18 be add. s. 1.

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8. The reference seems to be to Ephesians 5:15-16, "See therefore, brethren, how you walk circumspectly: not as unwise, But as wise: redeeming the time, because the days are evil.", or to Ephesians 6:13, "Therefore, take unto you the armour of God, that you may be able to resist in the evil day and to stand in all things perfect."

when men went to a bateyll of yf they sped well & had to victorie, they louyd & sunkyd God & worshipped that day, and yf they were ascumfyted, they made that day a dismale in hire kalendris."

10 Than aansweryd that ober fylosofyre & sayde thus, "that God made all byng good in his kynde withoute faute or lak, as they planetes & the signys, they elementis, they mounthis, & they dayes, man & beest, & all ober thyng benepe hym." & by pis skels, he arguith & sayd, "whan God had made in they begynnynge a seyvn hevenys & x orderes of angelis to gouerne they planetes.11 signes, they elementes, they vii dayes & man after

15 [H]is oune shappe & lyknesse, & afterward in they menetyme that he sate upon they watrys & dyvyded hem & made fish & vouell to mannes fode. & in they x order of they hyest of they x hevenes of they order, Lucifer was chyf next

11 sayd : y add. s. l.; God add. s. l.
15 is Ms.

10. The "euhemeristic" argument was a favourite weapon of the early Christian apologists. For a study of its uses and influence, see J. D. Cooke, "Euhemerism: A Medieval Interpretation of Classical Paganism", Speculum, II (1927), pp. 396-410.

11. Dante also assigns the movement of the spheres to the angels. (Convivio, II, v and vi)
God. Through his hygh pride fyll adoun with many a legyons of his fellowys bat hylde with hym into be deapest pyt of hell and euerych of hem after bat bey had deseruyd. Sum fyll hygher & sum lowere, whereprough be signes & be planetes & be elementes be infecte & corrupte & for his cause sum be euyll & sum be good after be influence & be multitude of be sprytes bat at bat tyme fell adoune 10 oute of be x hevyn or order.\(^{12}\) & by bis

1 is Ms.
9 bat add. in marg.
10 or order add. as l.

12. The tradition that the fallen angels are responsible for the influence of the planets might have been derived from The Book of Enoch 21: 3-6 (trans. R. H. Charles [London: 3. P. C. K., 1917] pp. 46-47):

... I saw seven stars of the heaven bound together ..., like great mountains burning with fire. Then I said: 'For what sin are they bound, and on what account have they been cast in hither?' Then said Uriel, one of the holy angels,.... ' These are the numbers of the stars [of heaven] which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord, and are bound here till ten thousand years, the time entailed by their sins, are consummated.,'

or from the common interpretation of Isaiah 14:12-15 as the fall of Satan. At any rate, in Alan de Insulis' Anticlaudianus (Patrologiae Latinae, ed. Migne, CCX, col. 523) the narrator speaks of seeing the "airish citizens" (serios cives) which he seems to associate with the daemons, and in The House of Fame, II, 11. 925-935, Chaucer apparently repeats the same idea. See Robinson's note to 1. 930 of The House of Fame in his The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. See also Ephesians 2:2.
argument be forsayde filosofof prevyth &
concludith bat mannes predestinacoun is
soth yf hit be well determyd by way of
filosofy.

5 For every man lyvyn is made of iii
pynges in generall. Pat is to say of be vii
planetes, xii sygnes, be iiiii elementes, by
be which he hath his fortune, his goodnyssse,
& hys evyll happe of his maneres & his complect-
10 ione.

For to knowe all be cerclys of be fyrm-
ament, be sterres, hit is to wite pat
hevyn is rounde in be maner of a spere in
be myddes of be which hangyth be erth as a
15 centre of all be worlde. Hevyn is devydid into
xi speres & pat makyth xi neuenes13 as hit is

13. The compiler has not taken care to make certain
that his sources agree. Earlier (p. 2, ll. 10-11, p. 3
l. 8, and p. 11, l. 12) he has stated that there are
only seven heavens. The eleven spheres which he next
describes could have been derived from several sources.
If he is working from a scientific text, it is likely
that he is referring to the spheres postulated by the
thirteenth century Alfonsine Tables (see Pierre Duhem,
II, pp. 259-266), to the eleven spheres suggested by
Albertus Magnus (Duhem, Système, III, p. 338), or to the
De sphærae of John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury from
1279-92 (Lynn Thorndyke, The Sphere of Sacrobosco and its
Commentators [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press,
1949], p. 448) which actually refers to the extra sphere
as "celum inter cristalimum et empyreum". On the other
hand, considering that the author does not explain the
purpose of the eleventh sphere, he might just as easily
be working from an earlier and less scientific treatise
such as Honorius of Autun's twelfth century De imagine
aforsayde by be filosofre, of be which
fyrst & hyghest is clepid in Latyn, Celum
Emperium Fixum et Im[mut]atum, in be which
is be trone of oure Sauyour & hit is be place
5 of God & of Holy Seyntes. The x spere is
clepid in Latyn, Celum Inter Cristallinum
et Emperium. The ix spere is clepid in
Latyn, Celum Cristalinum vel Applanes, pat
is vnmevable. The viii spere is clepid in
10 Latyn, Celum Signorum et Siderum, in be
which is set xii signes with all be sterres
& pat spere is moueable & is clepid in
Latyn Primum Mobile of wyse filosoferes

1 by be filosofre add. s. l.
3 Imuatum Ms.

mundi which posits eleven heavens for apparently theological
purposes (Patrologia Latina, CLXXII, col. 146). Honorius' work formed the basis for Gossuin's (or Gautier's) thir-
teenth century L'Image du Monde which eventually became
so popular in England that Caxton translated and printed
it in 1480 as The Mirrour of the World.

14. The Greek word "applanes" had two possible mean-
ings in the Middle Ages. Our author has accepted the
primary sense of "not wandering". E.R. Curtius (European
Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. W.R. Trask
[Harper Torchbooks; New York: Harper & Row, Publishers,
1963] pp. 110-111), points out that the word was used in
Bernard Silvestris' De universitate mundi and in Macrobius' In
sonnium Scipionis and that in these works "aplanes" or
"aplanon" means "immutable" (because composed of the
fifth element). If the ninth sphere is, in fact, immovable,
then it suggests that our author is not working from a
scientific source because this sphere was proposed by
astronomers to account for peculiar motions of the planets.
in hire bokys. The vii spere is clepid in Latyn, Celum Saturni & is pe first of pe vii planetes in pe which hevyn Satyrne dwellyth & goith onys aboute in xxxti wynter.

5 & Saturne is a planete malyvoll & wykkyd, cold & dry, & perfore he is set hyghest of all his fellowys, for yf he stode lowyst as pe mo[on]n doith, he shuld destroye man & beest & all pe frutis growyng vpon pe erth.

10 To pe which [Saturne] be yordeyned of kynde pese v pynges: bat is to saye malencoly, colde, horenys, & cold wyndes & drye as pe norben wyndes ben on erth. The vi spere is [fol. 34v] clepid Celum Iouis in pe which regnyth

15 Iubiter & goith aboute onys in xii yere, & is a planet benevoull & good, hote & moyste mesurably to whom bith ordeyned blod, warrs,16

2-3 is pe first of pe vii planetes

add. in marg.; hevyn add. in marg.

8 moon : moyn. y expunct. et o add.
10 To pe which be yordeyned Ms.

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15. If the author was attempting to give a scientific description of the spheres, he should have placed the Primum Mobile directly beneath the Celum Emperium.

yought & ayer. The v spere is clepid Celum Martis in pe which Mars dwellyth & goyth aboute in ii yere & bis planet is hote & drye to whom ben ordeyned colere, yought & fyer. The iii spere is clepid Celum Solis in pe which Sol dwellyth & goyth aboute onys in ccclxv dayes & vi oures. & bis spere of fylosopheres in diuerse placis hath dyuerse namys. Sum clepith hit in Latyn: Zodiacus; sum Circulus Animalium; sum Circulus Generaconis & Corrupcounis; and sum callith hit Circulus Obliquus. In pe myddes of bis zodiac goyth pe son euer more in such a lyne pe which is clepid in Latyn, ecliptica, in pe hed or in pe tayle of a dragon, & yf pe son be evyn for

4 yought : t add. s. l.
13 which add. in marg.

in "The Knight's Tale" (ll. 2438-2442), concurs when he depicts Jupiter as one who tries to make peace between Venus and Mars.

17. As the author has already stated (p. 14, ll. 9-11), the zodiac should be assigned to the eighth sphere. His error, however, was probably quite common for we find John of Sacroboso (Thorndyke, The Sphere of Sacroboso, p. 125) and Macrobius (In somnium Scipionis, Bk. I, chap. xxii) warning that when it is said that a planet is in a sign of the zodiac what is really meant is that the planet is beneath the sign.

18. The "dragon's head" and the "dragon's tail" are respectively the moon's north node and south node. The nodes are points in the orbit of a planet where it crosses the ecliptic.
ayens hit on be tober syde ban fallyth be
clypse of be mone throughoute be worlde.
Wherefore hit shewyth bat be clypse of be
mone is not else but an interposicion of
5 be erth bytwynte be son & be mone of be
erth. The iii spere is clypped Celum
Veneris in be which allwey goith Venus
& goyth aboute onys in ccc & xxxix dayes,
& he is a planet colde & moyst in mesure
10 to whom be ordeyned fleume, wynter, water,
childehode. The ii spere is clypped Celum
Mercurii in be which pis planet, Mercurii,
dellyth & cerclyth onys aboute in xxxix
dayes. Mercurii is a planet both colde &
15 hote with ober planetes & so to every
complexion he may be lykenyd. The last
spere of all & next be [eyrth of all be vii
planetes is be spere of be mone & is clepid
in Latyn, Celum Lune, & pis planet is ordeyned
20 be kynde fleume, childehode, & water.

14  cold colde : cold expunct.
17 yerth Ms.; vii add. s. l.

19. The author has given the moon's attributes to Venus. As the patroness of lovers, Venus, like Jupiter, was traditionally thought to be hot and moist, and her realm of influence included blood, youth, and spring. The repetition that we find in ll. 10-11 and 20, suggests that the author is transcribing and has skipped a few lines.
Nowe hit is to wite pat ber be iiii elementis. Pat is to say: fyere, eyere, water, & eyrth. And first be spere of fyer is hyghest & in kynde hote & dry & makyth red blod colire & pyn & engendryth sykness of be feuer tercian\(^{20}\) and be agu in somertyme aboute myd ouernoyn. The ii is be spere of be eyre, be which is hote & moyste in kynd & gendrith red blod sanguyn & pyk & engendryth of kynd evell be which is clepid in Latyn, sinocus & sinoca of be filth & corupcoun of be blode.\(^{21}\) The iiii spere of be water be which is cold & moyste & makyth of kynd pale blod, fleumatik & watry aboue.

The iiii spere is of be erth be which is in kynde colde & drye & yeldyth blak blod,

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20. As the name implies, the fever tercian recurred every third or alternate day. See Pertelote's diagnosis of Chauntecleer's condition in "The Nun's Priest's Tale", 11. 2955-2960. See also W. C. Curry's analysis of this passage in his Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences (2nd ed.; London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1960), pp. 222-227.

21. Sinoculus, or continual fever, occurred when fumes from the blood rose to the heart. See Bartholomaeus Anglicus, De proprietatibus rerum, trans. John Trevisa (Westminster, 1495), Bk. VII, chap. xli, for a description of symptoms and causes.
malencole, & a party watrye. & pis is be
last element, erth & lowest, for it is hangyng
& mevyng in be myddell of be round speres of
be fyrmament as a centry pat is set in be
myddes of a cercle. & pis element erth is
round as all ober be in be which mydes of
be erth is be pytt of Hell ryght as a blak
kernall lyth in be mydes of an appel. As
Holy Writt sayth & declaryth, "After be day
of dome all pyng shall be remayd & pis for-
sayde element erth shall be a all sybis
bryghter pan any any cristall or precyous
stone"22 so fer forth pat pey in be peynes
of Hell shall see euermore through be
bryghtnysse of pis element be erth all be
ioys of Hevyn, & pat syght shall be more
payn to bem pen all be peynes of Hell.

Nowe hit is to vnderstand pat every man
lyvyng here in erth hath iiii complexions with
hym. Pat is to say: coler, sanguyne, fleume,
& malyncole, withoute be which he may not
lyue. Neuerbelatter, though every man haue

11 all : l add. s. l.

22. The substance of the passage comes from
Rev.21:10-11.
all pese iiiii yet he hath one complexion pat
hath dominacion of hym & mastry by be which
every man is rulyd & gouernyd in kynde. As
sum men haue most of colore pey be in complexion
5 coleryk men for pey haue so mych of colore
hire blod is red & pyn. Sum men haue most of
bloed & pey be in complexion sanguyn & hire
bloed is pyk & red. Sum men haue most of    [fol. 35v]
fleume & pey be in complexion fleumatik &
10 hire blod is pale & watrye & apartky pyn.
Sum men haue most of malencoly & hir blod is
blak & pyk in kynde. And pese iiiii complexion
in all pynges ben acordying in kynde to be iiiii
elementys. pat is to say pe first complexion

8 Sanguineus: Largus, amans, hilaris, ridens,
rubeique coloris; / Cantans, carnosus, satis audax,
atque benignus. / Colericus: Hirsutus, fallax,
irasens, prodigus, audax; / Astutus, gracilis,
siccus, croceique coloris. / Fleumaticus: Hic somno-
lentus, piger, in sputamine multus; / Ebne huic
sensus, pinguis facie, color albus. / Malancolicus:
Inuidus et tristis, cupidus dextreque tenaci,
Non expers fraudis, timidus luteique coloris. /
in marg.23
14 first add. in marg.

23. These mnemonic verses are from the anonymous
Regimen Salernitanum. (See Salvatore De Renzi, ed.,
Collectio Salernitana [5 Vols.; Naples: Filiatre-
Sebizio, 1859], V, "Flos Medicinae Scholae Salerni",
chap. v, pp. 48-49) The verses apparently originated
in the thirteenth century in Salerno, and were "... quoted almost ad nauseam until relatively recent times ..."] (R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky, and F. Saxl, Saturn
and Melancholy [London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd.,
1964], p. 114.)
is color & hit is in kynd hote & dry acordynge to be element of fyer and he bat is of his complexion bycause of hete hym lustith mych and because of dryeth he may lytell. The ii complexion is sanguen & hit is in kynd hote & moyste acordynge to be element of pe eyer. Hoso is of his complexion bycause of hotnyssse hym lystith mykell & bycause of moystenysse he may mykyll in kynde. The iii complexion is fleume & hit is in kynde cold & moyst acordynge to be element of water. Hoso is of his complexion, bycause of his coldenysse he may mykyll. The iiiii complexion is malencoly

24. Gower (Confessio amantis, VII, ll. 405-440) also associates the complexions with varying degrees of proficiency in love-making. Macaulay (Works of Gower, II, pp. 523-524) suggested in a note to Gower's lines that the sexual applications were probably the poet's own addition; however G. L. Hamilton ("Some Sources of the Seventh Book of Gower's Confessio Amantis", Modern Philology, IX [1911-1912], pp. 12-14), demonstrates that Gower's lines are probably indebted to similar ones in Jofroi's French version of the Secreta Secretorum (Robert Steele, ed. Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum [London: Early English Text Society, E.S. no. 74; Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1898], p. 66) However, Jofroi's version says nothing of sexual ability or inability for the melancholic man whereas both Gower and the Wellcome text do. As I have examined each of these last two mentioned works carefully and found no evidence for believing that one served as a source for the other, I am led to believe that the "sexual application" was not as limited as Macaulay and Hamilton seem to suggest.
& hit is in kynde dry & colde acordynge to
be element of be erth. Hos is of pis com-
pexion because of coldnesse hym lystith
lytell & bycause of drynesse he may lytell.

5 Nowe I shall declare & determ[yn]e be
cours of be reynyng of be vii planetes. &
first hit is to knowe pat be naturall day
begynnyth in be mornyng & duryth into be
mornyng of be next day suyng & pat is xxiiii
10 oures & every planet reynyth ivi oures & a
poynt of be day & of be nyght be same & pat
makyth xxxi oures.²⁵ And hit is also to
vnderstonde pat every planet reynyth by

5 determe Ms.; dies naturalis in marg.

²⁵. Actually, the planetary hours were supposed
to correspond to the "inequal hours" of the "artificial"
day and night. The artificial day is reckoned from
sunrise to sunset and the artificial night from sunset
to sunrise. Together they will equal twenty-four hours.
However, to determine the astrological hours, these
artificial days and nights were each divided into
twelve hours so, obviously, the hours were unequal
except just at the equinox. An explanation of the
astrological hours of the planets is included in
Chaucer's A Treatise on the Astrolabe, Pt. II, chaps.
7, 10, and 12. In "The Knight's Tale", Chaucer has
Palamon, Arcite, and Emelye praying to Venus, Mars,
and Diana in the proper astrological hour for each
planet, and he thereby shifts the emphasis from the
power of the pagan gods to the planetary influences.
See Curry, Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences, pp.
119-149.
estymacion as long tyme as a good redere
& deuoute shall reed twyes pe vii Salmys with
pe Letanye, & perfore ysay as by reule pat
hit fallyth be estymacion, & forasmych as
5 every man hath not pe astrolaby perfore is
a mesor, or tyme, or a space set pat men
moo lyghtly knowe pe oures of pe planetes.

First bygynnyth pe sunne to reyne in his
cune day. Pat is for to say, pe Sunday in pe
10 morning of pe day & reynyth as for pe tyme
as hit is aforesayde. Afterward, Venus as [fol. 36r]
long, Mercurye as long, pe mone as long,
Saturne as long, Iubiter as long, Mars as
long — be which ben vii oures with hire
15 vii poyntes & po vii poyntes makyn an oure.
Allso pe sunne reynyth in his cune day in
pe viii oure, ben Venus, Mercurius, Luna,
Saturnus, Iubiter, Mars, and so pey haue reynyd
xiii oures and with hir poyntes, pey make xvi
20 oures. Allso pe sunne eftesonys reynyth in
pe xvii oure [&] afterward Venus, Mercurius,
Luna, Saturnus, Iubiter, Mars, & whan all
pese vii oures with pere poyntes ben contayned

10 for pe add. s. l.
21 oure afterward Ms.
23 ben add. s. l.

26. i.e. approximately one hour
togedir pen is per xxiiii oures in be naturall day. And afterward Luna reynyth, 27 pen Saturne, Iubiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercurius, & so forth oure after oure with hire poyntes. & so haue pe vii planetes reynyd vii dayes euerych in be naturall day iii oures & a poynt pe which makyn xxiiii oures.

And hit is to vnderstende pat per be too maner of dayes, pe artificial & pe naturall. The artificial lastith from pe sunne whan hit is in pe est tyll hit be doune in pe west; pe naturall day lastith xxiiii oures, pat is to say, all pe nyght & all pe day. Hit is to wite allso pat yf pe planetes reynyd not retrograde as hit is for-sayde, pey might neuer be made even as by hire course.

Now hit ys to declare & to determyn of pe vii planetes & pe oures of pem which ben

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27. If the author had based his calculations on the unequal hours of the artificial day, Luna would have followed naturally as the first hour of Monday. As is stated in the paragraph which follows (p. 24. ll. 14-17), the planets were listed in retrograde order for this express purpose.
good & which ben evill, and in pe which hit is to begyn any worke or crafte or any sutyll science pat longyth to fyllosofy whiper hit be good or evyll. Wherefore hit is to knowe bat pe Sunday is benevoll & profitable & holsum to do all maner of science & cunningg pat longyth to goodnesse, loue, or grace. Allso hit is profitable to bygyn a iornay, a pilgramage, or any long way. Pat is for [to]

say pe first oure of pe Sunday for pen reynyth pe sunne. Pe secund oure of pe same day is pe oure of pe planet Venus pe which is ioyned to Mercurie & pat is evyll also & perlous. 28 Pe iii is Mercurye & is evyll. Pe iiii is pe [fol. 36v] mone & hit is good. Pe v is Saturne & is evyll pe which is ioyned to Iubiter. Pe vi is Iubiter & is good. Pe vii is Mars & is evyll.

9 for say Ms.
11 Pe su secund : su expunct.
13 is add. s. l.

28. The author is in error here. Venus was Fortuna Minor and in beneficence, second only to Jupiter. Mercury, as has already been stated (p. 17, ll. 14-17), was a variable planet which changed its influence as it came into conjunction with other planets.
\textit{Pe viii is pe sunne \& is good as pe first. Pe ix is Venus. Pe x is Mercurius. Pe xi is mone. Pe xii is Saturne. The first oure of pe nyght next suynge after is pe oure of Jupiter, pe ii Mars, pe iii sunne, Venus, Mercurie, mone, Saturne, Jupiter, Mars, sunne, Venus, Mercurie, \& so forbe by rawe. And so pou hast all pe oures of pe day \& pe nyght as pey go by ordere.}

\textit{Allso hit is to wyte pat pe first oure of ech day bygynneth in pe mornynge of pe day \& lastith onto pe oure pe which is called pe sunneryser, or else a lytell after, or to pat oure pat is clepid prime in pe chirch.} \textsuperscript{28}

\textit{And pou wilt make pe space of an oure, byholde pe astrolaby, [or] set by space as mych as pou wilt goo ii myles in wynertyme, or as long tyme as pou myght say ii Nocturnes of pe Sauter, \& so pou make pe spaces of oures.} \textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{28} Prime is the canonical hour which begins at 6 a.m. and lasts until 9 a.m.

\textsuperscript{29} The text seems confused here. The first astrological hour of each day begins at sunrise and lasts anywhere from 1\frac{1}{2} hours to 2 hours depending on the time of the year. Of the estimations of time which follow (approximately 1 hour and 10 minutes respectively) the first could be used to compute an "equal hour" but the second appears to be an error as it would not correspond to either an "equal" or "unequal" hour.
Nowe hit ys for to determyn[e] of pe
vii planetes or pe days pe which takyn here
namys of pe vii planetes as hit is aforsayde.
And pis is pe cause for every planet reynyth
5 in pe first our[e] of his oune day as pe sunne
reynyth in pe mornynge of pe Sunday & pat is
to say, pe vi our[e] after mydnyght. The mone
reynyth on pe Monday on pe same manere & so
forth.
10 And hit is to wyte pat [hoso] is borne
on pe Sunday, he shall be of complexion
sanguyn & colrek. A grete man of honoure &
a wytte & he shall haue lordshippe of oper
& yf he be a clerk, in his myddill age he
15 shall have a dyngnyte & in pe same age he
shall dye.30 And yf he fall syk in his bed
in pe v or in pe vii or in pe ix day he
shall dye, & yf he lyue xv day he shall be
hole.
20 Whoso is born on pe Mundaye vnder pe

1 determe Ms.
10 soho Ms.; Sol in marg.
18 he add. e. l.
20 Luna in marg.

30. Gower (Confessio amantis, VII, ll. 721-946)
also lists the planetary influences but he does not,
however, attempt to include the medical advice.
constellacoun of be mone, he shall be a nobill man wandryng aboute, fleumatik of kynde, beneuoll, swete, & amyable. He shall haue a dignyte & he shall allwey be steryng. [fol. 37r]

5 for all byng folouyng be mevyng of be mone as hit shewyth in watrys & in many of beystes.
And yf he fall syk into his bed iiii dayes, yf he alyght not onto be vii or ix, [he] shall dye.

10 Whoso is born on be Tuysday vnder be constellacion of Mars, he shall be coleryk, strong, wrathfull, couetous, a man sleyer, a trayter & rych. He shall be perysed with yron & vnneth shall he com to his laste age.

15 He pat fallyth in his bed syke on be iiii day, yf he alyght he shall scape. Yf hit be be iiii daye, pen is he in dispare. Yf he lye from pat day into be xiii day not releuyd he bryngth forth deth.

20 Whoso is born on be Wenysday vnder be

3 amyable : y add. s. l.
8 alyght : a add. s. l.; not add. s. l.; or ix shall Ms.
9 dye : scape expunct.
10 Mars in marg.
16 yf he alyght add. in marg.
17 be add. s. l.
20 Mercurius in marg.
constellacoun of Mercurie he shal be fayer & wel yshap, ryght wytte, a good spekere, a forswerer all lyftyme, he shal be pouere in spekyng & lyght wordid. A man pat travelyth 5 pat day goyng & comyng allwey he shall be glad. Yf he fall into his bed on pe viii or pe x day, yf he lyght he shall scape. Yf hit be on v or pe vi or pe vii day, yf he amend not, pe ix day he shall dye.

10 Whoso is born on pe Thurysday vnder pe constellacoun of Iubiter, he shall be sanguyn, lovyng, benevoll, & wyse, delectable to wor-shyppfull wymmen, & hors he shall well loue. He shall be louyd of all men. He shall be 15 rych & lecherous. His fortune is ryght happe in all pyng in pe iii oures. And hit is to knowe pat Iubiter is duke & ledyr principall of all sterres, of pe fyrmmament, & most strenghst in thundre & in chaungyng of pe 20 mone. Hoso fallyth in his bed yf hit be in pe vii day, yf he alyght in pe ix or xi,

7 lyght add. in marg.
10 Iubiter in marg.
21 yf he alyght in add. in marg.
shall scape & [yf] he ascape not pe xiii day, he shall dye.

Whoso is born on pe Fryday vnder pe constellacoun of Venus, he shall haue long 5 lyf & lecherous & he shall haue ynough, but he shall dye with another mannys wepon. Hoso fallyth in his bed yf hit be on pe v or vi [day] in pe feuerys, yf pe vii day & pe ix haue no lyghtnyssse, pe xv day [he] shall [fol. 37v] 10 spyll. And yf in pe viii day or ix be lyghtyd, pe xxi day shall scape. & in his iurnay shall be take, & he shall dye in water.

Whoso is born on pe Saturday vnder pe 15 constellacoun of Saturne, he shall be coutyse, a traytoure, a pursuere of pevys, couetous of ober mennys goode, and shall be complexion malyncole & he hath fortune in all pyng in which he shall haue prosperyte. 20 He shall lyue long but yf pe cours of pe mone be contrary to hym. Yf he fall in his bed on pe v day & lyght not, pe xiii

1 & he ascape Ms.
7-8 vi in pe feuerys Ms.
9 day a shall spyll Ms.
14 is add. s. l.; Saturnus in marg.
22 day add. s. l.
day [he] shall spyll, & yf in þe iii day 
or þe vi [he] haue a lyght nyght & a good, 
þe xiii day he shall ascape.

1 day shall spyll Ms.
2 þe vi haue Ms.
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