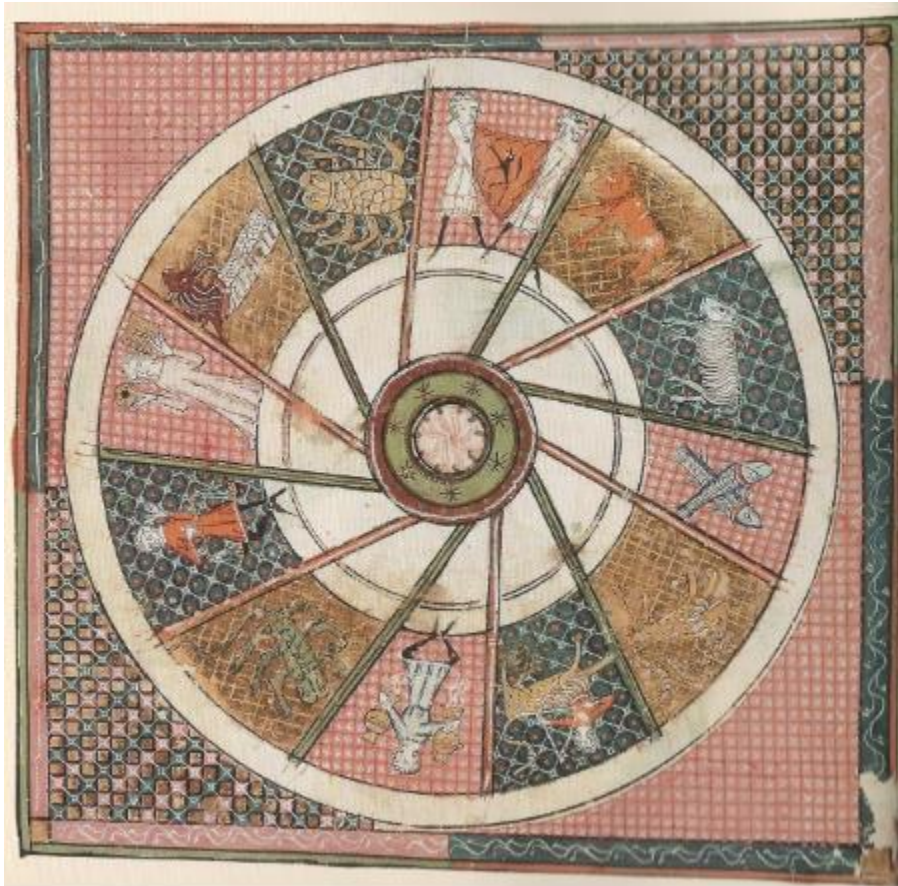


‘De Zodyak of Twelue Singnesse’: An Edition of the
Prognostication Attributed to Bartholomew of Parma in
London, British Library, Harley 2320



Sandra Zeegers
4145585
MA Engelstalige Letterkunde
Dr. L.S. Chardonnens
15 June 2015

Masteropleiding Letterkunde

Docent voor wie dit document is bestemd:

Dr. L.S. Chardonnens

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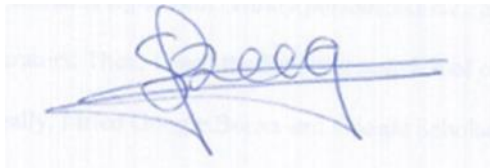
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Handtekening:



Naam student:

Sandra Zeegers

Studentnummer:

4145585

Samenvatting

In het middeleeuwse Europa werd het algemeen geaccepteerd dat de hemellichamen een invloed hadden op de menselijke microkosmos. Astrologie werd gezien als een serieuze wetenschap en speelde zodoende een belangrijke rol in de middeleeuwse Europese samenleving.

Ondanks de significante rol van astrologie in de middeleeuwen zijn er nog steeds aan astrologie gerelateerde takken van wetenschappelijk onderzoek die weinig aandacht krijgen. Zo worden bijvoorbeeld Middelenegelse prognostische teksten die gebaseerd zijn op astrologische principes nog steeds vrij weinig onderzocht. Een voorbeeld van een onderbelichte tekst is de prognosticatie die is toegeschreven aan Bartholomeus van Parma in Londen, British Library, Harley 2320. Er is nog maar weinig onderzoek gedaan naar deze tekst, en er is nog nooit een editie van deze tekst gemaakt.

Vandaar wordt er in deze scriptie een editie gepresenteerd van de prognosticatie die is toegeschreven aan Bartholomeus van Parma in Londen, British Library, Harley 2320. De editie wordt voorafgegaan door een introductie. De introductie geeft eerst informatie over Harley 2320. Ten tweede wordt middeleeuwse praktische wetenschap besproken. Ten derde wordt het middeleeuwse wereldbeeld geanalyseerd. De nadruk in deze sectie ligt op de zodiak aangezien de prognosticatie die is toegeschreven aan Bartholomeus van Parma gebaseerd is op de tekens van de zodiak. Ten vierde geeft de introductie informatie over de opkomst en de principes van de middeleeuwse astrologie. Ten vijfde worden de categorieën van Middelenegelse prognostische teksten die gebaseerd zijn op astrologische principes besproken. Ten zesde wordt het publiek van Middelenegelse astrologische prognostische teksten geanalyseerd. De introductie bespreekt als laatste of het aannemelijk is dat Bartholomeus van Parma de echte auteur van de tekst is. Ten slotte presenteert deze scriptie een editie van de prognosticatie die is toegeschreven aan Bartholomeus van Parma in Harley 2320.

Trefwoorden: astrologie, astronomie, prognosticatie, zodiak, dierenriem, Bartholomeus van Parma, Harley 2320, editie

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1. Introduction

Contrary to the modern age, the art of astrology was accepted as a legitimate science in medieval Europe. As Boudet says, no real distinction was made between *astronomia* and *astrologia* in the Middle Ages. Instead, they were seen as complementary aspects of the same discipline as astronomy was seen as the theoretical aspect and astrology as the practical aspect. It can even be said that “astrological prevision was the primary purpose of astronomical calculations” (61). Thus, the assumption that events on the earth are influenced by the heavenly bodies was a matter of consensus in medieval Europe (Boudet 61). Therefore, it can be stated that the study of medieval astrology is essential in order to fully comprehend medieval European society and culture.

Even though astrology had a prominent role in the medieval society, the study of the history of astrology has only risen during the last century. Before the twentieth century, astrology was largely rejected as it was seen as superstition and as a pseudo-science. It was only in the twentieth century that more scholars became aware that it is important to study the history of astrology in order to fully understand medieval society and culture. However, even though the study of astrology has grown considerably, this does not mean that the art of astrology faces no prejudices anymore. Astrology is still rejected as a pseudo-science and as superstition by some, and therefore astrology is not always seen as deserving serious consideration (Oestmann, Rutkin, and Von Stuckrad 3-5). As a consequence of the relative newness of the scholarly study of astrology and of the prejudices concerning astrology, some areas of scholarly study related to astrology remain little analysed.

One area of study related to astrology that still receives little attention is the area of Middle English prognostic material based upon astrological principles. Even though the interest in Middle English astrological prognostic material has risen in the past century, as works by Taavitsainen and Braswell-Means show, the study of Middle English astrological prognostic texts is still, as Taavitsainen says, “one of the neglected areas of scholarship in Middle English” (39). Braswell-Means adds that Middle English astrological prognostic texts are still a “nascent corpus”, and that these texts are little analysed and often ill-defined (“Middle English Prognostic Material” 367-368).

One Middle English prognostic text based upon astrological principles that has received little attention is the unique prognostic text attributed to Bartholomew of Parma, which gives prognostications based on the signs of the zodiac, that appears in London, British Library, Harley 2320. So far, not much has been written on the text, and the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma has also not been made available to the general public yet as the text has never been edited before.

Therefore, this thesis provides the first-ever edition, accompanied by an introduction, of the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma in London, British Library, Harley 2320 (henceforward Harley 2320). The introduction to the edition first gives information on Harley 2320. The content, manuscript category, dating, language, ownership, illumination and manuscript artists, and the physical characteristics of the manuscript are discussed. Secondly, medieval practical science is analysed. Thirdly, the medieval view of the universe is examined. The zodiac receives special attention in this section as the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma is based on the zodiacal signs. Fourthly, the rise and principles of medieval astrology are discussed. Fifthly, the categories of Middle English prognostic material based upon astrological principles are analysed. Sixthly, the audience of Middle English astrological prognostic texts is examined. The last part of the introduction to the edition discusses if it is likely that Bartholomew of Parma is the true author of the prognostication in Harley 2320 or if it is probable that the text is falsely ascribed to him. Finally, this thesis presents an edition of the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma in Harley 2320.

2. Introduction to the Edition of the Prognostication Attributed to Bartholomew of Parma

2.1 London, British Library, Harley 2320

2.1.1 Content

London, British Library, Harley 2320 is a miscellany containing treatises in both verse and prose. A prognostic text and a couple of notes and medical recipes were added at a later stage to the endleaves of the manuscript. The prognostic text, the notes, and the medical recipes that were added at a later stage and were thus not part of the original manuscript are indicated by an asterisk. The exact content of the manuscript is as follows (“Harley MS 2320”, p.3; Braswell-Means, *Medieval Lunar Astrology* 16-32; Carroll 138-139):

1. An imperfect Latin calendar on ff. 1r-4v. The calendar is not complete as January-April is missing.
2. A prognostic text based upon astrological principles that is attributed to Bartholomew of Parma on ff. 5r-30v. Based on the signs of the zodiac, this text foretells one’s life-course.
3. A lunar prognostication in verse on ff. 31r-52r. In this text, the days of the moon are first associated with a biblical event, then a thematic connection between each day and its accompanying biblical reference is established, and finally, the text gives prognostications on topics such as health, birth, and travel.
4. A treatise that gives directions for braiding on ff. 52r-70v. This is a practical instructional text that gives information on how to create different sorts of laces by means of finger-loop braiding.
- * 5. A medical recipe with an unknown purpose on f. 71r.
- * 6. A note on the interrupted reign of Henry VI on f. 72v.
- * 7. A *Littera Dominicalis* on f. 73r. This is a prognostic text that gives prognostications based on the dominical letter that is assigned to the first Sunday of a certain year.
- * 8. A table of contents of the manuscript on f. 73v.
- * 9. Two medical recipes for mothers on f. 73v. Later transcriptions of these medical recipes appear on f. 74r.

2.1.2 Manuscript Category

First of all, it should be mentioned that when discussing the manuscript category of Harley 2320, only the four texts that were ordered by the commissioner of the manuscript should be considered. As the prognostic text, the notes, and the medical recipes on the endleaves were added at a later stage, it would not be correct to consider them when discussing the manuscript category. Therefore, only ff. 1r-70v of the manuscript are analysed here.

It is best to categorise Harley 2320 as a miscellany. However, different categorisations have been opted in the past. For instance, it has been suggested by Carroll that Harley 2320 is actually a commonplace book (156). As Kohnen says, a commonplace book was a miscellany that could include texts on a wide range of topics, such as poems, letters, obituaries, prognostications, and medical recipes (14). These miscellanies were mostly “roughly written, disorganised, and highly personal manuscripts” (McCleery 185). Shailor adds that commonplace books were written by individuals for their own use (100). However, these characteristics of the commonplace book cannot be applied to Harley 2320 as the manuscript was written by a professional scribe, is not roughly written and disorganised, and is not necessarily highly personal. Thus, it would not be correct to classify Harley 2320 as a commonplace book. Taavitsainen has opted for a different categorisation as she says that Harley 2320 is a household book. As Taavitsainen says, a household book “can be defined as collections of useful knowledge about various subjects that a master of a household, or the lady of the house, might need” (148). This means that a household book could include texts on a wide range of topics. For instance, a household book could contain texts on medicine, etiquette, how to raise children, religion, and entertainment (Taavitsainen 148). However, the definition of the household book does not really fit Harley 2320 either. Taavitsainen seems to base the categorisation of Harley 2320 as a household book mainly on the text on making lace. It is true that the text on making lace would definitely have been useful to the lady of a household. However, it would be incorrect to state that the two other main texts of the manuscript, which are the prognostic texts, were really needed or useful to run a household. Therefore, Harley 2320 should not be classified as a household book. As the definitions of the commonplace and household book do not really fit Harley 2320, it is best to categorise Harley 2320 just as a miscellany.

2.1.3 Dating

The original part of Harley 2320, ff. 1r-70v, can be dated to c. 1400-1415 (Taavitsainen 64). Braswell-Means dates this part of the manuscript to c. 1420-1475 (*Medieval Lunar Astrology* 15), whereas the website of the British Library mentions that this part can be dated to the first quarter of the fifteenth century (“Harley MS 2320”, p.3), but both these datings are not satisfactory. Braswell-Means’ dating is not correct as it is not likely that the original part of the manuscript was written later than c. 1420, and even though the British Library is correct that the original part of the manuscript can be dated to the first quarter of the fifteenth century, it is possible to give a more specific dating. For example, the illumination of the original part of the manuscript supports the dating c. 1400-1415. As Scott observes, the historiated initials in this part of the manuscript can be dated to c. 1410-15 (78). Thus, as the illumination was added after the written text, it is highly unlikely that the original part of the manuscript was written after c. 1415. Furthermore, the language of the original part of the manuscript might also suggest a dating no later than c. 1415. For instance, Stanley observes that it is generally accepted that the lunar prognostication on ff. 31r-52r of the manuscript can be dated to the very early fifteenth century based on linguistic grounds. Stanley also notes that even though the language of the text on making lace in the manuscript is too variable to confidently use it as evidence for dating the manuscript, it is quite possible that the language of this text can also be dated to the very early fifteenth century (90). Stanley is a respectable scholar concerning medieval texts and he could be right about the dating of the language of the original part of the manuscript, but it should be mentioned that, unfortunately, Stanley does not give enough evidence to support his claim. For instance, he does not give any examples of why the language of the lunar prognostication can be dated to the very early fifteenth century, and when discussing the language of the text on making lace, the only arguments he gives that show that the language of the text might be dated to the very early fifteenth century are the indifference with which final –e is treated and the use of ‘hond’ as plural when it is not completely evident that the plural is meant (Stanley 90). Thus, even though Stanley might be right, without more supporting evidence, the dating of the language of the original part of the manuscript to the very early fifteenth century is too strong of a statement.

The texts on ff. 71r-74r of the manuscript were added at a later point in time. Originally, these folios were ruled but left blank (Braswell-Means, *Medieval Lunar Astrology* 16). The medical recipes on f. 71r, f. 73v, and f. 74r were added in the fifteenth or in the sixteenth century

(“Harley MS 2320”, p. 6), the note on the interrupted reign of Henry VI on f. 72v might have been added c. 1471 (Braswell-Means, *Medieval Lunar Astrology* 16), the prognostication based on dominical letters on f. 73r was added in the late fifteenth century, and finally, the table of contents on f. 73v was added in the late sixteenth or in the early seventeenth century (“Harley MS 2320”, p. 3). Thus, it turns out that Harley 2320 was compiled in a period that ranges from the early fifteenth century to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

2.1.4 Language

Except for the calendar which is written in Latin and the English of some of the texts that were added at a later stage to the endleaves, Harley 2320 is written in Middle English. The Middle English that is discussed henceforward is the Middle English that appears in the original part of the manuscript, not the Middle English that appears on the endleaves, as the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma is part of the original manuscript.

The Middle English of the manuscript reflects characteristics of both the South-central Midlands and Southern dialect. For example, as Samuels observes, the use of ‘silf’ and ‘sylf’, which both can be found in Harley 2320, for the word ‘self’ were characteristic of the South-central Midlands and Southern dialect (73). However, it remains uncertain to which exact place or region the language of the manuscript belongs. For instance, Taavitsainen observes that the manuscript was written in the West of Dorset, near the Somerset border (181), while Braswell-Means suggests that the provenance of the manuscript might be near London (*Medieval Lunar Astrology* 16). However, the language in Harley 2320 is perhaps just not distinct enough to link it to a specific place or region. For example, even though Braswell-Means suggests that the manuscript’s provenance might be near London, she does not state this with certainty as she says that there simply cannot be found enough linguistic evidence in the manuscript in order to assign its language to a specific place or region (*Medieval Lunar Astrology* 14). This statement is supported by Stanley as he observes that the language of the text on making lace on ff. 52r-70v of the manuscript is quite complex and mixed, and that it is therefore quite problematic to use the language of the manuscript as evidence for provenance (90).

The use of Middle English in Harley 2320 testimonies to the rise of the English language in late medieval texts, and shows that Robbins’ statement that “to the middle of the fifteenth century at least, all professional, specialist, and technical subjects were presented in Latin” in

England is incorrect (393). As the original part of Harley 2320 can be dated to the early fifteenth century, the use of Middle English in the manuscript shows that the vernacularisation of such texts must have taken place at an earlier stage. According to Voigts, the process of the vernacularisation of scientific texts, such as astronomical-astrological texts, can be traced from about 1375. For instance, Cambridge, Trinity College, 0.5.26, which includes Middle English astronomical texts, can be dated to the late fourteenth century (“Bilingualism in Late-Medieval England” 814). The rise of the use of the English language in scientific material was part of the rise of the English language in all sorts of texts. For instance, the first known post-Norman letter written in English is dated to 1392-1393, and the first known post-Norman will written in English is dated to 1387. It was in the fifteenth century that English finally became the primary language in writing (Taavitsainen 173).

2.1.5 Ownership

The first owners of Harley 2320 are unknown. The only signs that are perceivable of the manuscript’s early owners are the added texts and inscriptions that appear on the endleaves and in the margins of the manuscript. For instance, on f. 11r a partly illegible scribble is added in the bottom margin. The first and legible part of the scribble says, ‘Take v wekis .5. from Richardus and say Richarde wherin is’. Furthermore, on f. 19v the text ‘Born the .5. of September in the morn. .1552. Richerd Havell. Richerd Hooper. Maud Derrye’ is added in the bottom margin. The only thing that is known about these added texts and inscriptions on the endleaves and in the margins of the manuscript is that they were added in a period of time that ranges from the fifteenth century to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Thus, it remains unclear who the early owners of the manuscript were.

The first known owner of Harley 2320 is John Warburton (1682-1759), who was a herald and antiquary (Wright 2335). Warburton sold the manuscript to Edward Harley (1689-1741), who formed the Harley collection with his father Robert Harley (1661-1724), on 16 July 1720 (Wright 347). The sale endorsement is noted on f. 1r of Harley 2320 by Humfrey Wanley (1672-1726), who was Harley’s librarian. When Edward Harley perished, the library was bequeathed to his wife Henrietta Cavendish Holles (1694-1755). The plan was that after Holles’ death, the library would be passed on to Harley’s and Holles’ daughter Margaret Cavendish Bentinck (1715-1785), the duchess of Portland. However, Bentinck never inherited the library as Holles

and Bentinck decided to sell the Harley manuscripts to the nation for ten thousand pounds in 1753 under the Act of Parliament which also established the British Museum. The Harley manuscripts now form one of the foundation collections of the British Library, which separated from the British Museum in 1973 (“Harley MS 2320”, p. 6).

2.1.6 Illumination and Manuscript Artists

The original part of Harley 2320 is illuminated. First of all, three historiated initials, which are all damaged, appear in the manuscript. These historiated initials are in red or blue on a gold ground. The first historiated initial, which appears on f. 5r, is a six-line high F with a well-dressed secular man who is kneeling and praying. The second historiated initial, which appears on f. 31r, is a six-line high H with a scribe at work. The final historiated initial, which appears on f. 52r, is a six-line high I with a kneeling woman who seems to be working on lace. The first two historiated initials are accompanied by full framing borders, which consist of foliate motifs, in blue and gold. Next to the historiated initials, two-line high flourished initials appear in the manuscript. These initials are in blue with red pen-flourishing that adopts foliate patterns. Finally, one-line high initials in both red and blue are present in the manuscript (“Harley MS 2320”, p.3).

The first two historiated initials in the manuscript can be ascribed to the renowned manuscript artist Johannes (Scott 78). It is not certain when Johannes was born and when he died, but, as Alexander says, it is assumed that Johannes flourished from c. 1400 until c. 1420. He lived and worked in London (155), but, as Morgan observes, Johannes appears to have been of foreign origin. He might have been born in Flanders (213). Johannes’ miniatures are clear examples of the courtly international Gothic style as his images include plenteous figures who are richly dressed and who are posing elegantly, and as he used mainly pastel colours. Johannes’ work was highly influential as later respectable illuminators, such as William Abell and Cornwall Master, were influenced by his miniatures (Alexander 155).

Taavitsainen argues that the historiated initials in the manuscript were made by “a metropolitan illuminator” (160), but the third historiated initial was actually created by a second manuscript artist named Herman Scheerre (Scott 78). Scheerre was also referred to with the names Herman of Cologne, Hermannus Scheere, Herman Skereueyn, or simply Herman. Scheerre was a contemporary of Johannes (Alexander 155), and perhaps they even collaborated together as they both worked on the historiated initials in Harley 2320. As Morgan shows, just

like in Johannes' case, it cannot be established when Scheerre was born and when he died, but it is generally assumed that he flourished from c. 1388 until c. 1422, and that he worked in London from c. 1405 until c. 1422. Even though he worked in England, he was originally from Germany or Flanders. Just like Johannes' work, Scheerre's work was highly influential as other English manuscript artists adopted his compositions up to the 1440s. Therefore, both Scheerre and Johannes are seen as "the leading illuminators of early fifteenth-century England" (214).

2.1.7 Physical Description

The size of Harley 2320 is c. 157 x 123 mm, with a written area of c. 103-105 x 75 mm. The manuscript consists of 74 folios, which are made of parchment codex, and of two unfoliated paper flyleaves at the beginning of the manuscript. Modern foliation numbers 1 to 74 are added in pencil in the top right-hand margins of the folios. The folios are divided in ten gatherings which are individually mounted on guards. The collation of the manuscript is as follows: i⁶⁻³ (the first two folios are missing and the sixth folio is now attached to the second gathering), ii⁸⁺¹ (the first folio was added from the first gathering), iii⁸⁻¹ (the second folio is missing), iv-ix⁸, x⁸⁻¹ (the fifth folio was cancelled). The layout of the folios is the same throughout the manuscript except for ff. 1r-4v. Ff. 1r-4v are ruled in ink for single columns of thirty-three lines, and the first line starts above the top line on these folios. The other folios are ruled in ink for columns of seventeen lines, and the first line starts below the top line on these folios ("Harley MS 2320", p.5). Up to and including f. 70v, the manuscript is written in the Gothic script *textura quadrata* by a single professional book hand (Taavitsainen 64). The prognostication based on dominical letters on f. 73r was written by a second professional Gothic book hand. Nowadays, the manuscript has a British Library binding, which has the Harley arms and motto gilt-tooled at the centre of the covers. This binding was added in 1967 (Braswell-Means, *Medieval Lunar Astrology* 16). Some remains of the previous Harleian binding, which was made of brown leather, are pasted on the inside covers ("Harley MS 2320", p.5).

2.2 Medieval Practical Science

In order to place the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma in Harley 2320 in a medieval scientific context, the various views on medieval practical science should be discussed.

As there are variant views on medieval practical science, the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma can also be categorised in different ways.

On the one hand, there is the exclusive view of medieval practical science, which only focuses on medieval disciplines that are similar to modern sciences and technology. Many works on the history of medieval practical science, such as Lindberg's *Science in the Middle Ages* and Grant's *A Source Book in Medieval Science*, follow this approach (Voigts, "Scientific and Medical Books" 345). Within this tradition, the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma, which is based on astrological principles, is not considered to be a scientific text. As Voigts observes, this exclusive approach to medieval practical science is unsatisfactory as it ignores many topics that were considered to be scientific in the Middle Ages, such as astrology, alchemy, chiromancy, and physiognomy ("Scientific and Medical Books" 347).

It is also possible to employ the idea of medieval practical science as *Fachliteratur*, which is also known under the term *artes* in Dutch. This tradition ascribes a much more inclusive definition to medieval practical science. As Voigts says, *Fachliteratur* bases its inclusiveness on "medieval classifications of knowledge" ("Scientific and Medical Books" 347). *Fachliteratur* is divided in three different categories: (1) the liberal arts, which consist of the trivium (grammar, logic, rhetoric) and the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy), (2) the mechanical arts (e.g. medicine, geography, navigation, hunting, cooking), and (3) the magical arts (e.g. prognostication, divination, magic) (Van Rijn and Lie 21-29). It should be mentioned that not all disciplines can always be assigned to only one category with this categorisation of medieval practical science. For instance, astrology could belong to the category of the mechanical arts, but astrology could also belong to the category of the magical arts as it was sometimes used to predict certain events. With the categorisation of the *Fachliteratur* tradition, the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma falls under the category of the magical arts. Finally, this categorisation of medieval practical science could be preferred over the exclusive view of medieval practical science as it also includes disciplines which are not regarded to be scientific anymore nowadays but which were considered to be scientific in the Middle Ages.

Voigts and Manzalaoui employ a definition of medieval practical science that is broader than the definition of the exclusive view of medieval practical science but which is smaller than the definition of the *Fachliteratur* tradition. According to Voigts and Manzalaoui, medieval practical science can be divided in three categories: (1) experimental/empirical/mathematical

science (e.g. geometry and astronomy), (2) pseudo-science or consistent logical systems that are no longer empirical (e.g. dream lore and physiognomy), and (3) the occult sciences (e.g. geomancy and chiromancy) (“Scientific and Medical Books” 348; 225). Just like with the categorisation of the *Fachliteratur* tradition, not all disciplines can always be assigned to only one category with this categorisation. For instance, alchemy could belong to the first category as alchemists developed many of the methods of empirical science, but it could also belong to the third category as the theoretical basis of alchemy was quite arcane (Manzalaoui 226). With the categorisation of medieval practical science as employed by Voigts and Manzalaoui, the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma falls under the category of the occult sciences. Finally, this categorisation could be preferred over the other categorisations of medieval practical science as it is based on the content of scientific medieval manuscripts.

2.3 Medieval Cosmology

The prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma in Harley 2320 is based on astrological principles that presupposed a certain view of astronomy, or in other words, a certain view of the cosmos. Thus, in order to fully comprehend the prognostication, it should first be established how most medieval Europeans thought that the universe was structured. Out of the components that made up the medieval universe, the zodiac and its signs are discussed in some more detail as the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma is based on the zodiacal signs.

2.3.1 The Medieval View of the Universe

As Taavitsainen says, it was generally believed that the universe consisted of concentric spheres, and that the stationary earth was placed in the middle of these spheres. Next to the element earth, the sublunar region was made up of the elements water, air, and fire (26). Above these elements were the spheres of the seven planets: the sun, the moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury. Contrary to the modern age, the sun and the moon were also considered to be planets in the Middle Ages. Of the seven planets, the moon was the lowest one. Above the moon’s sphere were the spheres of the planets Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. The planets were ordered in this way as the moon took the shortest time to travel around the earth, while Saturn took the longest time to do so (Tester 4). Above the sphere of Saturn was the sphere of the zodiac, which was also called the sphere of the fixed stars. Finally, above the sphere of the zodiac

was the outermost part of the universe, which was called the Primum Mobile (Taavitsainen 27). The Primum Mobile provided motion to the whole system.

Except for the stationary earth, the heavenly bodies all traversed “their own complex routes along the same basic path” in the zone of the zodiac, which was the zone about 8.5 degrees on both sides of the ecliptic (Kieckhefer 125; Tester 9). The ecliptic itself was inclined at an angle of 23.5 degrees to the equator. Within the zone of the zodiac, the sun took a year to move around the earth from west to east. However, the sun moved daily around the earth from east to west in an arch across the southern sky. This can be explained by the fact that not only the sun moved, but that its sphere also rotated, and that the sun’s sphere moved in the opposite direction to that of the sun itself (Tester 5-9). The path that the moon followed was similar to that of the sun. However, the moon travelled much faster around the earth than the sun as it took only about twenty-seven days for the moon to complete its journey around the globe. Even though the routes that the other five planets followed were quite complex, it can generally be stated that these five planets moved “essentially in the same way” as the sun and the moon (Kieckhefer 125). However, these five planets all moved at different speeds around the earth. For example, it took eighty-eight days for Mercury to travel around the earth, while it took Saturn almost thirty years. The motion of these five planets was not regular as, for instance, they sometimes seemed to stand still for a while (Tester 9). Finally, the twelve star constellations, which gave the names to the twelve signs of the zodiac, followed roughly the same path as the other heavenly bodies. While the planets moved at diverse speeds, the star constellations moved at a regular speed. The star constellations of the zodiac moved somewhat faster than the sun, so that the sun travelled with each of these constellations one month a year. When the sun was travelling with a certain star constellation, this meant that this constellation was reigning in that part of the year (Kieckhefer 125-127).

Finally, it is important to understand that in the medieval view of the universe, the human microcosm and the larger macrocosm were connected with each other. As Taavitsainen observes, it was generally assumed that the sublunar region was made up of four elements: earth, water, air, and fire. Each of the four elements contained two of the four characteristics: hot, dry, moist, and cold (26). As Burrow shows, the four humours, which were blood, phlegm, choler/yellow bile, and melancholy/black bile, that were believed to make up the human body were associated with the four elements. Blood was associated with air, phlegm with water, choler with fire, and

melancholy with earth. The four humours were also linked to the qualities that belonged to these four elements. Therefore, blood was associated with the qualities moist and hot, phlegm with cold and moist, cholera with hot and dry, and melancholy with dry and cold (13). Just like the human microcosm, the larger macrocosmic order was also linked to the four elements. For example, the planets were connected with the elements and their qualities. The planet Venus, for instance, was associated with the element air and the qualities hot and moist, whereas the moon was linked to the element water and the qualities cold and moist (Kieckhefer 126). Thus, as Burrow says, the human microcosm was harmonised with the larger macrocosmic order “through the same system of qualities that governs them all” (13). In this way, the connection between the human microcosm and the larger macrocosm was scientifically explained in medieval Europe.

2.3.2 The Zodiac

First of all, it should be made clear that it is the tropical zodiac that is of importance here and not the sidereal zodiac. As Fletcher shows, astrology sometimes makes use of the sidereal zodiac, which “measures the positions of the celestial bodies from a stellar frame of reference, relative to the visible fixed stars” (106). However, the tropical zodiac measures the positions of the celestial bodies “by the seasons and is said to be ‘moving’ because it shifts continuously against the background of fixed stars” (Fletcher 106).

The zone of the zodiac was divided in twelve equal parts of thirty degrees. These twelve parts were named after the star constellations that were present in these parts: Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces (Page 14). Thus, as Beck says, “the signs of the zodiac are not the same as the constellations whose names they share. Constellations are groups of stars; the signs ... are geometrical constructs” (21). However, this division could be ignored in practice as the signs and the constellations were believed to coincide with each other (Beck 21).

As Beck observes, the signs of the zodiac were ordered by the yearly path of the sun. Spring was seen as the beginning of the astronomical year, and therefore the circle began with Aries, which was the sign where the sun crossed the celestial equator from south to north bringing the season spring (21-22). The place where the sun first crossed the celestial equator was called the vernal or spring equinox. The sun would then move on northwards through Aries, Taurus, and Gemini until it reached its most northern point on the ecliptic, which was called the

summer solstice, at the beginning of the sign Cancer. The sun then moved downwards through Cancer, Leo, and Virgo to the autumn equinox, which was the place where the sun crossed the celestial equator from north to south, at the beginning of the sign Libra. The sun then moved even further downwards through Libra, Scorpius, and Sagittarius to its most southern point on the ecliptic, which was called the winter solstice, at the beginning of the sign Capricorn. Finally, the sun would move upwards again through the signs Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces, and so back to the vernal equinox at the beginning of the sign Aries (Fletcher 106; Beck 54).

Lastly, it should be mentioned that each sign of the zodiac was associated with one of the four elements and its qualities. Thus, just like the planets, the zodiacal signs were governed by the same qualities that governed the human microcosm. Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius were characterised by the element fire, Taurus, Virgo, and Capricorn by the element earth, Gemini, Libra, and Aquarius by the element air, and Cancer, Scorpio, and Pisces by the element water. Finally, this division might not come across as being very logical as a sign such as Aquarius belonged to the element air and not to the element water. The logic of this division was actually based on geometrical schematisation. In order to form four geometric triangles, every fourth sign was linked (Beck 59-60).

2.4 Medieval Astrology

As it was generally believed in the Middle Ages that the human microcosm and the larger macrocosm were governed by the same qualities, it is perhaps not that surprising that many medieval Europeans believed that the heavenly bodies could have an influence on human life. As the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma is based on astrological principles, it is important to establish what medieval astrology exactly encompassed. First of all, the rise of medieval astrology is discussed, and then the principles of medieval astrology are analysed.

2.4.1 The Rise of Medieval Astrology

When discussing medieval astrology, it should first be mentioned that, as Tester says, even though the terms *astronomia* and *astrologia* were used interchangeably in the Middle Ages, before the twelfth century, the content of this study was “almost entirely what we would call astronomical” (103). The art of astrology only really rose in the twelfth century because of two important changes in the intellectual life of Europe in the later Middle Ages (Kieckhefer 117).

The first important change in European intellectual life was the rise of medieval universities, which grew out of earlier cathedral schools. In the early Middle Ages, the monasteries were the centres for learning. Even though there were some other places where one could go to study sciences such as medicine, the monasteries were the only place where systematic education could be followed (Kieckhefer 117). As Bailey notes, access to these centres of learning was fairly limited. However, there was a great rise in open schools in the eleventh century (92). These schools were often attached to and associated with great cathedrals. Not only the clergy could receive education here but also people who wanted to learn the liberal arts in order to pursue, for instance, a legal career (Kieckhefer 117). By the later twelfth century, the first universities developed from these cathedral schools in places such as Bologna and Paris, and by the late fourteenth century, there were many universities throughout Europe (Bailey 92).

The second important change in European intellectual life was the introduction of Arabic learning. The cathedral schools and universities stimulated scholars to go beyond the traditional canon. This meant that in most cases, scholars wanted to expand their knowledge on classical learning. Much of this information could be gained from the Islamic world (Kieckhefer 117). As Bailey says, monasteries in Western Europe kept many works of the ancient intellectual tradition, but not all ancient texts had survived, and especially texts of the Greek tradition were lost. However, these texts from Greek antiquity did survive in the Byzantine East. These Greek texts played a significant role in the great intellectual achievement of the Islamic world in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries (92). It was quite hard for European scholars to exchange information with the Muslim world as there had always been conflict between the two religions. However, exchange of information was possible because of cultural contact between the Christian and Muslim world in border territories such as Spain, Southern Italy, and Sicily (Kieckhefer 118; Bailey 92). As Bailey notes, these were places where “contact between the two religions was constant, where expanding Christian kingdoms often came to have sizable Muslim populations, and where Jewish communities ... could serve as mediators” between the Islamic and the Christian world (92).

It was in the twelfth century that European scholars finally got wide access to this Arabic learning. More than one hundred works were translated from Arabic to Latin, whereas some other Arabic texts were paraphrased in Latin (Kieckhefer 118). Most texts that were translated were mathematical, astronomical, or astrological in character, and especially texts by Aristotle, Galen,

and Ptolemy were popular amongst translators. Famous translators include Adelard of Bath, John of Seville, and Hugh of Santalla (Thorndike 66).

Finally, it should be mentioned that European scholars were not solely introduced to Muslim scholarship on topics such as astrology through their acquaintance with the Arabic world. For example, European scholars were also introduced to Jewish scholarship. Jewish scholarship had long flourished within the Muslim world, and some European scholars got acquainted with specifically Jewish texts. For instance, Jewish works that gave Hebrew names for the planets and zodiacal signs were discovered (Kieckhefer 119).

2.4.2 The Principles of Medieval Astrology

It was commonly accepted in medieval Europe that the planets and stars had an influence on the human microcosm, and each heavenly body was associated with its own “nature, effects, and areas of influence” (Kieckhefer 126). The nature, effects, and areas of influence were inherent in the heavenly bodies and did thus not depend upon their positions in the sky. For instance, whatever its position in the sky, the moon was associated with madness and chastity, whereas Venus was linked to sensuality. Furthermore, it was believed that the moon was especially powerful during infancy, whereas Venus was thought to be more powerful during adolescence (Kieckhefer 126).

The exact nature and effects of the planets and stars were not always easy to establish. Even though Taavitsainen only mentions that “stereotyped descriptions” were given to the heavenly bodies (27), the nature and effects of the planets and the stars could be quite complex and controversial. For example, while it is certainly true that the sun was associated with straightforward characteristics such as illumination and heating, astrologers also believed that the sun could operate in more subtle and occult ways. The same thing was assumed about the other heavenly bodies in the universe. Thus, it was not always easy to establish the exact nature and effects of the planets and the stars (Kieckhefer 126).

Even though the nature, effects, and areas of influence were inherent in the heavenly bodies, the area of life they governed and the degree of their power were affected by their positions in the sky. For example, the planets and stars followed a path that was divided in twelve mundane houses, and the area of life that was influenced by the heavenly bodies depended in part on which house they were in at a certain time. For instance, the first house influenced personality,

the second house influenced material fortunes, and the third house determined one's family's character. The other houses had an influence on topics such as health and marriage. Thus, when Mars, which was warlike in nature, was in the eighth house, which was the house which affects death, this could prophesy death. However, when Mars was in the tenth house, which affects a person's career, it could mean that one was likely to become a soldier (Kieckhefer 126-127). Furthermore, the positions of the planets in the sky in respect to each other were of importance. The aspects, which were the angular relationships between planets, were the most important. One example of an aspect is the conjunction, which occurred when planets occupied the same space in the sky. The effect of an aspect was determined by the nature and positions of the planets and by the fact whether the faster planet was moving towards the planet with which it was forming an aspect or not (Page 23-25). Finally, the star constellations of the zodiac also played a role. For example, the planets were strengthened or weakened based on their positions in the star constellations. Saturn, for instance, was strengthened by Capricorn during the day and by Aquarius at night, and the sun was most powerful when it was in the same house as Leo (Kieckhefer 127).

Lastly, the heavenly bodies were mainly consulted during critical times in life, especially at birth. It was assumed that the heavenly bodies were especially powerful at birth as a baby was still soft and therefore susceptible to the influence of the planets and the stars. A child that was born when Venus was in a powerful position, for example, would lead a life of sexual passion. The heavenly bodies were also consulted during other significant junctures, such as in times of war and marriage. For instance, it was not wise to go to war when Mars was in a weak position, whereas it was wise to marry when Venus was powerful (Kieckhefer 126-127).

2.5 The Four Categories of Middle English Astrological Prognostic Texts

As the medieval European society firmly believed in the influence of the heavenly bodies, the art of astrology could be used in the Middle Ages to provide predictions for an individual's life and the right time for undertaking an action. This branch of astrology is called judicial astrology (Page 30), which is the branch of astrology that is being discussed henceforward. Judicial astrology is reflected in numerous Middle English astrological prognostic texts, such as the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma in Harley 2320.

The categorisation of Middle English astrological prognostic texts has proven to be a difficult task. For instance, as Braswell-Means says, Eade's bipartite division into natal astrology, which gives prognostications on one's future based on the positions of the planets and the stars at the moment of birth, and judicial astrology, which gives answers to particular questions based on the positions of the planets and the stars, oversimplifies Middle English astrological prognostic material ("Middle English Prognostic Material" 367). Furthermore, the use of the categories general predictions, nativities, elections, and horary questions as employed by Thomas (286) and Taavitsainen (34) has led to confusion. For instance, as Braswell-Means observes, the term horary is now often used for any astrological text that looks at the hours when a question is asked but also for electionary texts which regard the 'hours' or the positions of the planets and stars. Therefore, a new categorisation has been presented by Braswell-Means. Middle English prognostic material based upon astrological principles can be categorised in the following four categories: electionary, lunary, destinary, and questionary ("Middle English Prognostic Material" 367-368).

The electionary can be defined as "a guide for choosing (i.e., 'electing') activities according to the most favourable astrological conditions" (Braswell-Means, "Middle English Prognostic Material" 370). The electionary could, for instance, be consulted in order to learn the most suitable time for marriage and travel. In order to choose the best time for activities, the electionary first has to describe the nature of the astrological conditions. Thus, the qualities of the planets and the stars and their influences on each other and on the human microcosm are discussed. In this way, it could be argued that the electionary is the most important of the Middle English astrological prognostic texts as it provides the basis for all Middle English prognostic texts based upon astrological principles. Finally, the electionary could also possibly be called the horary, based upon "the notion of the election of hours or of 'times' in different conditions", especially when a heavenly body reigns and is thus strong at that moment (Braswell-Means, "Middle English Prognostic Material" 371)

The second category, the lunary, can be defined as "a set of prognostications based upon the position of the moon at specific times" (Braswell-Means, "Middle English Prognostic Material" 376). The lunary is the most popular category of the Middle English astrological prognostic texts. The lunary has much in common with the electionary. Both categories emphasise the influence of the planets and then determine the best times for certain activities,

such as travel and marriage. The difference between the two categories is that the lunary only deals with the moon and that in lunaries, the moon's influence is based especially on its age or position in its cycle around the earth. It is most likely that the electionary was the main source for the lunary as the electionary often deals with the nature and the influence of the moon (Braswell-Means, "Middle English Prognostic Material" 376-378).

The lunary is represented by two basic formats. The first format, which is probably the proto-type, is based upon the 'day' or 'mansion' of the moon. In other words, it is based upon the position of the moon within its cycle around the earth in the lunar month. This type of lunary usually begins with the first day of the moon and then continues until the twenty-eighth or sometimes the thirtieth day of the moon. The second format of the lunary depends on the moon's passage through the twelve zodiacal signs. This type of lunary usually begins with the moon's passage through the first sign, which is Aries. Finally, it should be noted that hybrid forms of the two formats of the lunary also occur in Middle English manuscripts (Braswell-Means, "Middle English Prognostic Material" 378-384).

The third category, the destinary, can be defined as "a horoscope; a group of prognostications based upon time of birth, determining destiny" (Braswell-Means, "Middle English Prognostic Material" 386). Depending on the fact whether the birth is diurnal or nocturnal, one's destiny is determined by the position of the sun or the moon at the time of birth, but strictly speaking, the destinary is based on solar prognostics. The destinary is closely related to the electionary and the lunary as the electionary often regards the hour of birth as the most important area governed by elections, whereas the lunary often analyses birth as one of the areas that is influenced by the moon (Braswell-Means, "Middle English Prognostic Material" 386-387).

When discussing the theory of the destinary, Braswell-Means is quite unclear at times. At some points, she seems to talk of the destinary as being just a category that gives prognostics on one's destiny, which can be calculated by means of "a wide variety of interpretations and methods" ("Middle English Prognostic Material" 390), but at other times, she associates the destinary strictly with prognostications based on the ascendant sign or planet, which means that this sign or planet is rising in the first of the twelve mundane houses. For instance, when talking about the horoscope, she first says that the starting point for the horoscope is the ascendant sign or planet upon the horizon at the moment of conception or birth, and that the combination of the qualities of the planets and zodiacal signs and their positions in the twelve mundane houses then

determine their influence on topics such as travel, marriage, and health (“Middle English Prognostic Material” 387-388). This approach to determining one’s destiny can hardly be called widely varied, and Braswell-Means herself shows later that destinaries are not always based on the ascendant sign or planet at the moment of birth or conception. For example, she observes that there are also destinaries based on planetary influences that base their prognostics on the days of the week. These texts assume that each planet reigns during the first and also during one other hour of its own day, which begins at midnight. Each of the planets gives its name to its own day and also has an influence on everyone that is born on that day (“Middle English Prognostic Material” 392-393). Thus, the theory of the destinary remains somewhat obscure.

Braswell-Means confidently states that the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma in Harley 2320 is a destinary that begins with Aquarius in association with February (“Middle English Prognostic Material” 390-391), but the category of the text is actually quite ambiguous. The prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma could be called a destinary in the sense that it gives prognostications based upon the time of birth, determining destiny. However, the prognostication in Harley 2320 cannot be strictly associated with the ascendant sign. It is not explicitly mentioned in the text that the starting point for the horoscope is based on the ascendant sign, and the twelve mundane houses are not mentioned either. When talking about the signs, it is only mentioned in the text in which period of the year they reign. Therefore, it is possible that the text might be based on the sun sign instead of on the ascendant sign. However, as it is also not explicitly mentioned in the text that the prognostication is based on the sun sign, it is also possible that the text is based on the lunar sign. In this case, the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma should not be categorised as a destinary but as a zodiacal lunar. Furthermore, Braswell-Means says that the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma begins with Aquarius/February, but the text associates Aquarius not just with February. Instead, the text says that Aquarius reigns from the middle of January until the middle of February. Thus, the text does not start out just with February, but it begins with a combination of the two different months, and naturally, January is mentioned first. Finally, it is quite unique that the text starts out with Aquarius as both destinaries and lunaries based on the zodiacal signs usually begin with the sign Aries as Aries was associated with the beginning of the astronomical year.

The fourth and final category is the questionnaire. In a way, all prognostic texts based upon astrological principles are questionnaires as they give answers to certain questions. In a more

narrow definition, a questionnaire “is only concerned with specific questions, who and how they are asked, and the means by which they may be answered” (Braswell-Means, “Middle English Prognostic Material” 395). The answer of the question is based on the configuration of various elections. For instance, it could be based on the ascendant sign but also on the conjunction of planets. The starting point for the prognostication is based on the hour of birth of the person who asked the question or on the hour when the question was asked. The questionnaire contains information on the same sort of topics, such as birth and marriage, as the other astrological prognostic categories, but the difference between the questionnaire and the other astrological prognostic categories is that the questionnaire organises its material differently. For instance, contrary to the lunary it does not only focus on the lunar cycle for prophesies, and contrary to the electionary and destinary, it usually only considers birth with regard to “specifically directed questions” (Braswell-Means, “Middle English Prognostic Material” 395).

Finally, it turns out that a rigorous classification of Middle English astrological prognostic texts remains a difficult issue. As there is much overlap between the categories and as hybrid forms occur in medieval manuscripts, it is certainly not always easy to establish to which category some astrological prognostic texts, such as the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma in Harley 2320, belong. Still, Braswell-Means’ classification is useful as it establishes some basic, generic guidelines for Middle English astrological prognostic material.

2.6 The Audience of Middle English Astrological Prognostic Texts

The audience of the four categories of Middle English astrological prognostic material can be discussed generally as the four categories have much in common and as they often appear together in manuscripts.

First of all, it should be mentioned that Middle English astrological prognostic texts, which were most often used as household documents, were used by both men and women. For instance, the lunary in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 396 suggests a male audience as it focuses on topics that would have been especially appealing to men, such as hunting and how to treat one’s wife. Harley 2320, however, was most likely commissioned by a female. Harley 2320 “gives every indication of having been a lady's handbook” (Braswell-Means, *Medieval Lunar Astrology* 70). For example, the text on how to make lace might suggest that the manuscript was commissioned by a woman (Taavitsainen 160), and the other texts, such as the calendar and the

prognostic text attributed to Bartholomew of Parma, would also have been of interest to a wealthy patroness (Braswell-Means, *Medieval Lunar Astrology* 70). Even though medieval women are perhaps not immediately associated with literacy and education, Taavitsainen shows that in the late Middle Ages, literacy rates were growing rapidly, and were even likely to be universal among aristocratic men and women. Ladies of high rank even owned or commissioned books (153-160). Furthermore, even when a woman was not literate, she could have used Middle English astrological prognostic texts indirectly as her husband could have read these kinds of texts to her (Carroll 142).

The men and women that used Middle English astrological prognostic texts belonged to all classes of society. First of all, as Taavitsainen observes, some manuscripts containing Middle English astrological prognostic material can be associated with the aristocracy or perhaps even with the courtly circles. For example, it is evident that the commissioner of Harley 2320 was wealthy. Harley 2320 is a luxury manuscript, and therefore the cost of the manuscript must have been high (160). For instance, the illumination is of a high standard (Braswell-Means, *Medieval Lunar Astrology* 70), and the script, which is beautifully written in *textura quadrata*, also suggests high cost (Taavitsainen 160). Another example of a manuscript containing Middle English astrological prognostic material that probably belonged to aristocratic or courtly circles is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 381 as the good-quality parchment, professional cursive hands, and extensive decoration indicate high cost (Braswell-Means, *Medieval Lunar Astrology* 69). Secondly, the middle and merchant class can also be linked to manuscripts containing Middle English astrological prognostic works. For example, as Taavitsainen observes, Princeton, University Library, Garrett 141 was commissioned by Sir Miles and Lady Stapleton in 1448-1449. Sir Miles, who was a man of regard in Norfolk, was part of the landed gentry (162). The merchant class can also be associated with Middle English astrological prognostic works as some of these works were especially appealing to the merchant class as they discussed travel overseas and merchandising (Braswell-Means, *Medieval Lunar Astrology* 69). Furthermore, names and dates in the margins of some manuscripts containing Middle English astrological prognostic texts link these manuscripts to merchant families (Braswell-Means, "Popular Lunar Astrology" 190). Finally, lay families also possessed manuscripts containing Middle English astrological prognostic material. For example, London, British Library, Harley 1735 was probably owned by a lay family in a rural area. This is suggested by the drawings of obscene figures, barns, ploughs,

hunting dogs, and winnowing fans in the margins of the manuscript. Also, the paper of the manuscript is of poor quality, and the hand of the scribe is unprofessional (Braswell-Means, *Medieval Lunar Astrology* 69). Furthermore, just like with the manuscripts linked to the merchant class, some manuscripts containing Middle English astrological prognostic texts show that they were used by yeomen through marginal names and dates (Braswell-Means, “Popular Lunar Astrology” 190). Thus, Taavitsainen’s statement that there is no proof of Middle English astrological prognostic texts “reaching the very bottom of the market in the fifteenth century” is incorrect (195). Instead, as Braswell-Means says, Middle English astrological prognostic texts “circulated widely in every class of manuscript – from the most deluxe, illuminated copy on parchment to the poorest household almanac on dog-eared paper” (“Middle English Prognostic Material” 368).

Looking more specifically to the professional world and not to household use, Middle English astrological prognostic texts were often used by medical practitioners as these texts could give valuable information for medical procedures. For example, these texts could give information on favourable days for bloodletting. The medical practitioners that used Middle English astrological prognostic works belonged to all classes, ranging from university trained physicians to common practitioners (Taavitsainen 169). Manuscripts containing Middle English astrological prognostic material that appear to have belonged to medical practitioners include Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 336/725 and Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 457/395 as the content of these manuscripts suggests that they were used by physicians (Braswell-Means, *Medieval Lunar Astrology* 12).

Another significant group that did not use Middle English astrological prognostic texts as household documents was the clergy. As Tester says, the relationship between the Church and astrology was complicated as astrology seemed to deny free will and God’s omnipotence (108), but in the late Middle Ages, the Church believed that “the heavens gave man his general character and inclination, but they could not compel him against the wise exercise of preventative conduct” (Taavitsainen 28). Thus, clergymen were allowed to study manuscripts containing Middle English astrological prognostic texts. For example, London, British Library, Harley 2269 was owned by Samuel Knott, who was a clergyman from Devonshire (Taavitsainen 168). Furthermore, the content of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 88, which is chiefly religious, medical, and astrological, suggests that it might have been a priest’s handbook (Braswell-Means,

Medieval Lunar Astrology 13). Another example is Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 1236 as its provenance is certainly monastic as its content includes religious lyrics, liturgical music, and paschal tables (Braswell-Means, “Popular Lunar Astrology” 191).

Finally, it should be mentioned that Middle English astrological prognostic texts were presented in two different forms, prose and verse, and that each form had its own intended audience. Poetry was seen as the standard way to pass on information in the Middle Ages. Therefore, poetry was used for topics such as medical information and elementary instruction. On the other hand, prose was seen as a more learned and sophisticated way of transmitting information, and it was thus used for devotional and philosophical works. However, in the fifteenth century, which is the century in which most Middle English astrological prognostic texts were written, the relationship between verse and prose became more problematic as the boundaries between verse and prose blurred. Nevertheless, it is likely that prose and poetry were still intended for different audiences for the most part of the century, and that prose was seen as the more sophisticated form. For instance, works were frequently transformed from prose into verse, and during this process, complicated parts of the original prose text were often simplified in the text in verse. Thus, Middle English astrological prognostic texts in verse were intended for a lay audience, whereas these texts in prose were aimed at a more sophisticated and learned audience (Taavitsainen 117-118).

2.7 The Author of the Prognostication Attributed to Bartholomew of Parma

The prognostic text in Harley 2320 is attributed to Bartholomew of Parma. It is explicitly stated in the text itself that the original author of the text is named Bartholomew, but it is not mentioned that he was from Parma or from any other place for that matter. However, out of the known historical figures named Bartholomew, it is indeed most likely that Bartholomew of Parma is meant in the text. As Skinner shows, Bartholomew of Parma was active as a lecturer on astronomy at the University of Bologna in the 1280s and 1290s. Bartholomew of Parma was especially known for his work on geomancy, which is a method of divination by means of signs derived from the earth. For example, Bartholomew’s *Summa Breuiloquium*, which was written in 1288 in Bologna at the request of Theodosius de Flisco, who was the bishop-elect of Reggio in Northern Italy, was the most elaborate treatise on geomancy written in the thirteenth century. The *Summa Breuiloquium* has been copied more times than any other geomantic manuscript and was

thus responsible for spreading the art of geomancy (106-107). Next to geomantic works, Bartholomew of Parma also wrote astrological treatises. For instance, Braswell-Means says that the *Judicium Particulare de Mutationibus Aeris* can be ascribed to him ("Middle English Prognostic Material" 392). Unfortunately, not much else is known about Bartholomew of Parma.

Even though Bartholomew of Parma was involved with astrological practises, it is likely that the prognostication in Harley 2320 is falsely ascribed to him. Braswell-Means says that she has not been able to assign this attribution to any of Bartholomew's known texts as there is no proof of direct translation ("Middle English Prognostic Material" 392). However, this does not necessarily completely rule out that Bartholomew of Parma is not the original author of the text as the original source text could simply be lost. Still, there are other reasons to believe that Bartholomew of Parma is not the original author of the text. For instance, the prognostication contradicts itself continuously. The woman who is born under the sign Pisces, for example, is said to be humble, obedient, and pleasant, but it is also stated that she is quarrelsome and that she is a troublemaker. The contradictions make the text quite illogical, and it is therefore not very likely that a highly educated man such as Bartholomew of Parma wrote it. Instead, it is very well possible that the scribe of the text consulted multiple sources written by different authors. The use of multiple sources by the scribe of the text could explain the contradictory nature of the prognostication. Finally, the prognostication is a very practical text, whereas it is likely that medieval university professors were more concerned with theoretical matters. For instance, Bartholomew of Parma's *Summa Breuiloquium* is a much more theoretical work than the prognostication in Harley 2320. As Skinner says, in summary, the *Summa Breuiloquium* first observes that the art of geomancy originated from God, then it is explained that the inventors of the art of geomancy derived the primary symbols of geomancy from the constellations, and finally, the text goes on to discuss the correspondence between these symbols and the planets and the star constellations (106). Thus, Bartholomew of Parma does not use the art of geomancy in this work to actually give prognostics. Instead, the *Summa Breuiloquium* is a theoretical work on geomancy. Thus, it turns out that it is not likely that Bartholomew of Parma is the true author of the prognostication in Harley 2320. The prognostication is probably falsely ascribed to him in order to give more prestige to the text.

3. The Edition of the Prognostication Attributed to Bartholomew of Parma

3.1 A Note on the Text

In this edition, punctuation, capitalisation, and textual articulation are modernised. Concerning the punctuation in the manuscript, it should be mentioned that numerous punctuation signs have been added to the manuscript at a later stage by two different hands, probably in the fifteenth and/or sixteenth centuries. Furthermore, a couple of glosses and a couple of other remarks have been added in the margins of the manuscript by these two different hands. Also, some of the words have been underlined by one of these hands. The punctuation signs, the underlinings, and the glosses and the other remarks that have been added by these two different hands have not been put in footnotes as they do not add anything useful to the original text and as the number of footnotes would become distracting. Finally, it should be mentioned that the original scribe put the word ‘honest’ in the bottom margin of f. 19v and the words ‘ly wyth fure’ in the bottom margin of f. 27v. These words have also not been put in footnotes in the edition as they are just copies of the first word(s) that appear on the subsequent page. For instance, on f. 19v the word ‘honest’ is added in the bottom margin, and the text on f. 20r begins with the word ‘honest’. Thus, these words do not add anything useful to the text, and therefore they have not been put in footnotes.

The spelling of u/v and i/j and the word spacing have not been modernised in this edition. An awareness of the Middle English usage of u/v and i/j and the glosses that are provided for some of the words in which these letters appear should enable the reader to understand these types of words. Word spacing has not been modernised for the sake of clarity. Some words such as ‘vn to’ and ‘per of’, could easily be modernised. However, some other words cause the modernisation of word spacing to be more complicated. For example, the use of the v instead of the u in ‘a vice’ (advice) and ‘a vanded’ (advanced) shows that the scribe did not regard these terms to be one word. Thus, it would not be right to modernise word spacing here. Therefore, true word modernisation is not possible, and it might lead to confusion when words such as ‘vn to’ are modernised and words such as ‘a vice’ are not. Thus, word spacing has not been modernised.

The abbreviations that appear in the manuscript are expanded in this edition. The part of the word that was abbreviated in the manuscript is put in italics, whereas the part of the word that was not abbreviated in the manuscript is put in regular font.

3.2 The Prognostication Attributed to Bartholomew of Parma

Fader riȝtful, enformyng rehelnesse, ech in on nedefully acceptyng, receyue thyne owne hondy werkys. Redressyng vs that ben vn sure, in different also to welthe or wo, madyn of þyne endeles myȝt, infynyȝte wysdom aftur þy propur and singler a vice, wandring in fortune, fekyll, febel, and variant. Yow fro al mysse happys of casualte vs wondurfully be closyng, wyth draw, defende, and frendely refreyne. Inspyryng vs also þorow inspexion and knowlechyng of oure owne brotil and frayelle kynde to voyden and enchewyn þe meenesse þat deducyn fro the lyȝt sum maner of myȝthe vn to þe depe dungon of derkenesse, whych in rule and gouernaunce naturalle volwyn and swim þe zodyak¹ of twelue singnesse þat reyneth yn þe fermament namyd and callyd on thys wyse.²

The Ram, þe Bole, and þe Lyon, þe Breþryn³, þe Crabbe, and þe Maydon, þe Balawnce and þe Scorpion and þe Archer, þe Gote, the Fysche, and þe Waturere. Eche of hem alle hauynge hys owyne propur dominion, and one of þe xii monthes of the ȝere be a maner successyon of owe ordur and cytuacyon so that on burth and engendering of man and woman kyndely borne and begetyn, eche in hys tyme hath hys owne propur and

just; to guide; carelessness
 God's creation
 to reform; fortune
 misfortune
 unsurpassed; advice; changing
 fate; to shut off
 by means of
 acknowledgment; fragile
 to avoid; to shun
 sort of
 to advance along
 manner
 dominance
 their
 to beget; naturally

¹ zodyak] MS odyak

² The introduction of the text is quite complex. In summary, God is asked to guide and reform those that are careless and unsure. The topic then turns to fortune, which is called fickle and feeble. It is then mentioned that God protects mankind from misfortune, and that mankind is able to shun dark powers because God inspires them to do so. Finally, it is stated that fortune and misfortune are governed by the zodiac of twelve signs

³ breþryn] MS breþyn

naturalle wurching, þorw whych be al maner of fortunate and contingent destneis to man diuersely and womman aftur her diuers werchinge properid and a plied. *Withnessynge* þys þe hye sotulle astronomioure Bartholmew⁴ in his destnary. Thus seyng.

A man that ys borne vndur the singne of þe Watuerer, þe which reyneth and hath hys dominion fro þe myddes of Ianuarii vn to þe myddys of Februarii, schal be worschupful to suche as he louyt⁵, angry, couetus, louely, and ryztfulle debatyng⁶ wyth such as he louyth, nozt drawyng mucche to honest cumpani and dredyng God. And þer he desyreth be as dwellyng, þer schal he haue mucche worschup. Loth to acuse any man. A grete pylgremage goer. Happy to mucche enmyte, but euer God schal delyuery hym fro hys enmyes dongere. He schal suffyr heuynisse for hys kynne and hys frendes. Louyng much felschyp and wymmen, to be in company gracyous to gode, and setting much by hys owne witte. And sone aftur hys xxx wynter or þer a boute, schalle hys grete encrease be gynne. He schal nozt long dwelle yn þe place where he was bore. Also, or he dye, he schal haue grete seknesse, hede ache, and also be y⁷ woundit wyth stone, yren, or bytyng of an honde. Graciouse to loue and worschup in stronge contreis. He schalle be ferid in water. And yf he be a man of þe worlde, he schal ouer leue hys

natural operation

their; to be appointed
to observe; ingenious

honourable

to quarrel
to take up with; respectable

honour

to happen; always

sorrow

friendship; fortunate
wealth; to value; mental capacity

advancement

before

afraid

a secular man; to live longer than

⁴ Bartholmew] see section 2.7 of the introduction to the edition for more information on Bartholomew

⁵ louyt] it is possible, but not necessarily so, that a final h has fallen off the page with the loss of the bottom of the folio

⁶ debatyng] MS debatyngyng

⁷ y] in Middle English, the y/i- was a prefix affixed to nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs, and past participles formed from verbs, nouns, or adjectives

furst wyfe and fal yn⁸ the danger of a gret man. Saturday ys nouȝt to hym for to wesch hys hed. Thyng that ys blak of colour schal be most happy and fortunate vn to hym. Yf he passe xxx wynter, he schal leue iii score ȝere and xvi. Thes man also schal haue a certeyne tokyn in hys hede, hys body, and in one of hys leggyes. *And* scharp of speche.

evil
lucky

A womman that ys borne vndur þe same signe schal be wyse, chast, and enuyis⁹, dredyng God and doyng grete penawnce alle hir lyf tyme, desyryng moche to be in good wymmon companye, thryfty of household, beyng at debate and contynual strif *with* hyr husbande yf sche be a womman of þe worlde. Al þyng schal be plenteuos a boute hyr, and specialy of mete and drynk schal sche be deliberalle. In here ryȝt honde schal sche haue a marke. A visitour of strong cuntreis, whych schal¹⁰ labur and trauayl xl wynter of age to ben vengyd on such as haue vexid or desesyd hyr of euyl wylle. Sche also schal haue grete sekenysse: þe palsy, hede ache, swellyng of hir wombe, and also toth ache. *Sum* foure fotid best schal byte or hyȝt hyr, and sche schal nouȝt dwel in þe place þer sche was born. Sche schal haue grete desese in hyr reynes, and ȝif þat sche happe to ouer leue xl wynter, þen schalle sche leue as by kynde iii score ȝere and x. Best dayes for þes men and wymmen ben Twysday and Pursday, and Saturday most wurst.

given to ill-will

prosperous
quarrel

plentiful
generous

to work; to avenge
to distress

kidneys
naturally

⁸ fal yn] MS faly n

⁹ enuyis] MS enuþis

¹⁰ schal] MS scha

The man that ys borne vnder the syngne¹¹ of the Fysch, whyche reyneþ and hath hys dominion fro þe myddys of Februarii in to þe mydys of March, schal be a goer and a visitour of many contreis, souynge moch opyn company of onest men. He schal be a lechoure and neuer reioise hys faderys erytage, but he schalle recouer oþer profitabile fortune þat schal be muche beter to hym. A man of grete reputacion and wurschuppe he schal be, wyse and wytty, cautelus and schlye. Whom diuerse, whych schul make hym gode chere a fore hym, schul besy hem to hynder hym yn al þat þey cunne and mowe oþer also be sydes schul help wel to, but 3ytte hyt schal no3t ffor boþe here malyce and hem to, he schal graciously wyth stonde and ry3t wel ouer come¹². He schal be gracious to gode and fulle deliberalle and spendyng þer of, wylful to accuse hem þat offendith or greuyth hym. He schal be gete many chyldryn and 3et be callyd fader of mo þan hys owne be getyng. The loue and zele þat he hat to hys frendys and to such as he louyth schul be cause of grete hyndryng to hym for a tyme and of grete greuans. He schal falle in þe danger of a grete man and wel a rise a 3en. Strangers schal haue more of hys godes than þo þat ben ry3t nye hym. Whos cunselle and felyschyp also ben ry3t gode and wurschupful. Loth to be leue eny þynge les þan he knowe ry3t wel. Þes schal haue þe better and

to be with; familiar
a lascivious person
to own; to obtain

discerning; artful
to treat kindly
may

successfully
fully

willing; to harass
also
ardent affection

harm; distress

those

unless; to get the better of

¹¹ syngne] this word is actually written as syingne, but the mistake has already been corrected in the manuscript as a dot has been entered underneath the i

¹² here ... come] it is likely that this part of the sentence means that this man will have to endure other people's enmity, but that he will hurt his enemies as well, and that he will come out as the winner of the aforesaid conflict

ouercome hys enmyes. He schal gete hym a frende by
wham he schal be my3ti and strong y now to wyth stonde
al hys aduersariis. He schal lerne and cunne many
particuler þyngys, trystynge much yn hys owyn wytte.
Fful negligent in hys 3outh, happy to loue, and
seruysabille, bolde of spech, and chereful of
porte, kende to alle folk and fre of hys mete and hys
drynke. He schal no3t dwelle yn þe place whare he was
bore no long tyme to gedyr. Sum foure fotyd best schal
byte oþer hurt hym. He schal falle in water and ly3tly
scape hyt. Hauyng sum maner of tokyn in hys forhede or
in sum hys chekbon oþer els in sum oþer place of hys
vysage. To faderles and moderles chyldryn, to wydowys
and almyfolk ande helper, schal he be a protectoure and a
defendoure. And yf he leue vn to xxxviii wynter fulle, þen
schal he leue as by kynde iii score and v monþes.

A womman þat ys born vnder þat same sygne
schal be muke, lowly, and plesant, chast, wyse, and
lewtuus¹³, oftyen angry, of feruent wille, debatefulle, a
chydur. Whych schal haue experyens of many contrarius
fortunasse and schamfulle be dyssclawndred. Beyng *with*
hyr housbande, yf 3ho eny haue, long tyme wyth oute
chylde. Reiosyng or sche deye be kynde. Grete
reuerence and wurschup. Many desesys schal sche haue,
grete sekenysse: hede ache, of hyr yen¹⁴ and hyr templys,
ache yn hyr reynesse and also on hyr wombe. Enuy of
oþer pepul schal vexe hyr sore, desese also at hyr
stomake. Happy to godys of fortune, hauyng þer of in

enough

willing to serve; well-spoken
behaviour

easily

survive

alms-givers

humble; obedient

quarrelsome

troublemaker; adverse

to slander

to attain one's end

eyes

ill-will

severely

temporal goods

¹³ lewtuus] this spelling variant cannot be found in the MED and the OED, but it is likely that it is a spelling variant of the adjective 'lecherous', which means 'lascivious'

¹⁴ yen] MS þen

houshold grete plente. Sche also schal be a grete geter of gode. A *noþer womman*, a neybor of hyr, schal be at descencyon *and* at debate. Whych schal bere a sone by wham schal sche come to much wurschep and iofulnesse. *Sum fore fotyde best schal byte hyr oþer hurte*. Þys *womman* wyth fure schal be frayed and for a tyme for sake hyr housbande yf sche be a *womman* of þe worlde. And sche scape xxx wynter, þen sche schal leue as by kynde iii score 3er¹⁵ and xvi. Þe best dayes in þe weke for þes men and wymmon ben Monday, Thorsday, and Fryday, and þe most worst þe Tewysday.

abasement

A man þat ys borne onder þe syngne of þe Ram, whych reyneth and hath hys dominion¹⁶ fro þe myddys of Marche vnto myddes of Auerel, schal be sotul in many craftis, neþer to reche neþer to pore. Sore schal he be desesyde a monge hys neybores and haue dede folke ne godes in hys *gouernawnce*. Sone wroth and sone plesyd. Harmful fortunes schul happe hym. Couetus schal be in lernyng, experte in eloquencie, kynde to al folke. A lyar schal he be, chaniabelle also, and hard of be leue. On hys aduersariis he schal se veniawnce. Hys most *prosperite* schal be most in hys 3ouþ. Hys fortune, what euer he be, schal happe hym sone after hys xxxiii 3ere. A stronge lechour schal he be. Yf he weddy any wyf, hyt schal be at hys xxv 3ere. Ffor hys frendys he schal do¹⁷, and for hys

skilled

nor

trust

flourishing condition

¹⁵ 3er] MS 3erer

¹⁶ and hath hys dominion] MS and hys dominion

¹⁷ Ffor ... do] it is likely that this part of the sentence means that this man will do much harm for his friends

godenesse haue muche harme. And vnder *meter*¹⁸ of vnked¹⁹ werkys schal he be. And of faderschyp of diuerse chyl dren schal he be, þe chylde where for in grete perel and drede. Wyth thretynge and debate schal he be y vexyd. A certeyne tokyn in hys hed, in hys schulder, oþer in hys here. He schal haue wondys also dyuers in hys body. Sum four fotyð best schal byte oþer desese hym. Whyche also schal wex reche by deth of hys euen cristen, and he schal neuer haue childe of hys owne be getyng. In hys xxiii 3ere, he schal be sore seke, and yf he skape þat sekenesse, he schal leue as by kynde iii score 3ere and xv. And al þat he seyth he schal desyre. A ryng for hym wyth a cros ys gode to were, whiche wol helpe voyde hys yuel destneis.

A womman þat ys born in thys same monthe schal be angry, be kynde, schamfully be dysclawnderd of enuy and enmyte. Whyche schal lese one housbande and recuuer a noþer muche beter þanne he was. Sche schal also be plesaunte speker and a priuy lyer. Sche trystyþ no man selde or neuer, and for lak of hyr bodely lust sche schal synne ofte in hert and desyre and be þer for seke ofte and ofte changyng coloure. Sche schal haue grete hede ache. In here v 3ere, schulde sche be seke, and yf sche scape þat sekenesse, sche schal leue as by kynde xl wynter and iiiii, beyng nere þe later a womman of grete

activities

to hurt

flourish; splendidly; fellow

secret

physical pleasure

¹⁸ *meter*] it is not the Middle English noun ‘meter(e)’, which means ‘one who measures’, that is meant here. Perhaps the French loanword ‘métier’, which means ‘occupation’, is meant here. Another possibility is that the scribe made an error and meant to write the Middle English noun ‘mete’, which means ‘target’

¹⁹ vnked] this spelling variant cannot be found in the MED and the OED, but it is likely that it is a spelling variant of the adjective ‘uncouth’, which means ‘unseemly’

doute. And þe best dayes in þe weke for þys men and wommen ben Þursday and Saturday, and þe most wurst ys Tewysday. Þes men and wommen schul be leke þe ram þat lusyth hys wolle euery 3ere onys and þat same 3ere recueryth hyt a 3en ry3t, so schul þey onys a 3ere haue lost of her godes of fortune and þe sylf 3ere recuuer hyt a 3en wyþ her owne *propur* labor.

A man þat ys born vndur þe syngne of þe Bole, þe whych reynyth *and* hath hys dominion fro þe myddys of Auerel vnto þe myddys of May, schal be stronge and hardy, a chyder and an harmere yn al þyng. Vnked þynges of 3efte schal he reiose. Alle þat he wolle he schal bringe sone to effecte. In hys 3outhe debatful²⁰, angry, and a grete pilgrimage goer schal he be. Hys owne cuntrei he schal leue, dwellyng much of hys lyue in oþer strange contreis. He schal haue gode fortunesse *and* by hys wyf, yf he wedde, haue grete rechesse and furþeryng oþer ellis to sum grete auawnsement be an hawnsed. He schal be also an vnkynde man, and for no benefete þat he schal do to ony of hys, schal he be any þonke worthy. Oþer mennys goodenes schal be wyted hym²¹, and he no þyng deserue hyt. After hys xxxiiii schal he recuuer hys²²

stout-hearted

to want

benefit

to do a favour
his people; thank
to bestow

And þe best dayes for þes men and womman ben Mondaye and Tywysday, and þe worst day for hym ys þe Þursday. Whych boþe schul be leke þe bole þat laberyth and trauelyth þe erþe for sowyng of corne and hath no3t ellys but þe hulle, þe stree, other chaf ry3t, so schul þey

hills; straw; the refuse of grain

²⁰ debatful] MS debaful

²¹ hym] MS hy

²² The last part of the prognostication for male – bull and the first (and main) part of female – bull is missing

laberyn and trauelyn in getyng of here godes of fortune,
and hem self ne no man ellys schal vnneþys mow fare þe
beter þer for. And ben boþ ful vnkynde.

hardly

A man þat ys born vnder þe syngne of þe Gemini,
þat ys to say þe twyned broþeren, whose reyning and
dominion ys fro þe myddes of May vn to þe myddes of
Iunii, he schal haue diuerse woundes fast by hys nayles.
He schal be wel maden, also *mercyabel* and graciose to
moneie, discrete and resonabel in *gouernaunce* of ledyng
hys lyf, a *visitour* of strange placys, wyse, *and* sotulle of
wytte. Wilful to go in pilgrimage and putter of þe stone
schal he be. Nozt dwellyng long in hys owne contre.
Negligent in mani of hys dedys. Reioycyng rechesse in
habundawnce vn to hys xxxiiii zere. Ful sele wedde any
wyf. Dislaui in takyng of oþer men wyues and oþer
diuerse *wommen*. Whych also schal be beton of an
hownde, and in þe hede oþer ellis in þe lyfte arme be hurt
wyth yren oþer wyth fure. In water also he schal be
troblid and ouer passe þe se. Leuyng as by grace of kynde
a ful hunderd wynter and x monthes.

nearby

well-shaped; compassionate

a mason

happiness

dissolute

good fortune

The womman þat ys born yn þe same monthe schal
be gracyouse to worschepis, getyng hyr most gode of
strongeris, happy to be dysclaundred and falsely defamyd.
And sche schal comynly schal wedde a boutte hyr xii zere
or raþer yf þey euer weddy, and sche schal wel ouer come
hyr harmful perelles and leue as by kynde iii score zere
and x. And þe best dayes in þe weke for þes man and
womman ben Sunday and Wendisday, and þe most wurste
ben Monday and Fryday. So þat al þo þat ben born vnder

earlier

þes syngne al her lyf tyme schul grow and encesse in hyr temperel godes, and þey schul be ful sotul of wyt. Þey schulle also haue dyuers gode sciencis. Leuyng her own *propur* godes by hynde hem to her successoures, takyng vn neþes ony party of her sore be traueled good²³, but leue hyt to such as *neuer* schul kunne hem þonk.

skills
descendants

A man þat ys borne vnde þe syngne of þe Crabbe, whych reyneþ and hath hys dominion fro the myddys of Iunii vnto þe myddes of Iulie, he schal be fowle skynned, of a meen stature, makyng much of *wymmon*, meke, lowly, gode, famose, wyse and crafty, of enuye and enmyte be desesyd, holdyng in hys possession *oper* mennes godes. Þe whych schal haue *ouer* honde of hys enemyes and sumdele schal be proute. Whas pryde schal be cause of grete myrthe and dysporte vn to such men as *knowyn* hym. Ofte in water he schal be vexyd, of venymyng also. *With* in forþ haue heuynesse and greuance. Happy to fynde mony þat ys hydde. Thys²⁴ man also schal labour and trauayle sore for certeyne. Sekenes and infirmite ys of hys wyf, yf he any haue, to gete hyr confort of remedy²⁵. And at hys xxx 3ere, schal hys grettest encrece ben. Hys fortune schal wonderfully be gladyng hym, and he schal leue as by kynde iii score 3ere and x.

moderate; to think well of
clever

somewhat
pleasure

at some later point

²³ Leuyng ... good] it is likely that this part of the sentence just means that this woman will leave her goods to her descendants, and that they will hardly be troubled by her hardships. The insertion of 'be traueled good' seems to be an error

²⁴ Thys] this word is actually written as Tthys, but the mistake has already been corrected in the manuscript as a dot has been entered underneath the second t

²⁵ to ... remedy] this part of the sentence probably means that this man will get a remedy for his wife's illness, and that he will thus comfort her

A womman þat ys born in þe same monþe schal be the Fysch²⁶, by kynde, sone a greued and sone y plesed, seruisabile, wyse, iocunde and mery, ofte puttynge hyr self in grete perelle and euermore wel ouercome hem. And such men as bysy hem silf a bouthe hyr, þey may sone conquere hyr wylle. Whose lyf schal be laborouse vn to hyr xxx wynter, and þenne sone after schal sche leue more at ese. Sche also schal haue many dou3tres. By cause of hyr owyn goode, sche schal be extolled and an hawsed to dyuerse honoures and wurschepes. Sche schal be wounded also wyth dyuersely and þorow lechecraft be ful wel cueryd a 3en, beyng ful leke to be persched in water. Whych also schal fal fro sum hy place and be furþermore þorow hardenes of hyr bowellys ofte tymes greuysly y payned. Sche schal also be byten of an hownde and leue as by kynde iiii score 3ere and two. The best dayes in þe weke for þes men and wommen ben Tewysday and Fryday, and þe most wurst ys þe Þursday. Þes men and wommen schul be dyuersly y vexyd with enmyte, but wel and graciously þey schul ouercome hyt. Hem alle wey folowyng gode vertuys.

angry

goodness; to elevate

medical or surgical care
to recover

A man þat ys borne vnder þe sygne of þe Lyon, whych reyneþ and hath hys dominion fro þe myddes of Iulie vnto þe myddes of August, schal be bewteuowse of schappe, hardy, opyn spekyng, mercyabel, gracious to fynde money þat ys hydde, a prompte wepar with such as wepun, proute of speche, reiocyng sum grete certeyn of gode at hys xxxiii 3ere. And sone aftur hys xxxvi 3ere, dyuerse thretynges schul be put vnto hym, where þorow

beautiful

plainly

arrogant

whereby

²⁶ A ... Fysch] this part of the sentence probably means that this woman shall be like the woman who is born under the sign Pisces

he schal lese muche of hys god. Happy to haue loue and reuerence of gode wommen, and bad wymmen schul haue hym in grete dispite. What so euer he bygynneþ, he schal wel *performe*. In temperal seruice he schal gete hys gode. Vnkynde schal he be, and a comyn dysoure, strong also and myzty. Whych schal kunne sum comyn craft to recuuer a zen þat he lesyd of mysse happe and fortune. A gret swar vnto wurschyp and dignite schal he be²⁷, frendely also. He schal come to hys fortune by thre sundry ladies. Wilful to go in pilgrimage²⁸. Happy to haue sorow and greuyssse. Trauel for hys children sake. He schal falle fro an hye, be also troblyd yn *water*. Whych at hys xxxvi zere, schal be in doute of hys lyf, and yf he scape þat tyme, þenne schal he be a vanced of sum lordes gifte. He schal be hownde betun, and wonder schal be yf he be cuueryd a zen. And he schal leue as by kynde iiii score zere and foure and iiii monthys.

to despise

storyteller

promise

to advance

A womman y bore in þe same monthe²⁹ schal be strong, hardy, louelych, wel y schapen, feyre spekyng, plesawnte, and mercyabel to se eny man wepe. Sche schal be loþe, grete wondur yf sche euer wedde any husbande. Suffryng gret desese yn hyr stomake. A boutte hyr xii zere, sche schal be holde suspecte dislauynes in gouernaunce. Where hyr ney3bores schul be in wayte and in spye to take hyr wyth a defaute and to haue hyr in

well-spoken

unpleasant

behaviour

to detect in an offense or a sin

²⁷ A ... be] this part of the sentence likely means that this man will have dignity and that he will be worshipful

²⁸ pilgrimage] the final g and e of the word were written between the lines by the scribe

²⁹ monthe] MS mothe

donger. Whyche schal confeyne³⁰ iii dyuerse men of a state³¹ and brynge forth frute. Sche also schal haue desese of þe bloody flyx, be bytyn of an hownde, haue also a greuys falle fro an hye, and yf sche scape wel þat fal, sche schal leue as by kynde iii score ʒere *and* xvii. To whom schal come grete reches. The best dayes yn þe woke for þes men and wommen ben Sunday, Wendysday, and Þursday. Þes boþe þe men and þe wommen schul be hardy, *merciful*, *and* grete eteris of fleysch.

offspring

A man that ys born vnder þe Mayden, whych reyneþ and hath hys dominion fro þe myddys of August vn to þe myddes of September, he schal be schamefast, herty, couetyng alle þat he sayþ, sone wroþ, and gracyouse to loue, a grete visitour seke men, a *famus* wyse man. Whych schal fare ryȝt wel *with* oute grete laboure. And yf he be of þe layfe, he schal wedde a wyfe and bury hyr, and aftur hyr wedde a noþer by whom he shal haue many chyl dren and grete reches, and he schal loue hyr welle for sche schal be riȝt honest and ryȝte chast, but sche schal haue hym suspecte of a noþer womman. And thys man schal be a styлле man of consel. Þes man also schal take seknes þorow colde and scape hyt. Þes man schal haue also many *enmyes* and also þe *beter* of hem. He schal be mucche byddyng at home. Beyng in suche crafte as he vsyþ ryȝt diligent and besy. In water he schal be dystressyd and dyuersly woundy wyth yren. And leue as by kynde iii score ʒere *and* x and iiiii monthes.

modest
well-disposed

to be silent with regard to

to pray
to practise

³⁰ confeyne] this spelling variant cannot be found in the MED and the OED, but it is likely that it is a spelling variant of the verb ‘conveien’, which means ‘to accompany’

³¹ men of a state] means ‘men of any consequence in rank or wealth’

The *womman* born in þe same month schal be shamefast, a besy labourer, vn wytty, and neglygent. Sone aftur hyr xiii 3ere, schal sche be desesed wyth wynd in hyr veynes and a boutte þe same 3ere or be fore wed an husbande whych schal leue but lytel while wyth hyr. Hyr furst sone also schal *non longe*³² leuyd, and hyr gretest godes of fortune schal come to hyr þorow 3ifte of a noþer *womman*. Sche also schal be trobled yn *water* and haue a depe falle fro an hye place. Men diuerce and also rycheys schulle *presse vp* pon hyr plenteusly *and* þat at hyr xxxiiii 3ere. Sone after schal sche dye or be ful leke. Þes *womman* also schal haue knowyng of man a boutte hyr xiii 3ere. Whych schal haue duryngly *preuy* seknesse, grete hede ache, in hyr *wombe* a certeyn tokyn. And sche scape þes 3eres: iii, v, ix, xv, xxxiii, *and* xliii, sche schal leue as by kynde iii score 3ere. In a voydyng of hyr mysse fortune, hyt ys gode for hyr for to vse to were sum precyouse stone a pon hur. The best dayes in þe weke for þes men and women ben Sondag and Wendysday, and þe Pursday most worst. So þat þey boþe schul haue grete temptacyon and vnneþus mow wyth stande *hem*, desyryng boþe to loue chast but wonder. And þey brynge hyre purpose to þe ende.

A man þat ys borne vnder þe sygne of þe Balance, whych reyneþ and haþ hys dominion fro þe myddes of September yn to þe myddes of October, schal be ryzt myzty, in seruise of grete men, rizt wurschip fulle, a grete traueler vn to strange placys and contreys and haue grete

ignorant

intercourse with
lastingly; gynecological disease

it

to bring to a successful conclusion

³² longe] MS longe longe

vantage þer þorow. He wol wel kepe hys owne conselle,
 but yf he be constreyned, to reuele hyt. He schal³³ no
 knowunde kepe of hys be hestys. Ffor money and oþer
 godes of fortune, hys neyþbores and hys kynnes men
 schul haue grete enuy to hym. A boute hys xv ʒere, ys
 gode tyme to *hym* for to wedde, yf he schal haue any wyf,
 and where he wed oþer no ʒit schal he noʒt be continent.
 Be syde a swyft speker schal he be. A mong hys
 neyþbores schal he be hurt. Dede men godesse schal he
 haue in dysposicioun and in hys schuldresse haue a
 marke. Horses and oxes schul be happy and gracyouse to
 hym, where for he schal haue harm *and* suffre grete
 desese. *Wommen* schul be cause of hys ryches, and he
 schal haue many yuel fortunesse. Mich pepyl schul knowe
 hys conseyl a ʒens hys wylle. And þys man schal leue as
 by kynde iii score ʒere *and* xvii and iiii monthes.

The womman þat ys born in þe same monthe schal
 be louely, herty, a visitoure of strange placis. Þe which
 schal be happy to here ofte tythynges of hyr enmyes deþe.
 Softe and esy of port. And sche schal reioice and haue
 much ioie and myrth and come to hyr a boue a boute
 xxxiii ʒere or sone aftur. And euer more a mong haue
 angur þorow hyr³⁴ husbandes and sche any wedde and but
 sche wedde or hyr xiii ʒere or sone aftur. Sche schal be in
 continent. Sche schal no forme³⁵ haue by þe furst wedded

benefit; thereby
 to force
 to refrain from; promises

if
 adept

to have in one's power

misery

kind

every now and then
 distress; on account of; if; except if

³³ schal] MS sclal

³⁴ hyr] MS hys

³⁵ forme] it is likely that the noun 'forme' means 'offspring' here. However, this exact definition cannot be found in the MED and the OED. The definition in the MED that comes closest to the meaning of the word 'offspring' is 'the physical shape of something, contour, outline; the figure or shape (of a person), body'

man þat sche schal haue. Sche schal haue much wurschup, and grete sekene in hyr rybbys and in hyr hammys³⁶. A grete goer of pilgrimages schal sche be. Whych at hyr xii 3ere schal bren hyr fote oþer scalle hyr self wyth hote water. To þys woman, ys gode drede fyre and schone water, wyth wham sche ys leke to be desesyd. Sche schal haue howsynge of hyr owne and þat grete plente. Sche schal haue a certeyn tokyn in hyr vysage and many chyldren yn hir 3outh and for hem suffre muche peyne. Wylyng to alle men and doynge gode. Enforþe hyr power and be a ful gracyouse woman. And yf sche scape thys 3eres: hir iiii, v, xviii, and xlv, þenne schal sche leue as by kynde iii score 3ere and xii. Monday and Friday ben þe best dayes in þe weke for þes men and womman, and þe Wendysday ys most worste. Boþe beyng in grete doute of hyr lyf oft tymes.

A man þat ys born vnder þe signe of þe Scorpion, whych reyneþ and hath hys dominion fro þe myddes of October vnto þe myddes of Nouember, schal be a grete lechour and gracyouse to fortune. Whych schal haue iii wyues, and his furst wyf þat he schal wedde schal be a womman of religion. Which schal be besy and seruisabil in worschepyng of fals³⁷ goddes. At hys xv 3er, he schal haue desese in hys preuy membres. Hardy as a ferse lyon, an harde herted man. Whych schal be dongered a mong grete men, sore greuyd by anguysch and turmentynge, ouer leuyng and byry hys kynne. Thes also wyth sore

to be compliant; to strengthen

member of a religious order

genitalia; valiant

courageous

³⁶ hammys] means 'the part of the human leg which is behind the knee'

³⁷ fals] MS fal

labur and trauayelle schal recouer and gete hym hys lyuelod, dyuerse tymes happy to be blamed and ofte tymes deserue hyt, be gete also many chyldren. Hauyng grete grace to richeys and *pryncypally* in hys age. He schal vysite strange placys. He also schal be þe seyer of one þyng and þe doer of a noþer, dysseyuyng much pepul wyth hys worde, feyr louyng and wurschuppyng such men as louen and worschuppen hym, a bilder³⁸ and maker vp of new placys. In hys schulder blade, in hys nose, oþer on hys hede, he schal haue a certeyn token. Be y wounded wyth yren, by bytyng of a dogge or of *sum oþer* best at hys xxxiii zere oþer sone a pon. He schal be vexyd schamefully, and yf he scape þat vexacyon and thes termes: xxxiii, xli, þen schal he leue as by kynde iii score zere and xi.

The woman þat ys borne vnder þe same month schal be louely and bewtyuowse, hauyng many pacyones and aches in hyr hede, hyr rybbes, and in hyr oþer *membres*, a grete speker and a customable, ouerthwart and contraryouse to hyr housbande, and he zet schal he be of gode honest kynredon. Pys woman schal haue boþe sones and dowztres. Wilful to knowe and to haue kunnyng and also leful to lye. Reioysyng and hauyng possessyon of mony placys and houses. Beyng ful obedyent and louyng vnto hyr fader and riȝt diligent yn kepyng of hym. Hyr broþer and hyr syster also y borne *immediatly* aftur hyr schul noȝt be long leuyd. Sche schal be a gret louer of wyne and oyle, and for hyr broþeren and sustren sake sche schal dyuersly be vexitte. Whych schal haue mony housbandes and be of person ryȝt amyable, beyng chast,

effort
the necessities of life; to rebuke

fully

houses

thereafter

afflictions

familiar; rude

hostile

family

knowledge

credulous

to take care

³⁸ bilder] MS biller

dredeful, and seruysabil³⁹. Trauelynge sore a boutē þe worlde vnto tyme sche be at ese and leue worthyly wyth such gode as sche haþ a fore be traueled. In hyr vysage, hyr necke, or on hyr brestes, schal sche haue a certen token. By hyr sunnes sche schal com to much wurschep be þe tytēl of pylgrymage. Sche schal gete muche rychesse. Sche schal be venemyd and grete wonder yf sche scape þenne wyth her lyf. Þes woman schal be y leke⁴⁰ þe scorpyon, leke wyth hyr tonge and styngē wyth hyr tayle, ffeyre spechyd a fore folk and bytyng, bakbytyng, and detractyng hem by hynde. Þes ben þe ʒeres þat þes woman ys leke to be seke on: hyr ii, iii, vii, xviii, and *in* hyr l, and yf sche scape þes ʒeres, sche schal leue as by kynde⁴¹ iii score ʒere and xii.

respectful
honourably

reason

to flatter
kindly; to hurt
to disparage

A man þat ys born vnder þe syngne of þe Archerer, whych reyneþ and hath hys dominion fro þe myddes of Nouember vnto the myddes of December, schal be gracyouse to loue and also angry, daungerid by grete men and happy to trybulacyon and desese, also be beten of an hownd, ʒeuyng neuer forse neyþer charge of hys dedys þat he doth, wher for he schal be greued, hauyng sum tyme dyssease yn hys yen. Yf he be a man of þe worlde, þen schal he wedde two wyfes and happy to haue twynned sonnes. Of whych two wyfes, þe later schal ouer leue hym and bery hym. Grete men schul lere hym wysdom, *and* he schal vysite stronge places. He can noʒt kepe hys owyn conseyl. Fro xxx wynter forward, he schal haue happe to grace, to mony al hys lyfe tyme. Hys

good luck

³⁹ seruysabil] MS seruyabil

⁴⁰ leke] MS lele

⁴¹ kynde] MS ky

pryncypal ryches schal come by women. He schal fal and be a ferd in *water* hote or kolde. Þe hede ache also he schal haue. Whyche schal lese a frend and be schamfully pechyd of a dysclaundres dede. Hys most fortune *and* happe þat he schal haue schal be yn byynge sotul of wit and cautelouse in redynge scripture yf he be a lettered man. On hys handes oþer on hys fete, he schal haue a certeyne marke. And at hys iiii score 3ere, he schal haue sekene, whiche yf he scape, as by kynde he schold leue an hunderd 3ere.

to charge with; slanderous

The woman þat ys bore in þe same monþe schal be bewteuouse, angry, and schamful, chast, benyngne, wys, and wel manered, seruysabylle and ful of þou3tes ofte tymes, pensyf, and heuy for debate and stryf of oþer folkes. Whych if 3he be a wedded womman, schal haue two housbondes, of þe whych þe later schal be þe beter vn to hyr. Sche also schal be plenteuisse and deliberalle of hyr mete and drinke *and* also haue many chyldren, þorow wham sche schal recuuerer much myrthe and ioie. Þes womman also ys leke to haue grete hede ache and also toþe ache, wyth desese of þe moder. Whyche schal no3t loue malyse, and 3yt schal sche haue greuans and desese for hyr kynnys folk and specyally for hyr breþeren. Sche schal be a fered in *water* colde oþer hote oþer elles brende *perlusly* wyth fure. Sche schal haue grace to clerkes⁴² godes. Þer schal be debate by twene a noþer womman and hyr, whych schal be a nye ney3bore of hir. Þe whych schal haue a certeyn tokyn in one of hyr two fete or boþe. A vysytoure of stronge cuntreis schal sche be. Sum foure

modest

sorry for

womb
adversity

goodness

⁴² clerkes] the term cleric was a profoundly versatile one in medieval Europe, but when narrowing the term down, a cleric was someone who was ordained at least to lower orders

foted best schal hurte hyr. And yf sche scape hyr xii, xxviii, and lx 3ere, þen schal sche leue as by kynde iii score 3ere and xii. The best dayes in þe weke for þes men and womman ben Munday, Wendisday, and Saturday, and þe Twysday most worst. Þe Sunday ys yuel to wesche hyr hedys and fulle perlusse.

A man þat ys borne vnder þe sygne of þe Gote, þe whych reyneþ and haþ hys dominion fro þe myddes of December vnto þe meddes of Ianuarii, schal be bewteuusse, wyse, lecherusse, and angry, a lyar and a besy laberer. Whych schal lese on of hys membres and be schamfully defamed of many crimisse, *sum* of *enmite* and many of hys owne deseruyng. A foule defouler of womman and þat many schal he be. He also schal leue lenger þan hys furst wyf and syþe be come seruant to a grete man. A vysitoure also of stronge contreys he schal be, and whan he *turneþ* home a 3en to hys owne cuntre, þen schal he *com* wyth grete lycoure. He also schal be troblyd in *water*. He schal haue dyuerse infirmiteys of ache, boþe hede ache and toþe ache and also ache of yen. He schal be hurt wyþ yren. Frendely schal he be and loþe to leue suche as sweren fast. Hys owne chyldren schul be cause of grete greuance þat schal come to hym, and an hownde schal byte *hem*. He schal haue much beter helpe whan he labereþ no3t. He schal be a large dispender⁴³ of oþer men godes. He schal be lette of hys purpose be sorsry tylle hys lx wynter. He schal be trauelyng and þer a boute schal he be gynne hys grete encrese. He schal wexe

sexual pervert

afterwards

greed

to trust; to blaspheme; much

to urge

to hinder

⁴³ dispender] means 'someone who is a household official who administers the possessions of a lord, a steward or treasurer; also, one who has power to distribute legacies'

reche sone aftur. Whose grettest fortune be schal of þe erþe telynge and bestes. He al so schal be myȝty and stronge, frendly and a man of feruent wyl, and helping damsellis vnto hyr maryage. Thys man schal leue as by kynde, yf he passe xxxii wynter, iii score and xii and iiiii monthes.

agriculture

The woman þat ys born vnder þe same syngne schal be wyse, chaste, wel manerd, gode of consel. Whyche schal suffry schame gyltles. A wyse huswyf and a gode howseholder⁴⁴. Sche schal haue many housbandes and be a ful gode moder to oþer women chyldren. Many contrarius þynges schal sche suffre in hyr lyf tyme. Grete hede ache. Rysyng vnder hyr syde a spyce of þe palsy vnto tyme sche be lx wynter of age after hyt haþ onys y take hyr. *With* hyr secunde husbande, sche schal haue much gode. Sum woman þat schal be a neyȝbor of hyr, and sche schal be sore at debate. A grete goer of pylgrymage schal sche be, also dredful, schamfast, and wel ouercome hyr enmyes. Sche schal come to hyr a boue a boue hyr xxiii ȝere. Sche schal haue ache yn hyr yen. And yf sche scape xxxiii⁴⁵ ȝere, schal leue as by kynde iii score ȝere ii and iiiii monthes. The best dayes yn þe weke for þes men and women ben Sunday, Þursday, and Fryday, and Wendysday most wurst. Blake cloþyng ys gode for hem to were, þe whych wul helpe voyde hyr euyl destneis.

at the waist or hip; a type

⁴⁴ gode howseholder] MS godehowseholder

⁴⁵ xxxiii] the scribe seems to have made a mistake here. The text says that this woman is likely to die when she is twenty-three years old, but then the text says how old this woman will become if she happens to become older than thirty-two years old. Thus, the scribe seems to have forgotten to include an x in xxiii, or he has put a superfluous x in xxxiii

4. Conclusion

Even though astrology played a significant role in the medieval European society, the scholarly study of Middle English prognostic material based upon astrological principles still receives little attention. As astrology was considered to be a legitimate science in the Middle Ages, it is most unfortunate that these texts often remain little analysed as they can help us to get a full grasp of the medieval society and culture.

Therefore, this thesis has presented the first-ever edition, accompanied by an introduction, of the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma in Harley 2320. In this thesis, several main points have come to the forefront about the prognostication. It has been shown that the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma appears in a luxurious miscellany, and that the text was probably written in the early fifteenth century in the South-central Midlands or in Southern England. Furthermore, it has been established that as the cost of the manuscript must have been high, the prognostication can be associated with the aristocratic or courtly circles, and that the content of Harley 2320 suggests that the prognostication was commissioned by a woman. It has also been shown that the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma was considered to be a scientific text in the Middle Ages, and that depending on which definition of medieval practical science is employed, the prognostication can be categorised as belonging to the magical arts or to the occult sciences. It has also been demonstrated that it is difficult to establish to which category of Middle English astrological prognostic texts the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma belongs. The text is based on the zodiacal signs, but it is not clear whether the text is based on the ascendant, sun, or lunar sign. Therefore, the category of the text remains ambiguous as it could be either a destinary or a zodiacal lunar. Finally, it has been shown that the prognostication is most likely falsely ascribed to Bartholomew of Parma, and that it is probable that the scribe of the text consulted multiple sources written by different authors.

There is plenty of room for further research on Harley 2320, the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma, and Middle English astrological prognostic texts in general. For instance, the provenance and ownership of Harley 2320 are still not entirely clear. Concerning the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma, further research can be done on, for example, the sources of the text and on interrelations with later texts. Next to the prognostication attributed to Bartholomew of Parma, there are also many other Middle English prognostic texts

based upon astrological principles that are still little analysed. For instance, as Braswell-Means says, many individual texts have not been edited yet. Therefore, there are probably still many interrelationships between Middle English astrological prognostic texts that have not been discovered yet (“Middle English Prognostic Material” 402). Thus, there is still much room for new insights and discoveries concerning Middle English astrological prognostic material, and the further study of these texts would be of great use to enlarge our understanding of the medieval society and culture.

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