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The Boke of Astronomy and of Philosophie

Edited From Wellcome Historical
Medical Museum Ms. 411

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by
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A DISSERTATION
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The Boke of Astronomy and of Filosofhye

The Boke of Astronomy and of Filosofhye 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

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| <u>Patrologia Graeco-Latina</u> | - <u>Patrologiae cursus completus</u>
<u>accurante J.-P. Migne</u>
(Graeco-Latina), Edited
by J.-P. Migne. Ser. III,
165 Vols. Paris: 1857-
1886. |
| <u>Patrologia Latina</u> | - <u>Patrologiae cursus completus</u>
<u>accurante J.-P. Migne</u>
(Latina), Edited by
J.-P. Migne. Ser. I, II.
221 Vols. Paris: 1844-
1864. |
| <u>The Ante-Nicene Fathers</u> | - <u>The Ante-Nicene Fathers.</u>
American Edition. Edited
by A.C. Coxe, 10 Vols.
New York: Chas. Scrib-
ner's Sons, 1925. |
| <u>The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</u> | - <u>A Select Library of the Nicene</u>
<u>and Post-Nicene Fathers of</u>
<u>the Christian Church.</u>
Edited by Phillip Schaff.
14 Vols. New York: Chas.
Scribner's Sons, 1886. |

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.³ 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 "glossa" in Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcrafte 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.

3. Biographical information on these men can be found in The Dictionary of National Biography, eds. Sir. L. Stephen and Sir S. Lee (London: Humphrey Milford, 1917-59).

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)⁴ 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.⁵

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 xxvth day of October, Georg Sheffield being movid by Allyn Harrow & Henry Parker to paye Mistress Allen hir xlii^{li} saide he wolde make hir tarry for a yere dispite of hir."

6. Above the account is the note: "Recyvyd of my master Wylliam Watnor the sum of iiii^{li}, xiiis, iiii^d, and a quarters wagys."

Wylllyam 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 Commission⁷ (which lists acquisitions from Stanford Court), and in the "Tenth Report" of the same commission⁸ (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

7. Great Britain, The Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1st Report (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1870), pp. 53-55.

8. Ibid., 10th Report, App. vi (London: 1887), pp. 104-252.

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 surgerye/ 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 portrait², it is difficult to believe that a medieval audience would have been aware of it: the most eminent medieval doctors, most of whose

1. F.N. Robinson, ed., The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957), "General Prologue" to The Canterbury Tales, ll. 413-414.

2. Chauncey Wood, in his Chaucer and the Country of the Stars (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 12-21, et passim, argues that Chaucer's statement in The Treatise on the Astrolabe that "these [discussions of fortunate and unfortunate ascendants] ben observaunces of judicial matere and rytes of payens, in the whiche my spirit hath no feith, ne knowing of her horoscopum." (Pt. II, chap. 4, ll. 57-60), is the only reasonable basis for determining where the poet's sympathies lay.

writings Chaucer was familiar with, believed firmly in astrological medicine³ and a declaration of astrological belief usually accompanied the medical tracts which were being circulated at this time. On 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

3. See George Sarton's Introduction to the History of Science (3 Vols.; Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1927-1948), III, p. 1219, on Guy De Chauliac and Arnold of Villanova. See also the fourteenth century, John Arderne's Treatises on Fistula in Ano, &c., ed. D'Arcy Power (London: Early English Text Society, O.S. no. 139; Oxford University Press, 1910), pp. 16-20.

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 superstitiosa est. Naturalis, dum exequitur solis et lunae cursus, vel stellarum certas temporum stationes. Superstitiosa 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."

Etymologiarum sive originum, ed. W. M. Lindsay (London: Oxford University Press, 1911), I, Bk. iii, chap. xxvii.

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.⁵

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.⁶ As astronomy and astrology had common

5. "Postremo et Astroniam notam habebit, per quam contempletur rationem astrorum et mutationem temporum. Nam sicut ait quidam medicorum, cum ipsorum qualitatibus et nostra corpora commutantur." Ibid. Bk. IV, chap. xiii.

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,⁷ 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,⁸

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 somnium Scipionis, Boethius' The Consolation of Philosophy, Martianus Capella's De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, Firmicus Maternus' Mathesis, Macrobius' In somnium 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,⁹ his enthusiasm remained necessarily subdued.¹⁰ 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 theologiae, 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 astrology¹² 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 Psalmos, Psalm 96).

14. Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods, trans. B. Sessions, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1961), p. 41.

15. For an excellent general discussion of classical elements in medieval and Renaissance art, see Erwin Panofsky's Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1969) and Studies in Iconology, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1962).

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.¹⁶ 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 tertia, etc.) were adopted into the Latin liturgy;¹⁷ however, these were not welcomed by either the general population or the scholars, and therefore, Isidore, in the seventh century¹⁸ and Bede in the ninth¹⁹ 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";²⁰ 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. Sez nec, 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.

18. Etymologiarum sive originum, Bk. III, chap. lxxi.

19. De temporibus liber, ed. Charles Jones, Bedae opera de temporibus (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1943), chap. iv, p. 296.

20. Sez nec, Pagan Gods, p. 105.

inscribed around a Minerva.²¹ 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 (eg. 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 Sez nec, Pagan Gods, pp. 162-163. For the above discussion I am generally indebted to Sez nec, 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.²² 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,²³ also became subject to "interpretatio Christiana".

In his edition of Opicinus de Canistris' drawings,²⁴ Richard Solomon notes that in the Carolingian period ²⁵ 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.

23. Emile Mâle, The Gothic Image, trans. D. Nussey, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1958), p. 66. See also Adolf Katzenellenbogen, The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral, Norton Library (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1964), pp. 24-25. Katzenellenbogen points out that in the Ascension tympanum at the Royal Portal at Chartres Cathedral the signs of the zodiac and the labours of the months are depicted in conjunction with Jesus' Ascension in order to demonstrate Christ as lord of both the activities of heaven and earth.

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"²⁶ wrote a poem on the zodiac wherein he attempts to adjust the signs to Christian symbolism:

Igitur non torvus fronte vel cervice tumidus
Noster taurus est putandus, non minax, sed optimus
Dulcis, blandus atque mitis atque suavis vitulus...²⁷

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

Idem non tumidus cervice, non torvus fronte,
non minax cornu Taurus, sed optimus, dulcis,
blandus ac mitis vos admonet Vitulus²⁸

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.

27. Monumenta Germaniae historica, "Poet. Lat." (Berlin-Hannover: 1874-1894), IV, pp. 693-695. Cited by Solomon, Opicinus de Canistris, Ia, p. 120.

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.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 411.³⁰ The same allegory is also found in the Glossa of Bridiferthus (or Byrhtferth) of Ramsey Abbey³¹ which is appended to Bede's De temporum ratione:

Aries, Abraham, pro eo quod arietem Domino obtulit pro Isaac fratri suo. Taurus, Jacob, qui

29. Eduard Mall, ed., Li cumpoz Philippe de Thaün (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1875), pp. 50-63.

30. Solomon, Opicinus de Canistris, p. 120-121. The St. Gall manuscript is described inaccurately in Sezner's Pagan Gods, pp. 50-51.

31. Byrhtferth lived in the tenth and eleventh century at Ramsey Abbey in Huntingdonshire. This allegory was not included in the "handbook" of astrological and astronomical lore published under the title, 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' 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.

quasi taurus cum angelo luctatus est in monte Bethel. Gemini, Adam et Eva, quod uno corpore facti sunt in paradiso. Cancer, Job propheta, quia cancriosus fuit. Leo, Daniel, qui in lacu leonum fuit. Virgo, Maria, quia filium genuit, et virgo permansit. Libra, Judas Scarioth, qui ad stateram pretium Salvatoris pensavit. Scorpio, Pharao, quia per concupiscentiam mersus est in mari. Sagittarius, David, qui belligerator fuit contra Goliath. Capricornus, Esau, qui per cupiditatem venationis, et per capram perdidit benedictionem. Aquarius, Joannis Baptisae, qui in alveo Jordanis Salvatorem baptizavit. Pisces, Jonas propheta, quia in ventre ceti tribus diebus et tribus noctibus commoravit.³²

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 blessing of Crist."

33. J. Mansi, ed., Conciliorum omnium (34 Vols.; Graz-Austria: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1960-61), IX, col. 775.

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.

35. Talbot, Medicine in Medieval England, p. 127.

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 "þe cours of þe reyning of þe 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;³⁶ 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.³⁷

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

36. See note 13 on page 13.

37. Talbot, Medicine in Medieval England, p. 128.

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.

[H]ere bygynneth þe boke of astronomy [fol. 32r]
 & of filosofhye conteyned & ymade of þe
 wysest filosofers & astro[n]ymers þat euer
 were syþ þe worlde was begun. þat is for
 5 to say, of þe lond of Greke, for in þat
 lond an Ynglyshman full wyse & wel vnder-
 stonde of filosofy & of astronomye studied
 & compiled þis boke oute of Gr[e]we into
 Ynglish graciously.¹ And þus first þis
 10 boke tellyth hou many heuenysse þer bene,
 afterward he promicith & declaryth of þe
 course & þe gouernall of þe planetes,

- 1 ere Ms.
 3 astromymers Ms.
 8 Grwe Ms.

1. 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 þe sygnes & of þe sterres of þe
firmament, afterward of þe elementes & þe
complexiones & of þe maneryes of manne, with-
oute þe whych, science & knoulych no man may
5 kun, ne com to þe perfite wyrkyng of astronomye,
fysik, ne surgere, ne of oper sotell science,
for þer is no lech in þis worlde þat may truly
wite his crafte but yf he haue þe science &
þe kunnyng of þis boke.

10 And hit is to vnderstonde þat þer be vii
heuenys & ix orderis of angelis, & after þe
day of dome þat þer be x orderis as hit was
beforne at þe 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, Cherabim, 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, ll. 210-214.

in þe vii heuens as hit shall be declared
 hereafter. And þer be vii dayes, þe whych
 hir proper namys be takyn of þe vii planetes.
 Þat is to say in Latyn: Sol, Luna, Mars,
 5 Mercurius, Iubiter, Venus, Saturnus, [&] on
 Ynglysh: Sunday, Munday Tuysday, Wendisday,
Thursday, Fryday, & Saturday. Also þer byth
 xii sygnes ysett in þe vii heuenys, þe whych
 bene for to say in Latyn: Aries, Taurus,
 10 Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio,
Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces.
 Þese xii sygnes ben named after beystes as
 hit is yshewyd hire in Latyn,³ but by þe wey
 of filosofye, þey bith lykned to such beystes.
 15 & þey be no more to say on Ynglysh, but þe
 xii partes of þe firmament of þe which party
 hath a certayne numbere of sterres assyngned
 to þem. & þese xii signes ben clypped þe

- 1 as ... hereafter add. in marg.
 3 be add. s. l.
 5 Saturnus on Ynglysh Ms.
 13 by add. s. l.
 15 no add. s. l.
 18 þem : hym expunct.

3. This etymology is also mentioned by Chaucer
 in A Treatise on the Astrolabe, Pt. I, chap. 21.

þe propur hous⁴ of þe vii planetes in þe
 which þey reste & abyde a certyn tyme as
 þe constellacoun declaryth. And a planet
 is for to say in Ynglysh, a stere, þe [fol. 32v]

- 5 which is dyscordyng from oper sterres in
 fourmyng & worchyng for he is gretter &
 more of pouere þen oper þen þat þen lasse.
 Also þer be xii mounthes acordyng to þe xii
signes in which þese signes reygner & worchyn.
 10 Þat is for to say: March, April, May, Iune,
 Iuyll, August, Septembre, October, Nouember,
 December, Ianeuer, Feuerell. & þese xii
signes trauelen & workyn togedir in euery
mounth, but one of þem principally reygnereth
 15 & hath his domynacoun in his proper mounth.

And first of all reygnyth Aries in þe
 mounth of March for in þat sygne God made þe

- 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, ll. 979-1237, differs slightly, but not significantly, from the above correspondences.

world⁵. And in þis sygne Aries is clepid þe
 sygne of a ram, forasmichill as Abraham made
 his offryng to God of a ram for his sun Yssac.
 Whoso is born in þis sygne shall be dredefull
 5 but he shall be ful of grace.⁶

The secundu sygne is Taurus & reygneþ in

5 be ful of add. s. 1.

6 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* (*Beda's 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 þe sygne of a booll foras-
 mykell as Iacob wrastilled & strofe with an
 angell in Bedlem as a booll. Whoso is born
 in þat sygne shall haue grace of all beystes
 5 & of his enmyes, but not of his wyfe.

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

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

The v signe is Leo [&] regnyth in Iule
 & is clepid þe signe of a lyon, forasmych as

- 1 Aprill in marg.
 - 6 Gemini in marg.
 - 7 May in marg.
 - 11 thefe : a expunct. e add. s. 1.
 - 12 Cancer in marg.
 - 13 Iune in marg.
 - 15 sond Ms.
 - 18 is Leo reyneth Ms.; Leo in marg.
 - 19 Iule in marg.
-

Daniell þe prophete was put into a depe pyt
among lyons. Whoso is born in þis signe shall
be a strong thefe & an hardy.

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

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

The viii signe is Scorpio [&] regnyth

- 4 Virgo in marg.; is Virgo reygnyth Ms.
 - 5 Augus in marg.
 - 8 was clene mayde Ms.
 - 12 Libra in marg.
 - 13 Septembre in marg.
 - 14 is Ms.
 - 15 Iwes Ms.; þey add. in marg.
 - 19 Scorpio in marg.; is Scorpio regnyth Ms.
-

in October & is clepid þe signe of a scorpion
forasmych as þe children of Israell passid
through þe Rede See. Whoso is born in þis signe,
he shall haue many aungrys & tribulacions.

- 5 The ix signe is Sagittarius [&] reygnyth
in Nouember & is clepid þe signe of an archere
forasmych as Kyng Daudid faught with Golyas.
Whoso is born in þis signe shall be harde &
lecherous.

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

- 15 The xi signe is Aquarius & regnyth in
Ianuaire & is clepid þe 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 þe New Lawe
20 as hit was His wyll. Whoso is born in þis

- 1 October in marg.
5 Sagittarius in marg.; is Sagittarius
regnyth Ms.
6 Nouember in marg.
10 Capricornus in marg.
11 December in marg.
12 Iwys Ms.
15 Aquarius in marg.
16 Ianuaire in marg.
-

signe shall be negligent & lesyng [h]is
bynges.

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 rehersed
10 before, and hit is to vnderstonde 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 [fol. 33v]
is to knowe þat noon of hem constrynnyth 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, "Astrae inclinans non necessitant." Similar comments are to be found in most medieval astrological treatises. Thomas Aquinas (*Summa theologiae* 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 & preyours he may do
 good though all he be [be] disposid to do evyll
 after pe nature & pe influence of his planete.
 5 In pe same maner, evyn contrarye, by a mannes
 oune fre will & by pe covetyng of a mannes fre
 herte & his yen, he may do evyll thowe he were
 disposid by his planete to do good. Vppon pis
 oppyneon, a philosphere dysputith with anoper
 10 & askyth hym yf mannys predestynacoun myght stonde
 by pe profe of pis oppynyon, & he provyth pat
 hit myght stonde soth by pese wordes of Paule,
 as he rehersith in Holy Scripture, " 'pat per
be evell days',⁸ & be pis hit semyth pat per
 15 be many in pe kalendar. Allso hit is declaryd
pat per be many dismalis.⁹ pat is to say, evill
 & vngracyous dayes. & pat is soth hit may well
 be provyd by pe fylosoferes of pe Old Lawe, for

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

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."

9. ie. dies males. See Chaucer's The Book of the Duchess, l. 1206.

when men went þan to a bateyll yf þey sped
 well & had þe victorie, þey louyd & þankyð
 God & worshipped þat day, and yf þey were
 ascumfyted, þey made þat day a dismale in
 5 hire kalendris."¹⁰ Than aunsweryd þat ober
 fylosofyre & sayde þus, " þat God made all
 þyng good in his kynde withoute faute or
 lak, as þe planetes & þe signys, þe elementis,
 þe mounthis, & þe dayes, man & beest, & all
 10 ober thyng beneþe hym." & by þis skele, he
 arguith & seyð, "whan God had made in þe
 begynnyng a seuyn hevenys & x orderes of
 angelis to gouerne þe planetes,¹¹ signes,
 þe elementes, þe vii dayes & man after
 15 [H]is oun shappe & lyknesse, & afterward
 in þe menetye þat he sate vpon þe watrys
 & dyvyded hem & made fish & vouell to mannes
 fode. & in þe x order of þe hiest of þe x
 hevenes of þe order, Lucifer was chyf next

11 seyð : 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 it's 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 [h]is hygh pride fyll adoun with
 many a legyons of his felowys þat hylde with
 hym into þe deppest pytt of hell and euerych [fol. 34r]
 of hem after þat þey had deseruyd. Sum fyll
 5 hygher & sum lowere, whereþrough þe signes
 & þe planetes & þe elementes be infecte &
 corrupte & for þis cause sum be euyll &
sum be good after þe influence & þe multitude
 of þe sprytes þat at þat tyme fell adoune
 10 oute of þe x hevyn or order."¹² & by þis

1 is Ms.
 9 þat add. in marg.
 10 or order add. s. 1.

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: S. 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 Isaias 14:12-15 as the fall of Satan. At any rate, in Alan de Insulis' Anticlaudianus (Patrologia Latina, ed. Migne, CCX, col. 525) the narrator speaks of seeing the "airish citizens" (aerios cives) which he seems to associate with the daemons, and in The House of Fame, II, ll. 925-935, Chaucer apparently repeats the same idea. See Robinson's note to l. 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 pat mannes predestinacoun is
 soth yf hit be well determyd by way of
 filosofy.

5 For euery man lyvyng is made of iii
pynges in generall. Pat is to say of be vii
planetes, xii sygnes, be iiii 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 heuenes¹³ 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, Le Systême du Monde [3 Vols.; Paris: Hermann, 1913-17] II, pp. 259-266), to the eleven spheres suggested by Albertus Magnus (Duhem, Systême, III, p. 338), or to the De sphaera 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 cristalinum 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 þe filosofre, of þe which
 fyrst & hyghest is clepid in Latyn, Celum
 Emperium Fixum et Im[mut]atum, in þe which
 is þe trone of oure Sauyour & hit is þe 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, þat
 is vnmevable.¹⁴ The viii spere is clepid in
 10 Latyn, Celum Signorum et Siderum, in þe
 which is set xii signes with all þe sterres
 & þat spere is moueable & is clepid in
 Latyn Primum Mobile of wyse filosoferes

- 1 by þe 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) thirteenth 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 meanings 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 somnium Scipionis and that in these works "aplanes" or "aplanon" means "immutable" (because composed of the fifth element). If the ninth sphere is, in fact, immoveable, 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.¹⁵ The vii spere is clepid in
 Latyn, Celum Saturni & is þe first of þe
 vii planetes in þe which hevyn Saturne
 dwellyth & goith onys aboute in xxx^{ti} wynter.
- 5 & Saturne is a planete malyvoll & wykkyd,
 cold & dry, & þerfore he is set hyghest of
 all his felowys, for yf he stode lowyst as
 þe motojn doith, he shuld destroye man &
 beest & all þe frutis growyng vppon þe erth.
- 10 To þe which [Saturne] be yordeyned of kynde
 þese v pynges: þat is to saye malencoly,
 colde, horenyis, & cold wyndes & drye as þe
 norþen wyndes ben on erth. The vi spere is [fol. 34v]
 clepid Celum Iouis in þe which regnyth
- 15 Iubiter & goith aboute onys in xii yere, &
 is a planet benevoull & good, hote & moyste
 mesurably to whom bith ordeyned blod, warre,¹⁶

2-3 is þe first of þe vii planetes
 add. in marg.; hevyn add. in marg.
 8 moon : moyn. y expunct. et o add.
 10 To þe which be yordeyned Ms.

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.

16. The author has erred here. Gower, in Confessio amantis, VII (G. C. Macaulay, ed. John Gower's English Works [2 vols. London: Early English Text Society, E. S. no. 82; Oxford University Press, 1901], ll. 907-910) states that, "Above Mars upon the hevne,/ The sexte Planete of the sevene,/ Stant Jupiter the delicat,/ Which causeth pes and no debat ", and Chaucer,

yougth & ayer. The v spere is clepid Celum
 Martis in þe which Mars dwellyth & goyth
 aboute in ii yere & þis planet is hote &
 drye to whom ben ordeyned colere, yougth &
 5 fyere. The iiii spere is clepid Celum Solis
 in þe which Sol dwellyth & goyth aboute onys
 in ccclxv dayes & vi oures. & þis spere of
 fylosoferes in diuerse placis hath dyuerse
 namys. Sum clepith hit in Latyn: Zodiacus;
 10 sum Circulus Animalium; sum Circulus Gener-
 aconis & Corrupcounis; and sum callith hit
 Circulus Obliquus.¹⁷ In þe myddes of þis zodiac
 goyth þe son euer more in such a lyne þe which is
 clepid in Latyn, ecliptica, in þe hed or in þe
 15 tayle of a dragon,¹⁸ & yf þe son be evyn for

4 yougth : 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 Sacrobosco (Thorndyke,
The Sphere of Sacrobosco, p. 125) and Macrobius
 (In somnium Scipionis, Bk. I, chap. xxi) 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 þe toþer syde þan fallyth þe
 clypse of þe mone throughoute þe worlde.
 Wherefore hit shewyth þat þe clypse of þe
 mone is not else but an interposicoun of
 5 þe erth bytwyxtē þe son & þe mone of þe
 erth. The iii spere is clypped Celum
 Veneris in þe 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.¹⁹ The ii spere is clypped Celum
 Mercurii in þe which þis planet, Mercurii,
 dwellyth & cerclyth onys aboute in xxxix
 dayes. Mercurii is a planet both colde &
 15 hote with oþer planetes & so to euery
 complexion he may be lykenyd. The last
 spere of all & next þe [ey]rth of all þe vii
 planetes is þe spere of þe mone & is clepid
 in Latyn, Celum Lune, & þis 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' 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 per be iiii
 elementis. Pat is to say: fyere, eyere, [fol. 35r]
 water, & eyrth. And first pe spere of
 fyer is hyghest & in kynde hote & dry &
 5 makyth red blod colire & pyn & engendryth
 sykness of pe feuer tercian²⁰ and pe agu in
 somertyme aboute myd ouernoyn. The ii is pe
 spere of pe eyre, pe which is hote & moyste
 in kynd & gendrith red blod sanguyn & pyk &
 10 engendryth of kynd evell pe which is clepid
 in Latyn, sinocus & sinoca of pe filth &
 corrupcoun of pe blode.²¹ The iii spere of
pe water pe which is cold & moyste & makyth
 of kynd pale blod, fleumatik & watry aboue.
 15 The iiii spere is of pe erth pe which is in
 kynde colde & drye & yeldyth blak blod,

3 eyrth add. s. l.
 12 iiii add. s. l.
 16 kynde add. s. l.

20. As the name implies, the fever terciar
 recurred every third or alternate day. See Pertelote's
 diagnosis of Chauntecleer's condition in "The
 Nun's Priest's Tale", ll. 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. Sinochus, or continual fever, occurred when
 fumes from the blood rose to the heart. See Barth-
 olomaeus Anglicus, De proprietatibus rerum, trans.
 John Trevisa (Westminster, 1495), Bk. VII, chap.
 xli, for a description of symptoms and causes.

malencole, & a party watrye. & þis is þe
 last element, erth & lowest, for it is hangyng
 & mevyng in þe myddell of þe round speres of
 þe fyrmament as a centry þat is set in þe
 5 myddes of a cercle. & þis element erth is
 round as all ober be in þe which mydes of
 þe erth is þe pytt of Hell ryght as a blak
 kernall lyth in þe mydes of an appell. As
 Holy Writt sayth & declaryth, "After þe day
 10 of dome all þyng shall be remayd & þis for-
 sayde element erth shall be a all sybis
 bryghter þan any any cristall or precyous
 stone"²² so fer forth þat þey in þe peynes
 of Hell shall see euermore through þe
 15 bryghtnyssse of þis element þe erth all þe
 ioys of Hevyn, & þat syght shall be more
 payn to þem þen all þe peynes of Hell.

Nowe hit is to vnderstond þat euery man
 lyvyng here in erth hath iiii complexions with
 20 hym. Þat is to say: coler, sanguyne, fleume,
 & malyncole, withoute þe which he may not
 lyue. Neuerþelatter, though euery man haue

11 all : 1 add. s. l.

22. The substance of the passage comes from
 Rev.21:10-11.

all pese iiii yet he hath one complexion pat
 hath dominacion of hym & mastery by pe which
euery man is rulyd & gouernyd in kynde. As
sum men haue most of colre pey be in complexion
 5 coleryk men for pey haue so mych of colore
hire blod is red & pyn. Sum men haue most of
 blod & pey be in complexion sanguyne & hire
 blod is pyk & red. Sum men haue most of [fol. 35v]
fleume & pey be in complexion fleumatik &
 10 hire blod is pale & watrye & aparty pyn.
Sum men haue most of malencoly & hir blod is
 blak & pyk in kynde. And pese iiii complexions
 in all pynges ben acordyng in kynde to pe iiii
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,
 irascens, prodigus, audax, / Astutus, gracilis,
 siccus, croceique coloris. / Fleumaticus: Hic sompno-
 lentus, piger, in sputamine multus; / Ebes huic
 sensus, pinguis facie, color albus. / Malancolicus:
Inuidus et tristis, cupidus dextreque tenacis,
 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-Sebezio, 1859], V, "Flos Medicinæ Scholæ 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 acordyng
to be element of fyer and he pat is of bis
complexion bycause of hete hym lustith mych
and because of dryeth he may lytell.²⁴ The
5 ii complexion is sanguen & hit is in kynd
hote & moyste acordyng to be element of pe
eyer. Hosso is of bis complexion bycause of
hotnyssse hym lystith mykell & bycause of
moystenysse he may mykyll in kynde. The iii
10 complexion is fleume & hit is in kynde cold
& moyst acordyng to be element of water. Hosso
is of bis complexion, bycause of his coldenysse
he may mykyll. The iiii 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, Trübner & 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 acordyng to
 þe element of þe erth. Hoso is of þis com-
 plexion because of coldnesse hym lystith
 lytell & bycause of drynesse he may lytell.

5 Nowe I shall declare & determ^{yn}le þe
 cours of þe reynyng of þe vii planetes. &
 first hit is to knowe þat þe naturall day
 begynnyth in þe mornynge & duryth into þe
 mornynge of þe next day suyng & þat is xxiiii
 10 oures & euery planet reynyth iii oures & a
 poynt of þe day & of þe nyght þe same & þat
 makyth xxiiii oures.²⁵ And hit is also to
 vnderstonde þat euery 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 þe vii Salmys with
 þe Letanye,²⁶ & þefore ysay as by reule þat
 hit fallyth be estymacion, & forasmych as
 5 euery man hath not þe astrolaby þefore is
 a mesor, or tyme, or a space set þat men
 moo lyghtly knowe þe oures of þe planetes.

First bygynnyth þe sunne to reyne in his
 oune day. Þat is for to say, þe Sunday in þe
 10 morning of þe day & reynyth as for þe tyme
 as hit is aforsayde. Afterward, Venus as [fol. 36r]
 long, Mercurye as long, þe mone as long,
 Saturne as long, Iubiter as long, Mars as
 long — þe which ben vii oures with hire
 15 vii poyntes & þo vii poyntes makyn an oure.
 Allso þe sunne reynyth in his oune day in
 þe viii oure, þen Venus, Mercurius, Luna,
 Saturnus, Iubiter, Mars, and so þey haue reynyd
 xiiii oures and with hir poyntes, þey make xvi
 20 oures. Allso þe sunne eftesonys reynyth in
 þe xvii oure [&] afterward Venus, Mercurius,
 Luna, Saturnus, Iubiter, Mars, & whan all
 þese vii oures with þere poyntes ben contayned

10 for þe add. s. 1.
 21 oure afterward Ms.
 23 ben add. s. 1.

togedir þen is þer xxiiii oures in þe naturall
 day. And afterward Luna reynyth,²⁷ þen Saturne,
 Iubiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercurius, & so
 forth oure after oure with hire poyntes. &
 5 so haue þe vii planetes reynynd vii dayes
 euerych in þe naturall day iii oures & a
 poynt þe which makyn xxiiii oures.

And hit is to vnderstende þat þer be
 too maner of dayes, þe artificial & þe
 10 naturall. The artificial lastith from þe
 sunne whan hit is in þe est tyll hit be
 doune in þe west; þe naturall day lastith
 xxiiii oures, þat is to say, all þe nyght &
 all þe day. Hit is to wite allso þat yf þe
 15 planetes reynynd not retrograde as hit is for-
 sayde, þey might neuer be made euen as by
 hire course.

Now hit ys to declare & to determyn of
 þe vii planetes & þe oures of þem which ben

8 dies artificialis in marg.
 18 hore planetarum in marg.

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 þe which hit
 is to begyn any worke or crafte or any sutyll
 science þat longyth to fylosofy whiper hit
 be good or evyll. Wherefore hit is to knowe
 5 þat þe Sunday is benevoll & profitable &
 holsum to do all maner of science & cunnyng
 þat longyth to goodnesse, loue, or grace.
 Allso hit is profitable to bygyn a iornay, a
 pilgremage, or any long way. Þat is for [to]
 10 say þe first oure of þe Sunday for þen reynyth
 þe sunne. Þe secund oure of þe same day is þe
 oure of þe planet Venus þe which is ioyned to
 Mercurie & þat is evyll also & perlous.²⁸ Þe
 iii is Mercurye & is evyll. Þe iiiv is þe [fol. 36v]
 15 mone & hit is good. Þe v is Saturne & is evyll
 þe which is ioyned to Iubiter. Þe vi is
 Iubiter & is good. Þe vii is Mars & is euyll.

9 for say Ms.
 11 Þe 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.

þe viii is þe sunne & is good as þe first. þe
 ix is Venus. þe x is Mercurius. þe xi is mone.
 þe xii is Saturne. The first oure of þe nyght
 next suyng after is þe oure of Iubiter, þe ii
 5 Mars, þe iii sunne, Venus, Mercurie, mone, Sat-
 urne, Iubiter, Mars, sunne, Venus, Mercurie, &
 so forþe by rawe. And so þou hast all þe oures
 of þe day & þe nyght as þey go by ordere.

Allso hit is to wyte þat þe first oure of
 10 ech day bygynnyth in þe mornynge of þe day &
 lastith onto þe oure þe which is called þe
 sunneryser, or else a lytell after, or to
 þat oure þat is clepid prime in þe chirch.²⁸
 And þou wilt make þe space of an oure, byholde
 15 þe astrolaby, [or] set þy space as mych as
 þou wilt goo ii myles in wyntertyme, or as
 long tyme as þou myght say ii Nocturnes of
 þe Sauter, & so þou make þe spaces of oures.²⁹

2 þe x add. s. 1.
 5 iii add. s. 1.
 15 astrolaby set Ms.

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

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 $\frac{1}{2}$ hour 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 determ[yn]e of þe
 vii planetes or þe days þe which takyn here
 namys of þe vii planetes as hit is aforsayde.
 And þis is þe cause for euery planet reynyth
 5 in þe first oure of his oun day as þe sunne
 reynyth in þe mornyng of þe Sunday & þat is
 to say, þe vi oure after mydnyght. The mone
 reynyth on þe Monday on þe same manere & so
 forth.

10 And hit is to wyte þat [hoso] is borne
 on þe 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 dygnyte & in þe same age he
 shall dye.³⁰ And yf he fall syk in his bed
 in þe v or in þe vii or in þe ix day he
 shall dye, & yf he lyue xv day he shall be
 hole.

20 Whoso is born on þe Mundaye vnder þe

1 determe Ms.
 10 soho Ms.; Sol in marg.
 18 he add. s. 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 þe 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 þyng folouyng þe mevyng of þe 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 þe vii or ix, [he]
 shall dye.
- 10 Whoso is born on þe Tuysday vnder þe
 constellacion of Mars, he shall be coleryk,
 strong, wrathfull, couetous, a man sleyer,
 a trayter & rych. He shall be peryshed with
 yron & vnneth shall he com to his laste age.
- 15 He þat fallyth in his bed syke on þe iii
 day, yf he alyght he shall scape. Yf hit be
 þe iiii daye, þen is he in dispare. Yf he
 lye from þat day into þe xiiii day not
 releuyd he bryngth forth deth.
- 20 Whoso is born on þe Wenysday vnder þe
- 3 amyable : y add. s. l.
 8 alyght : a add. s. l.; not add. s. l.;
 or ix shall Ms.
 9 dye : ascape expunct.
 10 Mars in marg.
 16 yf he alyght add. in marg.
 17 þe 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 shall 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 Thuryrday 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 ryche & 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 fyrmament, & most
 strenghist in thundre & in chaungyng of pe
 20 mone. Hosofallyth 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 þe xiiii
day, he shall dye.

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

Whoso is born on þe Saturday vnder þe
15 constellacoun of Saturne, he shall be couet-
yse, a traytoure, a pursuere of þevys,
couetous of oper mennys goodes, and shall be
complexion malyncole & he hath fortune in
all þyng in which he shall haue prosperyte.
20 He shall lyue long but yf þe cours of þe
mone be contrary to hym. Yf he fall in
his bed on þe v day & lyght not, þe xiii

- 1 & he ascape Ms.
7-8 vi in þe 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 xiiii day he shall ascape.

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

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